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ANGLO-SAXON
ARCHITECTURE



ANGLO-SAXON ARCHITECTURE

BY

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VOLUME III



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TO THE GLORY OF THE ONE ETERNAL AND EVER-LOVING GOD

to whose honour and for whose worship and praise these churches
were built by our forefathers, this book is most humbly dedicated,
not only as a further contribution to the understanding of the
buildings themselves but also as a confident expression of faith
that these ancient churches will endure through the current years
of unbelief and indifference until the dawn of those days when the
Glory of the Lord will fill the whole land.

★ ★ ★ ★ ★ ★

In loving memory
Joan Taylor
1903-65

PREFACE

THE SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THIS VOLUME

Like its two predecessors, this volume is concerned only with the architecture of churches except for a few brief references to monastic sites where excavation has given reliable evidence about domestic buildings. In spite of great recent advances in the understanding of Anglo-Saxon houses, neither the name nor the general scope of this volume has been changed, and for information about houses the reader should therefore consult the comprehensive surveys by P. V. Addyman (1972) and P. A. Rahtz (1976b).

In the preface to our first two volumes we said we hoped here to set out in detail the arguments which establish that certain churches were built before the Norman Conquest and also to build up a more precise system of dating than had hitherto been available. In particular we had in mind that it should be possible to establish that certain structural features would serve not only to indicate Anglo-Saxon workmanship but also to distinguish reliably between the early, middle and late parts of the era.

The years that have elapsed have seen many changes, and our hopes were imperilled by my late wife's sudden death before the first volumes were published. But we had jointly agreed that the detailed scope of this promised third volume needed some change, to enlarge it in some directions and to curtail it in others: on the one hand we wanted to link our studies more closely to contemporary work on the Continent and to give more consideration to the use of the buildings and the reasons for changing patterns; and on the other hand we had begun to feel doubts about the reliability of dates that had long been accepted even for some of the more important buildings of our period.

As I have worked on my task during the past decade I have become certain that the time is not ripe for firm pronouncements about the dates of more than a handful of the buildings described in our first two volumes, and that our continental colleagues have many similar reservations about dates that have been claimed in the past for quite a number of their churches of this period. I have set out elsewhere in detail the reasons for this state of affairs (Taylor 1976), and therefore they need be mentioned only very briefly here: in the first place there are not enough contemporary written records which can be securely linked with surviving buildings to provide reliable dates or date-ranges for more than a dozen of our churches; and in the second place there is no comprehensive published typological study which groups together all occurrences of each distinctive architectural feature and provides illustrative measured drawings. These are the two present obstacles and we turn therefore to consider whether, and how, they can be overcome.

In the absence of adequate contemporary written sources, the only hope of building up secure

architectural histories for individual churches, and thus surmounting the first obstacle, is by painstaking archaeological investigation of the buildings themselves; and two very encouraging recent developments for Anglo-Saxon studies are that a number of such investigations have been undertaken spontaneously, and that the Society of Antiquaries have established a special research project in this field. But it is clear that it may take many years to build up a body of fresh evidence by these means for a significant number of Anglo-Saxon churches, and that for some of the churches (perhaps even most of them) the work may provide only sequences of building rather than absolute dates or date-ranges for their several parts.

But even while these detailed archaeological studies are in progress, an important step towards the main objective can be taken by providing a comprehensive typological study of the architectural features of Anglo-Saxon churches. Therefore in this volume I have laid aside the hope of achieving firm date-ranges for more than a few churches and have concentrated attention on establishing a well defined group of Anglo-Saxon churches and then analysing all their features in detail. Chapters 1 to 4 are devoted to the fundamental principles of defining the group, and Chapters 5 to 18 represent the typological analysis. But in addition to typology these latter chapters include where possible not only a discussion of continental analogues but also an account of the purposes which individual features may have served and of the reasons which may have led to their development.

For support in the completion of the continental studies I am deeply indebted to the Nuffield Foundation who, after giving help towards our travels in England for Volumes I and II, generously provided a further grant towards the cost of travel on the Continent in the years 1966-72 to visit churches which belong to our period and which have been under active consideration in the continental literature in recent years.

TERMINOLOGY

Some critics have raised objection to the name Anglo-Saxon and have even expressed doubt whether these buildings, covering a range of nearly 500 years, have any recognisable unity of style. There are indeed considerable varieties of styles; but it is surely true to say that the persistence of a general unity has perhaps been one of the major causes of difficulty in establishing features that are characteristic of separate periods within the era as a whole. This is not to underestimate the other factors which contribute to that difficulty, but only to emphasise my belief that there is an Anglo-Saxon style which has quite clearly defined features.

A separate pressure to abandon the terminology of Volumes I and II comes from those who urge the use of names associated with dynasties such as Merovingian, Carolingian and Ottonian or names which use prefixes to describe the several phases that led up to the fully developed Romanesque style. In my opinion all these names are open to objection, particularly in England, because over the years they have been used with quite wide differences of meaning by different writers, and the date-ranges of our buildings are not clearly linked to continental dynasties; I therefore believe there is good reason for retaining the name Anglo-Saxon for the whole of our

era, and for distinguishing shorter periods within the era either by neutral terms such as early, middle and late or by Baldwin Brown's A, B and C.

INVENTION AND COMMUNICATION OF IDEAS

It is my firm belief that certain techniques were developed in England for logical reasons associated with ease of building and strength of the fabric. This in no way precludes the possibility that they were also developed elsewhere, perhaps even at much the same time; but, until there is much more reliable evidence than at present both in England and abroad about the dates of certain crucial buildings, I believe it is a mistake to assume as a sort of general principle that the passage of ideas was always from the Continent to England and that the date of our earliest example must be fixed by allowing an appropriate time for the new development to be brought here from abroad.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THIS VOLUME

Typological material. For convenience of reference, a separate chapter has been devoted to the study of each principal architectural feature. This entails a certain amount of repetition but it allows the presentation of a self-contained and exhaustive account of each feature. The economical recording of detail demands orderly arrangement in tabular form, with as much abbreviated symbolism as is compatible with ease of understanding. The abbreviations used are mostly self-explanatory, and a comprehensive list is given in Chapter 2. The more complicated tables in some chapters are needed as a rule only for very occasional reference to give a comprehensive summary of all the material which is treated discursively in the chapter. These tables are therefore given in small print at the ends of the chapters.

Counties. The historic county boundaries as they existed before 1974 have been retained in this volume for all purposes, even including Appendix F which relates to churches which were not included in the earlier volumes.

Additions and corrections. Two appendices have been devoted to brief summaries of changes that are needed in Volumes I and II. Appendix F gives an alphabetical list of churches not included in the earlier volumes, together with very brief accounts of the evidence which justifies their claims for inclusion. Appendix G gives a list of amendments needed to evidence or opinions recorded in Volumes I and II. For some churches the material concerned has been set out in more detail at the place where it is needed in the body of this volume, in which case reference to that place is given in the appendix; but it is obviously desirable to have a single comprehensive record of additions and corrections.

Footnotes and references. By contrast to Volumes I and II, footnotes have been eliminated from this

PREFACE

volume. Explanatory material has all been included in the text, and references to other works have also been given in the text by citing in parentheses the name of the author, the date, and a page reference where necessary. All the works so cited are listed in alphabetical order of authors in the bibliography of Appendix H.

Index and pagination. At the end of this volume there will be found a single index for Volumes I to III. For ease of reference both in the index and elsewhere the pages and figures are therefore numbered serially through all three volumes. But by contrast sections and tables have a separate serial numbering in each chapter.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It will be clear both from the text and from the bibliography how great is my debt to others for their published interpretations of buildings in England and on the Continent. The formulation of my ideas also owes much to informal discussion with colleagues both on general topics and also about buildings which we were jointly investigating. But no buildings are considered here save on the basis of my own observations, and the responsibility for the deductions made from them is wholly my own. I have expressed above my gratitude to the Nuffield Foundation for financial help, and I end by recording the debt I owe to my wife Judith for her constant support through the years when the arrangement of this book was being drastically and painfully changed; she has also compiled the index and has typed the many successive drafts for this volume.

H. M. TAYLOR

Cambridge
September 1977

CHAPTER I

PRIMARY EVIDENCE FOR ANGLO-SAXON WORKMANSHIP

SECTION I. LOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

It is the object of this chapter to describe the various ways in which it is possible to establish from first principles that certain surviving buildings, or parts of them, were erected before the Norman Conquest, and then to review in turn the evidence for each building for which this claim is made. In the main these are the buildings which were said in Volumes I and II to have been established as Anglo-Saxon on *primary evidence*; but some additions have been made in this volume. In Chapter 2 we shall consider the extent to which these buildings define an *Anglo-Saxon style*, and how it is possible to claim other buildings as being Anglo-Saxon because they possess features that are characteristic of that style. It is these latter buildings which in Volumes I and II were said to have been established as Anglo-Saxon on *secondary evidence*.

It might, however, be questioned why it is necessary to set out again the arguments which establish that certain styles were indeed current in this country before the Norman Conquest and that they did not continue in general use much thereafter; it might be objected that this was done at the beginning of Volume I and that the principal features of those styles were accepted throughout Volumes I and II as being characteristic of Anglo-Saxon architecture.

But although a brief example was indeed there given of the way in which buildings can be established from first principles as having been built before the Norman style became current in this country (Vol. I: 1-3), and although lists were given of features that are commonly accepted as being characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon style, yet Volumes I and II did not give any general review

of the methods that are available for establishing from first principles that a building is Anglo-Saxon, nor did they discuss how we might determine the degree of confidence with which various features could be regarded as being characteristic of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. Rather was it the object of those volumes to describe in detail the buildings which contain the commonly accepted characteristic features of the style, and to defer until this third volume the detailed examination of the logical basis for regarding these features as good criteria for claiming that buildings which contain one or more of them are Anglo-Saxon.

RETURN TO FIRST PRINCIPLES

It is, therefore, now necessary to set aside all preconceived ideas about the styles of building that might have been current before the Norman Conquest, and to establish from first principles that certain surviving buildings or specified parts of them were erected before the Conquest, or at any rate before the Norman style became current here. We shall see that there are three principal methods that can be used for this purpose: appeal to historical documents, or archaeological study of the fabric, or archaeological excavation. Moreover any one of these methods can, and often must, be used in conjunction with one or both of the others.

Historical methods. If a contemporary, or almost contemporary, document describes any part of a building as having been erected before the Conquest, and if there is no possible doubt that the structure now before us is the one to which the document refers, then the pre-Conquest date of that structure has been established on historical evidence. Unfortunately there are very few buildings for which evidence of this sort is available; but

they constitute a specially important group because the historical evidence usually provides precise dates or at least a defined range of dates, and often also provides useful information about the builder or even the special purpose for which the building was erected. This small but important group of buildings is considered further in Section 2.

Combined historical and archaeological methods. It sometimes happens that documentary evidence which gives considerable detail about pre-Conquest erection of a building nevertheless does not serve to define with certainty that it relates to any part of a building that now survives at the place concerned. But if archaeological methods can establish that the surviving building is of one or more pre-Conquest dates it may happen that it is then possible to be reasonably certain that the historical record relates to one or more phases of the building. Accounts of certain buildings of this type are given in Section 3.

Archaeological methods. The archaeological determination of any part of a building as Anglo-Saxon may depend on detailed study of the fabric, or on excavation within or beside it, or on a combination of these methods. All of these methods depend upon the establishing of a time-sequence in such a way that the part of the building under consideration can be shown to be pre-Conquest. Appendix C (Vol. II: 723-5) lists the considerable number of buildings for which structural archaeological methods indicate a pre-Conquest style; but since the evidence was not set out in detail, these buildings and some others are considered in Section 4 where the deductions which can be made from each one are set out in detail. In Section 5 a brief account is given of the churches that have been established as Anglo-Saxon by archaeological excavation. It will be seen that most of these are ruins and therefore do not provide evidence about features such as doorways, windows or mouldings that would help in the dating of other buildings; but many of them give evidence about plans, and some indicate the position of altars or doorways. Moreover the methods of archaeological excavation often provide means of fixing the date of a building within fairly well defined limits whereas the methods of structural archaeology will usually

do no better than to determine that it was built before the Norman style became current.

Characteristic Anglo-Saxon features. In Chapter 2 we shall examine all the features that are listed in Sections 2 to 5 as occurring in the buildings that have there been established from first principles as being Anglo-Saxon. If we eliminate from these features any which occur in buildings that are known to be Norman, then the residue can with some certainty be accepted as a list of characteristic Anglo-Saxon features, in the sense that a building which contains one or more of them can be accepted on that stylistic (or secondary) evidence as being Anglo-Saxon.

Primary and secondary evidence. It is now appropriate to define with more precision the concepts of primary and secondary evidence as set out briefly in Vol. I:1. When the claims of a church to be Anglo-Saxon have been established by the historical method or by either of the archaeological methods or by any combination of them, those claims have been established from first principles or on *primary evidence*. But primary evidence of this sort is available only for a limited number of churches, and others will be claimed as Anglo-Saxon only on the ground that they possess features which have been recognised as being characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon style in the way described above; these claims of churches thus recognised as Anglo-Saxon on stylistic grounds are said to have been established on *secondary evidence*. It should be clear that while secondary evidence is useful in default of primary evidence it is not so secure, nor can it usually be expected as yet to give any precise indication of a date within the Anglo-Saxon era.

Early Norman buildings in England. There are two points at which the arguments given above assume a knowledge of styles that became current in England after the Norman Conquest. The first of these relates to the method of structural archaeology, in which to claim part of a building as Anglo-Saxon we need to set up a time-sequence in the fabric by which the part in question can be shown to be earlier than a part that can be recognised as early Norman. Such a time-sequence is usually

established by noticing that the early Norman feature partially cuts away, or overlies, the feature which is thereby shown to be Anglo-Saxon. But this argument clearly presupposes that we can recognise with certainty Norman work as used in England, and even more particularly that we can say with certainty whether or not it belongs to a time close after the Conquest. The second need for precise knowledge of Norman styles arises from our method of recognising the features that are characteristic of Anglo-Saxon work, particularly when we list all the features that occur in buildings claimed from first principles as Anglo-Saxon and then eliminate from that list any features that occur in buildings known to be Norman. For both these reasons, therefore, we need a precise knowledge of features that were in common use in Norman times, and for this purpose Section 6 is devoted to a brief study of some early Norman buildings.

Continental evidence. Although our secondary dating uses stylistic evidence in that it appeals to a knowledge of features that are claimed to be characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon period, yet those characteristic features have been derived wholly from the evidence of buildings in this country, without any reference to styles that may have been current at adjacent times on the Continent. It is by deliberate policy that comparisons with the Continent have been excluded at this stage. The reason for this exclusion is that throughout these times there were transferences of ideas in both directions between England and the Continent, and therefore it is logically necessary that the classification of styles in each country should be made from first principles and only by appeal to evidence from within the country concerned. Only thereafter should comparisons be made between countries; for only thus will there be the best opportunity of settling with reliability in which direction there was a passage of ideas about any particular new development.

Passage of ideas between countries. It has long been recognised that there are important contemporary records of the passage of architectural and artistic ideas from one country to another: for example Bede's records of the journeys of Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop to Rome, and particularly of the

materials which the latter brought thence for his new churches at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, and of the masons and glaziers he brought from Gaul to work on those buildings. But it is essential to remember that records such as these represent only a part, and probably only a very small part, of all the exchanges which took place. It is therefore unwise to assume that such records as exist serve to give reliable evidence about the earliest or latest dates at which exchanges took place or even about the principal direction of the passage of ideas. To take only one example, it would be a mistake to assume that the passage of ideas between Byzantium and Germany was limited to a period about the time of the marriage of Otto II to Theophanu.

SECTION 2. HISTORICAL EVIDENCE

The validity of historical records as evidence for the date of a building depends on their being closely contemporary with the building and also on their giving sufficient detail to justify a confident assertion that they relate to the building which now survives. If these conditions are satisfied, the historical method is to be preferred to all others not only because it goes directly back to first principles but also because the written record can often provide a precise date of erection whereas other methods can as a rule provide only a terminal date or a range within which the date must lie. Before turning to detailed consideration of buildings which can be dated by historical methods alone, it should be noted that archaeological methods may be able to give confirmatory evidence about the period within which such buildings lie, and that confirmatory evidence of this sort will be mentioned when it is available even though it is not essential.

The buildings for which close ranges or precise dates are fixed within the Anglo-Saxon period by the historical method alone are as follows:

Canterbury, St Augustine's abbey:
the early church of St Peter and St Paul
Abbot Wulfic's later octagonal rotunda
Deerhurst: Odda's chapel of the Holy Trinity
Hexham: Wilfrid's crypt beneath the church of St Andrew
Kirkdale: St Gregory's minster
Monkwearmouth: west wall and porch of St Peter's church

Most of the evidence has been set out in Volumes I and II and therefore needs only to be summarised here. But it is desirable to have here at least a summary of all the evidence for each building, and also a precise statement of the particular parts of each building that have thereby been firmly dated. This may seem an unnecessarily cautious procedure; but otherwise it is very easy to fall into error, for example by claiming the date of the main building for features that were added at other times. Moreover, it is only by setting out a summary of all points of the evidence upon which each building is claimed to belong to a particular period that it is possible not only to be sure for oneself that the argument is totally free of circular reasoning but also to demonstrate that certainty to readers.

CANTERBURY, ST AUGUSTINE'S ABBEY

The early church of St Peter and St Paul. The foundations, walls, and empty tombs permanently on display in St Augustine's abbey in Canterbury are established on historical evidence alone as those of the church of St Peter begun by King Ethelbert at St Augustine's request and completed shortly after the saint's death between 604 and 609 (Vol. I: 134-41). Bede's eighth-century account describes the building of the church (*H.E.* I, 33), its consecration by St Laurence, and the burial of the archbishops within the north porticus dedicated to St Gregory (*H.E.* II, 3); Gocelin's eleventh-century eye-witness account describes the removal of the coffins of the archbishops in preparation for Abbot Wido's rebuilding of the nave; and the association of both these accounts with the present ruins is placed beyond doubt by the precise agreement between the position of the surviving tombs and the position described by Gocelin in relation to the Norman columns built by Abbot Wido (Vol. I: 138). It is important, moreover, to realise that although Bede wrote more than a hundred years after the building of the church yet it was still in use when he wrote, and the north porticus of St Gregory had only recently been abandoned in favour of the main body of the church for burial of the archbishops; in other words there had been complete continuity of tradition throughout this period; and Bede was in direct contact with

Canterbury through letters from Abbot Albinus and conversations with Nothelm, a priest at London and later Archbishop of Canterbury (*H.E.* preface). It is, however, important to note that only the lower parts of walls, empty tombs, and parts of floors remain from this early church; and in particular that there is no evidence for the shape of the chancel (Vol. I: 139).

Abbot Wulfric's later octagonal rotunda. We owe to the eleventh-century chronicler Gocelin the account which fixes octagonally-planned foundations immediately east of the nave of the seventh-century church as belonging to the rotunda built by Wulfric, fortieth abbot (1047-59) (Vol. I: 137-8). Gocelin was an eyewitness of the destruction of the Anglo-Saxon abbey by the first two Norman abbots, Scotland (1070-87) and Wido (1087-91). Translated into modern English, his accounts of Wulfric's work and of the later destruction of the whole of the Anglo-Saxon abbey can be summarised by saying that Wulfric threw down the west of St Mary's church in order to use the space between it and that of St Peter and St Paul for his new building, whereas Abbot Scotland later pulled down both that new work and also the whole of St Mary's church in order to build there the sanctuary of his new church of St Peter and St Paul as well as a crypt beneath it for the resting place of St Augustine (Hope 1917: 4-5). But the surviving octagonal foundations lie just to the east of the nave of the church of St Peter and St Paul, destroying its east end, while Abbot Scotland's large new crypt lies just to the east of the octagonal building which has been wholly destroyed above ground to make way for the Norman building. Thus the octagonal building is precisely in the position specified by Gocelin's record; moreover it can be seen to be later than the original church, but earlier than Abbot Scotland's work which destroyed all its upper features.

DEERHURST: ODDA'S CHAPEL OF THE HOLY TRINITY

That the main fabric of a small two-cell chapel at Deerhurst was built by Earl Odda and consecrated on 12 April 1056 is now regarded as being established on the joint evidence of two inscribed

stones (Vol. I: 209–11). The first of these was found in an adjoining orchard in 1675; in translation its inscription may be summarised as saying that Earl Odda had this royal hall built and dedicated in honour of the Holy Trinity... on the second of the Ides of April in the fourteenth year of Edward King of the English. For over two centuries after the finding of this stone its inscription was believed to belong to some part of the nearby priory church of St Mary, because no other consecrated building was known in this area. But since the discovery in 1885 that a small chapel had been concealed within a half-timbered house standing about 200 yds south-west of the church it has been very generally accepted that the inscription on the 'Odda stone' applied to that two-cell chapel. But it would clearly be unsatisfactory if the identification of Odda's inscription with the chapel rested solely on the stone's having been found in an orchard rather closer to the chapel than to the nearby church; and it is therefore important to consider the additional evidence provided by a mutilated slab which had formerly carried the record of the dedication of an altar, had later been cut to form a window-head, and was found in restorations of 1885 built into the side of a chimney beside the east wall of the chapel, where it may still be seen today. The sharply curved window-head has cut away roughly half of the inscription on this stone, and two alternative restorations of the whole inscription have been proposed, as are shown in the insets A and B at the bottom of Fig. 643 (Middleton 1887:70). After filling out three abbreviations which are indicated by bars over letters in the second and last lines, these alternatives could be translated thus:

A In honour of the Holy Trinity this altar has been dedicated

B In honour of St Peter the Apostle this altar has been dedicated

It is, however, fortunate that the matter does not have to be left in this unsettled position; for careful study of the inscription shows conclusively that the second restoration is impossible. The evidence is shown in the main body of Fig. 643 where it will be seen, first, that there are vestiges of a mark of abbreviation above the fragment of the C that appears in the second line, thus confirming the interpretation SĒE; but even more conclusively

colons will be seen in the second and fifth lines after E, V̄ and Ē showing that the endings of words (or at least abbreviated words) were marked by colons. Thus the interpretation PETRI becomes impossible because of the colon after the E. The outcome of this detailed argument is to establish that there survives within the structure of the chapel an inscribed stone which refers to an altar dedicated to the Holy Trinity, and thereby to render reasonably certain the attribution to this chapel of the dedication stone found not far from it in 1675.

The chapel itself can therefore with reasonable certainty be accepted as having been built and dedicated in 1056; thus dating its double-splayed windows, its long-and-short quoins, and its chancel-arch and doorway, both built of through-stones, and both with simple square-sectioned hoodmouldings.

HEXHAM: WILFRID'S CRYPT

The historical evidence for dating the crypt at Hexham between the years 672 and 678 (Vol. I: 297–8) may be summarised as resting on the assertion of Wilfrid's friend and biographer Eddius Stephanus that on land given him by the queen he built a church at Hexham with foundations deep in the ground and crypts of wonderfully dressed stone (Colgrave 1927: 44–7). Confirmatory evidence is provided by the existence of a crypt of closely similar plan below the floor of the Norman cathedral church at Ripon, where Wilfrid is known to have built another important church (Colgrave 1927: 34–7).

The rectangular main chamber of the crypt is covered by a barrel vault, the subsidiary chambers have gabled roofs made of pairs of sloped stones, while the passages are covered by flat flagstones; the walls of all the chambers and passages are of large squared stones mostly still showing Roman tooling and several carrying inscriptions. There are many other remains at Hexham, including sculpture, but these cannot be dated by this historical evidence.

KIRKDALE: ST GREGORY'S MINSTER

An inscribed sundial provides the evidence for believing that the main fabric of the nave at Kirkdale

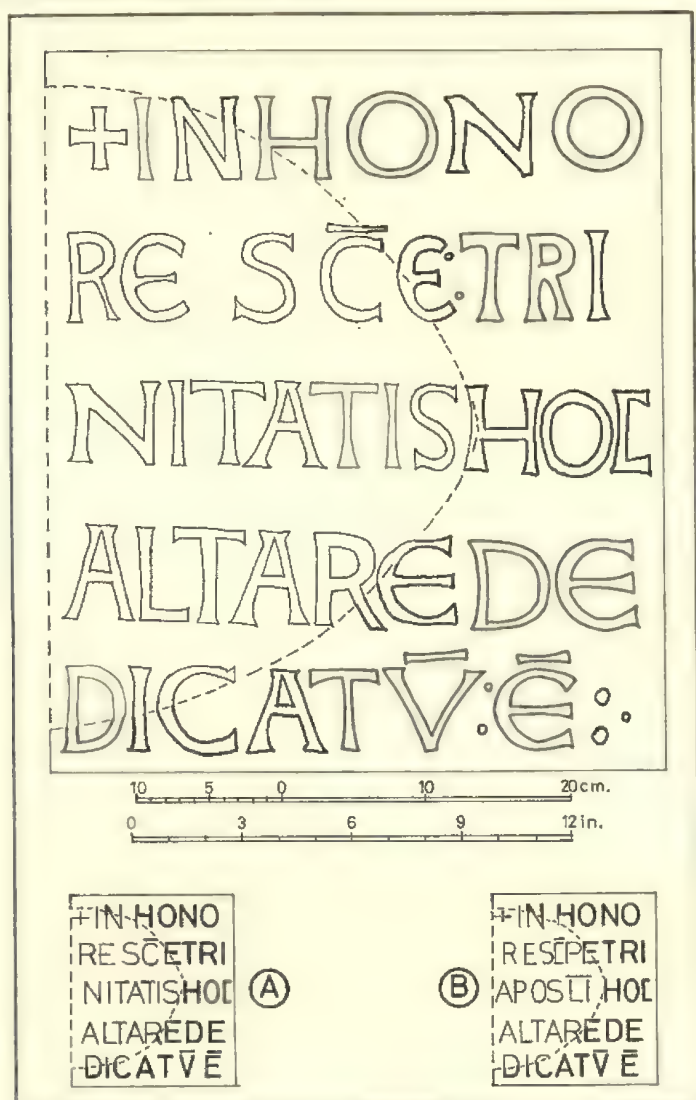


FIG. 643. DEERHURST, ODDA'S CHAPEL: THE ALTAR-DEDICATION STONE

The copy of the surviving part of the inscription is based on a tracing. The letters ETRI in the second line suggest a dedication to St Peter as shown in Inset B; but the colons in the text at the ends of abbreviated words show that this is not possible. The interpretation of Inset A has therefore been accepted and set out in full in the main inscription.

was built between 1055 and 1065 as a restoration of a church which was then derelict (Vol. I: 359). The inscription records that Orm built the church in the days of Edward the king and Tosti the earl (i.e. Harold's brother Tosti who was Earl of Northumbria 1055-65). I see no reason to doubt that the sundial is *in situ*; but this has been questioned (Rickman 1836: 32), and it is difficult to advance conclusive evidence on either side.

The chancel here has been rebuilt in much later times. The nave is built of coursed and roughly

squared large stones, with western quoins of very large stones laid in side-alternate fashion. The west doorway and jambs of the chancel-arch (illustrated Vol. I: 359-60) both belong to Orm's church.

MONKWEARMOUTH: ST PETER'S CHURCH, WEST WALL AND PORCH

The historical evidence for Monkwearmouth is rather more difficult of interpretation, and would perhaps be considered insufficient if it were not

supported by archaeological evidence. The purely historical evidence (Vol. I: 433) is provided by Bede's account of the building of a church at Monkwearmouth by Benedict Biscop in 674 and of the burial of Abbot Easterwine in the entrance-porch in 685 or 686 (*H.A.B.*: 367 and 385). When the west porch was cleared of accumulated rubbish in 1866, empty stone coffins of an early type were found beneath its floor; and there is independent evidence that the lower stage belongs to an early part of the Anglo-Saxon era because its gabled west face is clearly to be seen beneath the later Anglo-Saxon tower above it.

Apart from the west wall, the nave has been rebuilt in much later times, and on the early walls of the porch a later Anglo-Saxon tower has been built. But Monkwearmouth is of exceptional importance because even these limited survivals contain so many distinctive features. These include thin walls of roughly squared rubble with megalithic side-alternate quoins; single-splayed windows of megalithic construction; doorways with jambs laid in Escomb fashion and arched heads of well-shaped voussoirs all in through-stones; sculpture and carefully turned balusters in the great western doorway; vestiges of a life-sized statue in the west gable; and a sculptured string-course across the porch below the gable (illustrations Vol. I: 434-41).

SECTION 3. COMBINED HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

The examples to be discussed in this section differ from those in Section 2 basically in that the historical evidence alone would be insufficient to justify a confident claim that it related to the fabric under consideration, but the additional support given by the archaeological evidence serves to link the historical evidence to the structural remains. The buildings or ruins to be considered in this section are:

Glastonbury abbey:

- the stone church built about the time of King Ine
- the later additions built by St Dunstan

Lyminge:

- the early church of St Mary
- the later church of St Mary and St Eadburga

Repton, St Wystan's church

Winchester, the Old Minister:

- the early church of St Peter
- the later additions of Bishops Ethelwold and Alphege

GLASTONBURY ABBEY

The church built about the time of King Ine. The historical evidence (Vol. I: 251) can be summarised under three heads: first, a marginal entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle against the year 688 that Ine (King of Wessex, 688-726) built the minster at Glastonbury; secondly, William of Malmesbury writing in the first third of the twelfth century tells that Dunstan (Abbot, 940-57) added a tower to Ine's church, thus lengthening it considerably, and added aisles or porticus thereby making its width square with its length; thirdly, Malmesbury also records that there were earlier churches to the west of Ine's one, notably the much revered *Vetusta Ecclesia*, a wattled building of great antiquity. No remains of these buildings survive above ground, but excavations within the medieval nave disclosed early foundations which continued westward towards the twelfth-century Lady chapel that was built on the site of the *Vetusta Ecclesia* immediately after it had been destroyed by fire in 1184. The remains within the nave were claimed by the excavators as representing three separate building periods: Ine's church; extensions built later but not historically recorded; and the later extensions by St Dunstan. The grounds for their identification may be summarised very briefly thus: first, the remains lie east of the *Vetusta Ecclesia*; secondly, the fabric and mortar defined a series of separate building campaigns, beginning with a nave flanked by porticus, continuing with an eastern extension, and ending with heavy walls at the east in a way which suggests identification with Dunstan's tower; moreover this eastern area includes wider lateral porticus which give the church the same width as its length in accord with William of Malmesbury's account of Dunstan's work.

If these identifications be accepted, the seventh-century church is defined as having a nave about 20 ft wide flanked by porticus about 12 ft wide, all having thin walls and red plaster floors like those of St Augustine's abbey in Kent.

The later additions by St Dunstan. The interpretation of the early church has already been seen to involve an interpretation of thicker walls to the east as the tower added by St Dunstan and of walls to the

north and south as those of lateral porticus which gave the church a breadth equal to its length. The foundations interpreted as those of Dunstan's tower are about 4 ft thick and define a tower about 26 ft by 28 ft externally. The tower lay at the east of the building and would therefore have been over the sanctuary in a way for which there are parallels in the Rhineland but none in England. This tower enclosed a smaller and earlier building of long and narrow form, almost certainly a crypt or burial chamber which originally stood in the open and was then approached by steps from the west (Peers, Clapham and Horne, 1928: 5-7). A close continental parallel for thus enclosing an earlier outdoor burial chamber within an eastern extension of the church is provided at Werden, by Essen (Taylor, 1969a: 19-23) and a parallel of a somewhat different sort is perhaps to be found in England at Repton (Taylor 1971: 382-7).

LYMINGE: THE TWO PRE-CONQUEST CHURCHES

In Volume I we described at Lyminge only the ruins which have long been accepted as those of the church built there by the widowed Queen Ethelburga (Eadburga) on land given her by her brother King Edbald of Kent after the defeat and death of her husband King Edwin of Northumbria at Hatfield Chase in 632. At that time we had not appreciated the combined historical and archaeological evidence which indeed seems adequate not only to support this dating of the ruined church but also to establish that the south wall of the nave and much of the chancel of the adjoining church of St Mary and St Eadburga survives from a church built by St Dunstan to house the relics of St Eadburga.

The historical evidence for both churches was first published by Canon R. C. Jenkins about a century ago, but although we read and recorded all his papers (Vol. I: 409) we did not appreciate the full import of his arguments until these were set out afresh by Dr E. C. Gilbert (1964: 143-8). Only the historical background for the early church is given by Bede (*H.E.*, II, 20) but Gocelin gives the early history of its foundation as remembered in the eleventh century as well as its falling into ruin in the tenth century and the

building of a new church by Archbishop Dunstan, who housed the relics of the foundress in 'a lofty and dignified monument in an arch in the north porticus beside the south wall of the church' (Taylor 1969b: 258). The apparent contradiction between the housing of a monument in a north porticus and its being at the same time beside the south wall of the church becomes clear if we interpret Gocelin as meaning that Dunstan's new memorial to the foundress was placed over her original burial place in the north porticus of the early church and that this was beside the south wall of his new church; moreover this interpretation is borne out by the fabric, where it can be seen that the south wall of the newer church lies over the north porticus of its predecessor. It should also be recorded here that in 1085 the relics of Ethelburga were translated by Lanfranc to Canterbury, thereby proving that the curious arrangements just described at Lyminge must date from before 1085.

The archaeological and historical evidence may be regarded as giving two clear indications: first that the ruins described in Vol. I: 408-9 are indeed those of the original church of St Mary founded soon after 632, and secondly that the main fabric of the south wall and chancel of the adjoining church of St Mary and St Eadburga dates from the time of St Dunstan. It should be noted here, however, that though it has been widely assumed (and was shown in our plan, Vol. I: 408) that the nave of the early church opened to the chancel through a triple arch, there does not seem to be any satisfactory evidence for this, either from the existing fabric or from the published record of the excavations. The later church of about 965 shows no very distinctive features, and it should be noted that the walling over the heads of its apparently early Norman windows is disturbed in a way which indicates that they are later insertions.

REPTON, ST WYSTAN

The historical evidence for St Wystan's church can be summarised under four main heads: first there is the contemporary account of St Guthlac's receiving the tonsure at the abbey of Repton from Abbess Aelfthryth shortly before the year 700; secondly there are notes in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that the murdered King Ethelbald was

buried there in 757 and that the Danish army wintered in Repton 874-5; thirdly it is recorded in an Anglo-Saxon account of the burial places of saints that St Wystan lies at Repton; fourth Florence of Worcester (d. 1118) records that Wiglaf (King of Mercia, 827-40) was buried at Repton and that Wystan, murdered in 850, was buried there 'in the mausoleum of his grandfather Wiglaf' (Taylor 1971: 353-4). None of these items would by itself justify an association of the history with any part of the surviving fabric, but when they are taken together in association with the fabric, particularly with a crypt which has later been incorporated into the main fabric of the church and provided with a two-way system of circulation as if for pilgrims to visit the shrine of a saint, it seems impossible to deny that the crypt represents the mausoleum of King Wiglaf in which the cult of St Wystan flourished from his death in 850 at least until the Danish army wintered in Repton in 874-5. Recent excavations still uncompleted beside the church have established the method of construction of the crypt and the existence beside it of iron- and glass-working, including many fragments of window-glass of types closely similar to those found in the monasteries of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1969: 37 and 48).

The fabric at Repton thus established as belonging to the ninth century is of the utmost importance. The mausoleum-crypt has a stone vault carried on four free-standing twisted columns; its main walls are of megalithic ashlar, with applied pilasters to support the ends of the diaphragm arches of the vaulting; recesses in the crypt have barrel-vaults of through-stones. The walls of the chancel built above the mausoleum-crypt have megalithic quoins mostly in face-alternate technique, and each side wall has two pilaster-strips rising from a string-course and running to the eaves-course which they supported with splayed capitals. No windows or doorways survive, but the lower parts of columns beside openings to lateral porticus are still *in situ* (Taylor 1971: 376-81).

WINCHESTER, OLD MINSTER

When our Volumes I and II were written, the excavations at Winchester were still at an early stage and we therefore deferred any account of the

discoveries for discussion here. It would be inappropriate even here to give more than the barest outline of the evidence which establishes beyond doubt the site and many details of the original church of St Peter and St Paul, and of the alterations and extensions which were made mainly by Bishops Ethelwold and Alphege but also by others unknown; for comprehensive accounts the reader must at present consult the interim reports (Biddle 1964 to 1975).

The early church of St Peter and St Paul. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records the building of a church consecrated in St Peter's name at Winchester by King Cenwealh in 648; Bede (*H.E.* III, 7) describes in detail the complicated story of the conversion of the West Saxons begun by Bishop Birinus, and mentions the translation of the body of Birinus from Dorchester to the church of the apostles St Peter and St Paul in Winchester. The identification of a specific part of the excavated remains with this particular church depends upon a series of interrelated considerations. In the first place, the whole assembly of remains to the north of the present cathedral was found to overlies the ruins of the Roman town of Venta, while the southern part of the remains was itself overlaid by the Norman nave of the cathedral whose choir is known to have been completed in 1093 immediately before the demolition of the early church; thus the whole assembly of remains is shown by its stratification to be Anglo-Saxon. Secondly, the assembly is shown by its own stratification and interrelation to consist of works of a number of different periods of which the earliest is represented by a rectangular nave, a narrower eastern chancel, and small square chambers to north and south of the nave. That this church is the first of all the churches on the site is perhaps most simply and clearly shown by the evidence of dense burials all around outside it but a complete absence of early burials within it (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975: 94-5).

The evidence from this early church (Fig. 644) throws light on a number of features beyond its simple four-cell plan, in spite of the fact that its standing fabric (but not its foundations) had almost wholly been robbed for use in later buildings. In the first place, the foundations for its altar were found near the east of the nave, with post-holes of

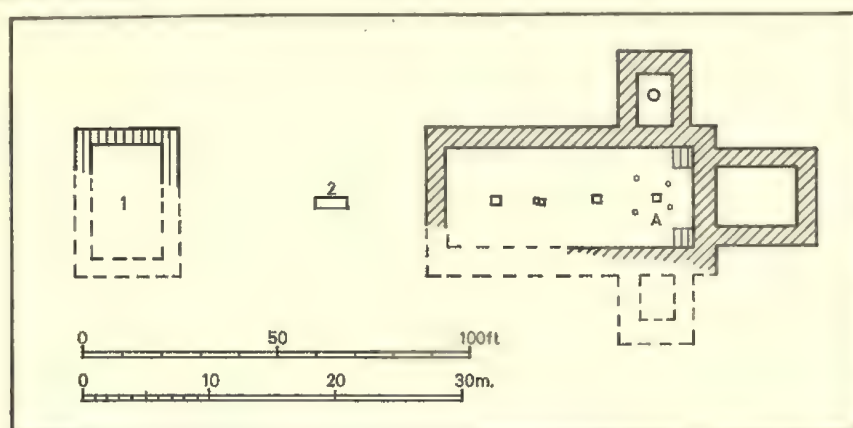


FIG. 644. WINCHESTER, OLD MINSTER: THE EARLIEST BUILDINGS

A, seating for altar in nave of four-cell church; 1, detached tower archaeologically dated to eighth century; 2, original burial place of St Swithun.

wooden columns to support a canopy above it; and there is no trace of any foundation for an altar in the chancel. Three further stone foundations westward in the nave were interpreted as positions for minor altars or free-standing stone crosses. The north porticus contained a well, and in the chancel a few of the original paving-stones had remained *in situ*, dressed to show raised bands of stone beside the outer wall. Finally, close to the walls, both inside and out there were post-holes for the scaffolding, many of which contained chippings of oolitic limestone; thus, although the standing walls have completely disappeared this evidence shows that they were of dressed stone, which the chippings indicate as having probably come from quarries near Bath. This church, being the earliest on the totally excavated site is to be interpreted as the one erected in 648 by order of King Cenwealh.

Later alterations by unknown builders. The eastern arm of the early church was reconstructed in the later part of the eighth century; and early in the tenth century, probably in emulation of the New Minster, a great facade was constructed flanking the west end of the original church, at first as a solid wall but later with a family of chapels (F) against the east side of the wall as shown in Fig. 645. There is no historical record for these works which are defined and dated on archaeological evidence.

The additions by Bishops Ethelwold and Alphege. For this later period in the second half of the tenth

century there is a rich fund of historical and archaeological material, but the evidence is complex and is difficult to summarise in a simple fashion. The main written sources are an account of the miracles of St Swithun by a monk of Winchester named Lantfred, and a poem by Wulfstan the Cantor which records some of these miracles but also gives an eyewitness account of the additions made to the Minster by Ethelwold and Alphege and of translations of the saint's relics in conjunction with those additions. This historical material was analysed by Professor Willis in 1846 and has more recently been set out in detail by R. N. Quirk (1957): in barest outline it can be summarised as follows: in 971 St Swithun's grave lay in the open, between the west door of the church and the tower of St Martin which was by the gateway of the monastery (Quirk 1957: 39-41); there was a ceremonial translation of the saint's bones on 15 July 971, at which Wulfstan says he sang in the procession (*ibid*: 40); his poem describes improvements made by Ethelwold to the church and monastery during his bishopric (963-84), including the bringing of fresh streams of water, the provision of porticus and arches on the north and south, and the addition of many chapels and altars (*ibid*: 43-4); the poem continues with a description of the dedication of the church in 980, at the conclusion of all these works (*ibid*: 59). Of Alphege (Bishop, 984-1005) Wulfstan says that he diligently continued to improve the church, adding crypts which supported the altar, and that

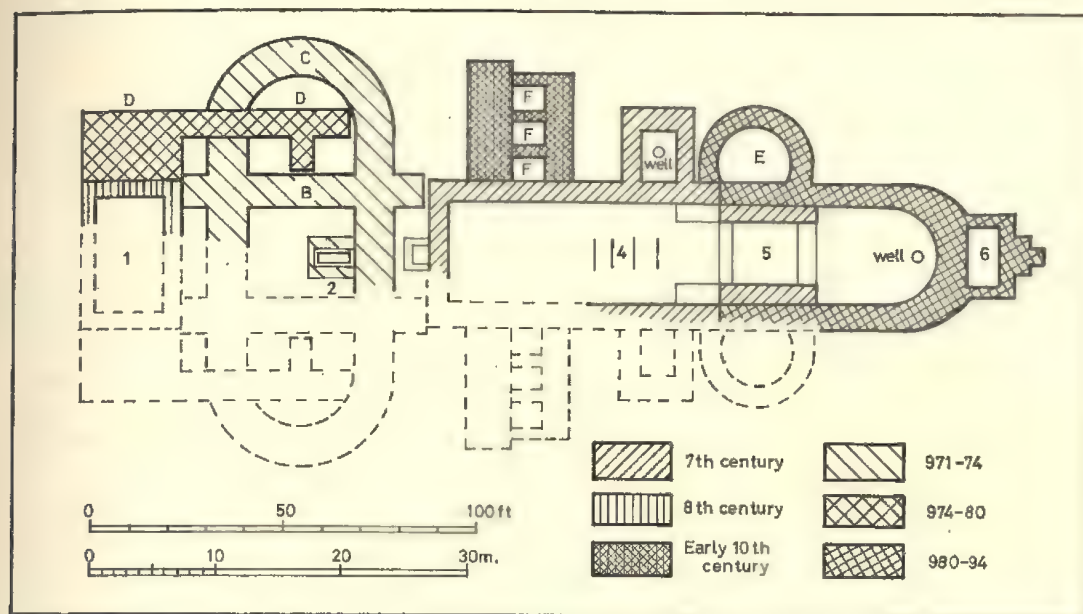


FIG. 645. WINCHESTER, OLD MINSTER: THE FULLY DEVELOPED CHURCH

1, tower of St Martin; 2, shrine of St Swithun over original burial place; 3, steps up to high altar; 4, Alphege's new crypt; 5, exterior eastern crypt; 6, exterior eastern crypt; B and C, straight and curved sides of great foundation of rammed chalk; D, later foundation for westwork; E, apsidal lateral porticus; F, family of transeptal chapels.

he provided a great tower, after which there was a second dedication of the church about the year 994 (*ibid*: 59-62).

The structural evidence for these buildings, like those of the earliest period, consisted only of foundations or of patterns left in the soil when the foundations had been robbed for use elsewhere in the Norman rebuilding. The results are shown diagrammatically in Fig. 645. First, the original burial place of St Swithun has been located (2), to the west of the doorway of the earliest church. Further to the west, a rectangular foundation (1) of mortared flint and rammed chalk marked the most westerly building on the site. It is identified as St Martin's tower and can be dated on archaeological evidence to the eighth century. It was still in existence standing separate from the church in 971, as noted above in the historical evidence.

St Martin's tower was now connected to the west end of the original church by a massive rammed chalk foundation. Its straight linking wall (B) abutted on the walls of the tower and the church, while to the north there was an extensive apsidal foundation (C). Later, St Martin's tower was extended both laterally and eastward, as evidenced by robbed foundations (D) which had

themselves partly cut away the great apsidal foundations (C). All these buildings at the west are interpreted as having been completed at the time of the dedication by Ethelwold in 980.

To the later works of Alphege the excavators attribute an eastern extension of the church with an exterior crypt (6), apsidal lateral chapels (E), and a new crypt (5) inside the original chancel and below the new high altar which was now approached by steps (4) of which vestiges remained. These latest additions were all found in the form of partially or wholly robbed foundations.

Although the remains give no indications of above-ground features of the building, yet the plan is of the greatest interest, and there is also a rich fund of sculpture, grave-slabs, painted plaster and other evidence, to widen our knowledge of the fittings and liturgical use. The arrangement of the plan and the dates assigned to the several parts are indicated in Fig. 645 which, by kind consent of the excavators, is closely based on their detailed reports.

CHURCHES EXCLUDED FROM THIS SECTION

The reader might expect that Brixworth would be included in this section since we claimed (Vol. I:

108) that 'there is literary as well as architectural evidence for assigning the original church at Brixworth to the seventh century'; but neither part of that claim can be justified in the strict sense in which we define historical and archaeological evidence in this chapter. In particular the literary evidence rests on a twelfth-century account of the foundation of a monastery at Brixworth, which gives no details that would serve to identify any particular building. Deerhurst has also been excluded from this section because the archaeological investigations at present in progress have so far failed to provide any direct link with the scanty historical records, and therefore Deerhurst must still be considered under the heading of archaeological methods only.

SECTION 4. STRUCTURAL EVIDENCE FOR ANGLO-SAXON WORKMANSHIP

By contrast with archaeological excavation, which is discussed in Section 5, the methods of this section depend only on detailed examination of the standing fabric so as to recognise sequences which depend on the ways in which individual parts are related to each other. The name structural criticism was proposed for these methods in order to distinguish them from those of archaeological excavation (Taylor 1972a: 260-1); but the logical principles are the same in both cases: namely to search for evidence which proves from first principles that one part must have been put in place before another. Moreover, both methods can be used in conjunction; but as yet archaeological excavation has been very little used in the study of standing churches in England.

It must be emphasised that although two parts of a building may have been erected at different times, yet they may both be of the same style or period; for there are quite often brief pauses during the erection of a single phase of a building. Therefore in using structural methods to distinguish Anglo-Saxon from Norman parts of a building, it is necessary first to show that there is clear-cut evidence that one part was erected before the other, and secondly that the difference of style between the two parts is sufficiently marked to justify the claim that they represent two distinct

building periods separated by an appreciable lapse of time. It will be noted that this line of argument was indeed used by Thomas Rickman in his application of the structural method to Barton-on-Humber in 1817 (Vol. I: 2); and that due attention is paid to these considerations in the discussions which follow.

The remainder of this section is devoted to a review of the buildings that can be claimed as Anglo-Saxon on structural evidence alone, treating the material, church by church, in alphabetical order. It will be seen that the material differs somewhat from that in Appendix C (Vol. II: 723-5): in the first place we are here concerned only with structural methods since other methods are treated separately in Sections 2, 3 and 5; secondly the arguments have been set out in brief detail for each church and the deductions made more precise by specifying how much of each building is thereby claimed as Anglo-Saxon; and thirdly some new churches have been included, and some others have been omitted because the evidence does not satisfy the more rigorous requirements specified above.

Avebury (Vol. I: 32-4). The side walls of the nave at Avebury each contain a large single-splayed window of distinctive megalithic construction, partly cut away by small surviving parts of a Norman arcade. These windows, the walls, and the megalithic north-west quoin are thus indicated as Anglo-Saxon. Moreover the circular upper windows of the north wall are also indicated as belonging to the same period because the megalithic quoin continues upward beyond them in walling of uniform appearance.

Bardsey (Vol. I: 39-40). The side walls of an aisleless nave at Bardsey have been cut away by later arcades, Norman on the north and Transitional on the south. The west wall of the nave and its megalithic quoins are thus indicated as Anglo-Saxon, and so also are the quoins, doorways and single-splayed windows of the west porch which is bonded to the nave and is of the same megalithic character, quite foreign to Norman workmanship.

Barholm (Vol. I: 41-2). A tall, narrow, megalithic doorway here has been abandoned in favour of a Norman one placed only 6 ft to the west; it is thus

indicated as being Anglo-Saxon, along with the distinctive walling and triple plinth associated with it.

Barnack (Vol. I: 43-7). The side walls of the nave at Barnack have been almost completely cut away for arcades of two dates about the end of the twelfth century. The west wall, its tower-arch, and all the features of the lower two stages of the west tower are framed in a megalithic technique quite foreign to Norman workmanship. All the quoins, windows, doorways, pilaster-strips and sculpture of these lower stages of the tower are thereby indicated as Anglo-Saxon.

Barrow (Vol. I: 49-51). Here a Norman tower has been added to an earlier Norman nave which itself was added to a pre-existing chancel. Thus the chancel is indicated as Anglo-Saxon, including its megalithic chancel-arch, double-splayed north window and walls of megalithic quasi-ashlar, but excluding an inserted Norman doorway and window in the south wall and also the modern rebuilt east wall.

Barton-on-Humber (Vol. I: 52-7). The lower part of the tower of St Peter's church is of strikingly different technique from that of the uppermost belfry which was described by Rickman as 'evidently early Norman' (1817: 45) but which would perhaps better be described as Saxo-Norman. The lower stages of the tower are therefore indicated as Anglo-Saxon, including their long-and-short quoins, pilaster-strips, double belfry windows and megalithic doorways and tower-arches.

Bibury (Vol. I: 63-6). The original side walls of an aisleless nave and chancel survive at Bibury but with later eastward and westward extensions and with arches of Norman and later dates pierced through the walls of the nave. These original walls include features unknown in Norman workmanship such as megalithic (through-stone) jambs to the chancel-arch, a stepped pilaster-strip, and a double-splayed circular window; all these and the walls in which they stand are therefore to be regarded as Anglo-Saxon.

Billingham (Vol. I: 66-70). The side walls of a long aisleless nave have been pierced by arcades of

Transitional and later date, with early Norman shafts beside the present chancel-arch. The west wall survives intact, with a tall megalithic doorway; these are therefore indicated as Anglo-Saxon. We shall see later (in Chapter 3) that the west tower, which is a later addition to the nave, can be shown on secondary evidence to be Anglo-Saxon, and that the west wall and its doorway are therefore of an even earlier Anglo-Saxon date.

Bishopstone (Vol. I: 71-3). The aisleless nave here has been lengthened eastward in Norman times, and a Norman west tower blocks two single-splayed windows high up in the west wall. The nave and the south porch bonded into it are thereby indicated as Anglo-Saxon, including their megalithic quoins, the west windows, and an inscribed sundial.

Branston (Vol. I: 93-4). A decorative Norman blind arcading was added to the west face of an earlier tower at Branston, and a Norman arch was pierced through its south wall. The tower is thereby indicated as Anglo-Saxon. Moreover the tower is built against the west wall and over the plinth of a nave with megalithic long-and-short quoins. The west wall of the nave and its quoins are thereby shown to be Anglo-Saxon of an earlier date.

Brigstock (Vol. I: 100-5). The north wall of the originally aisleless nave here has been pierced by Norman arches, one of which partially destroys a single-splayed window of very distinctive megalithic construction. Two complete windows of identical construction survive in the side walls of the west porch which is bonded to the nave. The nave and porch are thereby shown to be Anglo-Saxon, with megalithic features which include the windows, long-and-short quoins, a gable-headed doorway and a plinth of square section.

Brixworth (Vol. I: 108-14). The straightforward structural evidence for a pre-Conquest date for the main fabric at Brixworth is the inserted Norman south doorway in one of the original arches of the south arcade. The complicated evidence for a series of pre-Conquest alterations to the fabric has been discussed in Volume I. The distinctive features

of this pre-Norman church include its single-splayed windows with rubble jambs, the rubble quoins, the western stair-turret and tower, the triple window partially destroying an upper western doorway, and the partly ruined ring-crypt.

Clapham (Vol. I: 158–9). The belfry stage of the tower at Clapham has double windows which were noted as of early Norman type by Rickman in 1817. The gaunt lower stages with their double-splayed windows and rubble quoins of distinctively un-Norman character are thereby indicated as Anglo-Saxon.

Darenth (Vol. I: 190–2). The aisleless church at Darenth was extended eastward by two successive Norman building phases. The surviving north and west walls of the nave are quite different in style from either of the Norman phases, and are thereby indicated as Anglo-Saxon. Their distinctive features include quoins of tile and flint, and a double-splayed window with salient angles formed in tiles.

Deerhurst, St Mary (Vol. I: 193–209). The side walls of the west porch at Deerhurst have been pierced by Transitional arches of the last quarter of the twelfth century, and responds in the south aisle proclaim alterations of a similar date there. But this evidence alone would not justify a claim that any of the surviving fabric was earlier than Norman. We must therefore turn to archaeological evidence in Section 5 and secondary evidence in Chapter 3 as a basis for dating the earliest fabric in this church.

Diddlebury (Vol. I: 211–14). The originally aisleless church here was later extended by the building of a Norman chancel whose north wall is in the same alignment as that of the nave and overlies its triple plinth where they meet. All of the features of the nave, including its double-splayed window, its doorway, its quasi-ashlar fabric and its plinth, are at variance with Norman technique and the two sets of evidence thus show that they are Anglo-Saxon.

Framingham Earl (Vol. I: 243–5). The facings of the doorways and chancel-arch here are clearly Norman, of dressed stone, and in sharp contrast to

the plain rubble technique used in the eastern quoins of the nave and in the pilaster-strips of the chancel. There seems good reason to believe that the dressed-stone Norman work is a later modification, and that the main fabric with its salient angles formed in rubble is Anglo-Saxon. But this awaits confirmation by removal of plaster.

Geddington (Vol. I: 248–50). In the north wall at Geddington a Norman arch cuts away the lower part of a single-splayed megalithic window; and in the outer face of the wall the head of the window partially destroys a decorative gabled blind arcading. The first of these observations indicates that the window is Anglo-Saxon and the second indicates that the wall and its decorative arcade is earlier than the window.

Godalming (Vol. I: 258–61). The present Norman central tower has been built on the east gable of a pre-existing nave and on the three walls of a small square chancel. The gable and the two circular double-splayed windows still visible in it are thus shown to be Anglo-Saxon.

Guildford (Vol. I: 266–8). The side walls of the tower at Guildford have been pierced by Norman arches which partially cut away double-splayed windows and decorative pilaster-strips, thus indicating that the tower, wholly built of flints, and its pilaster-strips and double-splayed windows are Anglo-Saxon.

Hackness (Vol. I: 268–70). The south wall of the nave at Hackness has been cut through by Norman arches which partially destroy two flat-headed single-splayed windows of primitive megalithic construction. The south wall is thus indicated as Anglo-Saxon, together with the east wall which is fully bonded to it, as well as the windows and the chancel-arch of through-stones.

Hart (Vol. I: 287–9). The original aisleless nave at Hart has megalithic side-alternate quoins and a tall narrow chancel-arch which has been partially destroyed by a Norman arch below. The main walls of the nave, the partially destroyed arch and a gable-headed doorway above it are all therefore indicated as Anglo-Saxon.

Iver (Vol. I: 335–8). The walls of the originally aisleless nave at Iver have been pierced by later arches of different dates. Those on the north are Norman, separated by a plain stretch of the original wall and partly cutting away a double-splayed window. The side walls of the nave, the double-splayed window, and the eastern quoins of plain flint with occasional tiles are thereby shown to be Anglo-Saxon.

Jarrow (Vol. I: 338–49). The principal early church at Jarrow has vanished but recent evidence found by excavation is mentioned in Section 5, while structural evidence shows that the present chancel was originally a separate church that was later joined to the other by a rectangular porch which was still later raised, soon after the Conquest, to form the present tower. In barest outline the evidence can be summarised thus: first, the uppermost belfry has double windows of typically Norman recessed construction, whereas the stage below has windows of a different type more like those we have recognised as Anglo-Saxon at Barton-on-Humber; secondly, the porch beneath this Saxo-Norman tower has megalithic doorways at two levels, and its north and south walls have clearly been thickened subsequently to carry the tower; and thirdly, the present chancel must have been earlier than the pre-Norman porch because its own west wall was demolished when the porch was built against its surviving west quoins. Thus the double-splayed windows of the thickened north and south walls of the porch are Saxo-Norman like the tower above, the earlier megalithic doorways are Anglo-Saxon, and the present chancel is of an earlier Anglo-Saxon date.

Langford (Vol. I: 367–72). The tower at Langford is very clearly of two different dates and styles, for a Norman corbel-table supports the upper capping while the main fabric below is of a quite different technique with double-splayed windows, panels outlined by pilasters, and with megalithic belfry windows built of through-stone. All of this main fabric is thus shown to be Anglo-Saxon, including also the tower-arches and the first-floor doorways above them.

Ledsham (Vol. I: 378–84). The Norman tower at

Ledsham can clearly be seen to rest on a west porch of quite different technique, with a megalithic south doorway and through-stone windows at two levels. The porch itself is built against and not bonded into the west wall of an aisleless nave, and the Norman tower-arch can be seen to be a later insertion because it cuts away part of the west window. The porch and the nave are thus both Anglo-Saxon, including their megalithic side-alternate quoining, their single-splayed windows and the south doorway.

Leicester, St Nicholas (Vol. I: 384–6). The north wall of this originally aisleless church has been cut through by two Norman arches which slightly damage the lower parts of two double-splayed windows of quite different technique thereby showing that they are Anglo-Saxon.

Lincoln, St Mary-le-Wigford (Vol. I: 391–4). The tower carries a dedication stone with an inscription in Anglo-Saxon saying that it was built and endowed by Eirtig to the glory of Christ and St Mary; the tower is built against and over the west wall of the nave. The structural evidence shows that the nave is earlier than the tower while the inscription suggests (but does not prove with certainty) that the tower is Anglo-Saxon. The dating of this church clearly needs further investigation.

Lincoln, St Peter-at-Gowts (Vol. I: 394–8). Until the building of a new north aisle about 1851, the north wall of St Peter-at-Gowts was pierced by two Norman arches with long responds of blank wall at east and west (Taylor 1974a: 350). The nave is therefore Anglo-Saxon, with its megalithic long-and-short west quoins and its plain square plinth. The tower, with side-alternate quoins and a taller chamfered plinth, can clearly be seen to have been built against and over the west wall of the nave; it is therefore later than the nave and cannot on this structural evidence be claimed as Anglo-Saxon; but we shall see secondary evidence in Chapter 3 in support of such a claim.

Norton (Vol. I: 465–70). In the central tower at Norton, wide Norman arches have been pierced through the east and west walls in replacement of

what may be assumed to have been narrower arches like those of the markedly different technique still surviving in the north and south walls. The main body of the first two stages of the tower is thus indicated as Anglo-Saxon, including also the north transept and the great gable-headed doorways which opened from the tower to rooms above the four arms of the church.

Peterborough (Vol. II: 491-4). The foundations of a continuous transept and short lengths of the side walls of an eastern sanctuary can be seen beneath the floor of the Norman south transept of Peterborough cathedral, begun about 1117 and completed in 1140. These foundations are thus clearly shown to belong to the Anglo-Saxon abbey church, but there is as yet no certainty about their precise date.

Rothwell (Vol. II: 522-4). The side walls of the originally aisleless nave at Rothwell are cut through by Norman arcades; and since these walls have megalithic long-and-short quoins, quite at variance to Norman technique, it can with confidence be claimed that they are Anglo-Saxon. No deduction can be made on this evidence about the tower, which has been added later, not in bond with the nave, and with side-alternate quoins; but we shall see secondary evidence in Chapter 3 for claiming it as Anglo-Saxon. It is by a most unfortunate error that we earlier referred to the quoining of the nave as side-alternate (Vol. II: 523).

St Albans, St Stephen (Vol. II: 530-1). The tall, narrow, single-splayed south window in the nave of St Stephen's church is partially cut away by a Norman arch, thus showing that the window and the main walls of the nave, with their quoins of flint and tile, are Anglo-Saxon.

Seaham (Vol. II: 534-6). The church at Seaham has been enlarged by the addition of a wider chancel of early Norman form with its side walls aligned with those of the earlier nave. The surviving nave, with megalithic side-alternate quoins and megalithic single-splayed windows is thus shown to be Anglo-Saxon.

Staindrop (Vol. II: 564-7). The originally aisleless

nave at Staindrop was later extended westward still without aisles, and even later its walls were cut through by Norman arches, thereby showing that the original walls and their megalithic single-splayed windows are Anglo-Saxon.

Stow (Vol. II: 584-93). The early Norman nave and the later Norman chancel at Stow are built with straight vertical joints against the megalithic side-alternate quoins of the central crossing. Thus the crossing and the transepts which are bonded to it are Anglo-Saxon. Their distinctive features include multiple plinths and quoins, arches, doorways and windows, all of megalithic construction.

Walkern (Vol. II: 628-30). The south arcade at Walkern is mainly of Norman appearance, but the eastern impost of the western arch is different in character in a way which suggests that the jamb and impost originally formed part of a doorway. Above this supposed doorway a Crucifixion on the outer face of the wall has been partly cut away to house the roof-plate for a low south aisle into which the arcade formerly opened. The evidence shows that the south wall, the impost, and the mutilated Crucifixion all belonged to an aisleless Anglo-Saxon nave.

Wittering (Vol. II: 678-80). The cutting of a Norman north arcade through the north wall of the originally aisleless nave at Wittering shows that the main walls of the nave and chancel with their six megalithic long-and-short quoins and the massive chancel-arch of through-stones are all Anglo-Saxon.

Wouldham (Vol. II: 693-4). A double-splayed window in the south wall of the originally aisleless nave at Wouldham is partially cut away by a Norman arch, thus showing that the window and the main walls of the nave are Anglo-Saxon, including the western quoins of flint and tile.

Wroxeter (Vol. II: 694-5). The north wall of the church at Wroxeter shows that the original church was enlarged by the building of a wider chancel whose walls were in the same alignment as those of the nave. The south walls have been swept

away, but the Anglo-Saxon north wall of the nave and its megalithic side-alternate quoins survive, in sharp contrast to the later Norman wall which is butted against the eastern quoin.

SECTION 5.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXCAVATION

In this section a brief account is given of certain evidence that has been collected about Anglo-Saxon churches by archaeological excavation. It should be noted that others have already been described in Section 3 because their dates could be determined with greater precision by a combination of historical and archaeological methods. It should also be noted that most of the churches of this section are in ruins and therefore do not provide any features in standing walls. Finally it should be noted that for York the recent archaeological excavation has provided conclusive evidence of a Norman date for the fabric for which we suggested an Anglo-Saxon date in Volume II on the evidence then available.

Cheddar (Vol. I: 154-5). The royal palace complex at Cheddar was excavated in the years 1960-62 (Rahtz: 1962-3). Three successive chapels were found to have existed on a single site, the earlier two dated to the tenth and eleventh centuries and the third built in the thirteenth century and shortened in the fourteenth.

Chapel I, about 22 ft by 14 ft, was of simple rectangular plan and was dated on the evidence of a coin of about 945 which was found near the east wall. This building was interpreted as a chapel because it lay wholly within its successors; all that remained of its fabric were the rough boulder footings of the north, south, and east walls.

Chapel II, about 62 ft overall, was interpreted as a church because of its shape, apparently a wider nave and a narrower chancel, with the dividing wall well to the east of Chapel I. The side walls of the nave were mainly hidden by those of Chapel III, but the foundations of the chancel were clearly seen. Its dating to the eleventh century was based on a coin of Ethelred II, found in a trench, where it seemed to have been dropped during the building, because this part had not been robbed until the fourteenth century.

Cirencester. The archaeological evidence for the Anglo-Saxon abbey church at Cirencester was found during excavations in 1964-66 which established not only the general lines of its Norman successor but also considerable remains of the earlier church which lay below the Norman one but above well defined Roman buildings (Brown and McWhirr 1966: 245-8; 1967: 195-6; and Brown 1976: 33-43). The Anglo-Saxon church so established consisted of a long main body flanked on either side by lateral chambers, with an apsidal east end, and multiple foundations at the west as if for a narthex or some form of towered westwork; beneath the apse there was found clear evidence for a ring-crypt of unusual design. The church was about 179 ft long by 52 ft overall. There is not yet enough evidence to define the date of this church precisely but there are indications that it had fallen into decay and been replaced by a smaller building before the Conquest (Brown 1976: 41).

Deerhurst, St Mary. Since 1971, short annual seasons of excavations beside and within the priory church at Deerhurst, together with detailed study of the fabric, including the stripping of Victorian plaster from some of the walls, have yielded much fresh information about the sequence in which the several parts of the building were erected; but as yet we have no precise date for any single phase, nor has it yet been possible to link any phase to any aspect of the scanty historical evidence (Butler, Rahtz and Taylor, 1975; Rahtz 1976). Nevertheless it has been established that before the alterations which involved the cutting of twelfth-century arches through earlier work (Section 4, above, p. 748) the original rectangular nave of stone had suffered many changes, between some of which there had been considerable lapses of time. Thus it can be asserted with confidence that the fabric at Deerhurst shows several phases of Anglo-Saxon work even though none can yet be precisely dated (see also Chapter 15, pp. 981-3).

Elmham, North. Fresh investigations on the site of the cathedral church at North Elmham were carried out between 1954 and 1958 but the final proofs of our Volumes I and II had been passed for the press before the publication of these investigations (Rigold 1962-3: 67-108). Our account of the

church and site (Vol. I: 228–31) now needs drastic revision to take account of the new discoveries. In merest outline the necessary changes can be stated thus:

(a) The two sets of earthworks surrounding the church are neither Danish nor Norman but are the work of Bishop Despensers (1370–1406).

(b) The standing stone fabric of the church is of three periods: the first, probably between 1020 to 1040 includes the apse, the continuous transept, the two small towers west of the transept and the short section of nave between these towers; the second, probably between 1050 and 1070 but perhaps even as late as Bishop Herfast (1070–85), includes the remainder of the nave and the west tower with its half-round staircase; while the third, from the time of Herfast or his successor William (1085–91) who was the last to use the title Bishop of Elmham or Thetford, is represented only by a few modifications such as the widening of the west tower-arch, the blocking of the west doorway, and the opening of new north and south doorways near the west of the nave as indicated by their distinctive jambs and shaft-bases.

(c) Clear evidence was found for earlier floors which underlay the stone church and defined earlier churches with wooden walls resting on flints packed into beds of lime or clay. Two distinct wooden buildings were found, the first of which was wider than the surviving stone nave and was displaced somewhat to the north, while the second had a narrower nave with its axis displaced somewhat to the south. The plans of these are shown in relation to the plan of the surviving stone church in Chapter 15 (Fig. 725). No evidence was found for precise dating of these wooden churches, but the absence of any signs of burning or violent destruction suggested a date after the re-establishment of the See about the middle of the tenth century or perhaps even as early as the reconquest about 918.

Jarrow. Excavations at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth extending for more than a decade from 1963 have produced a remarkable fund of evidence about the monastic sites (Cramp 1969 and 1973); but up to the present it has not been possible to do much work in or near the churches. Opportunity was, however, taken in connection with alterations at Jarrow church to get some confirmation for the alignment and nature of the foundations of the walls of the principal church which was destroyed in 1782 and has so far been known only from drawings and from the plan of 1769 in the British Museum. Such evidence as had been left by the builders of the present Victorian church was limited to foundations well below Saxon and medieval floor-levels, and consisted only of the lowest or next layer of cobble foundations; there

was not even any survival of robber trenches at higher levels. Even so, the plan shown in Fig. 646 gives some valuable confirmation of the details of the principal church, including not only parts of the side walls of the nave and the lateral porticus but also an indication of the narrowing from the nave to the chancel and also evidence for a square east end. I am deeply indebted to Professor Cramp for providing this drawing in advance of her own publication (Cramp 1976).

Much Wenlock (Vol. I: 453–4). The foundations of a small single-cell church were found in 1901 beneath the ruins of the Norman church built by Roger of Montgomery in 1086 and were accordingly interpreted as Anglo-Saxon.

Potterne (Vol. II: 734). Foundation-slots defining the ground-plan of a wooden church with a baptistery were found at Potterne in 1964 (Davey, 1964), about 100 yds south of the present parish church which is on or near the site of a Norman stone church and which houses the important stone font commonly attributed to the tenth century on the basis of the inscription round its rim (see Chapter 18, p. 1064). The base of the font exactly matches a circular recess cut in the green-sand in the centre of the baptistery; and there thus seems good reason to believe that the font originally stood there. The plan of the church is shown in Chapter 15 (Fig. 727).

Richborough. In the Anglo-Saxon graveyard at Richborough castle in the Isle of Thanet many coins were found from periods between Offa (King of Mercia, 757–96) and Cnut (King of England, 1016–35). Beside this graveyard were found the foundations of a chapel nearly 60 ft in overall length consisting of a rectangular chancel, a wider rectangular nave and a small western annexe, all with walls about 2 ft thick. The chapel was later enlarged and given a semicircular apse, but no precise date could be fixed for any of the separate periods (Bushe-Fox 1928: 34–41 and 227–31).

Rivenhall. Excavations beside the parish church at Rivenhall in the years 1971–2 showed that substantial parts of the walls of the present church are Anglo-Saxon; that its originally square chancel

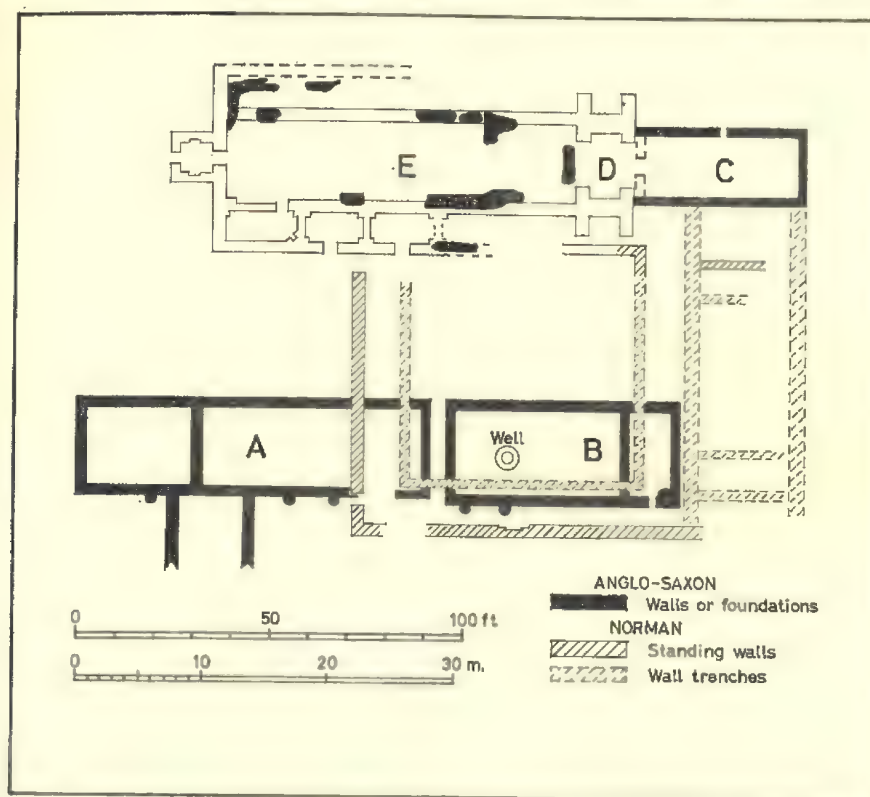


FIG. 646. JARROW: THE CHURCHES AND THE MONASTIC BUILDINGS

A and B, foundations of early stone monastic buildings; C, standing walls of eastern church; D, standing walls of Saxo-Norman tower which later joined churches C and E; E, foundations of western church and outline trace of walls of church demolished in 1782, as shown in British Museum drawing of 1769. For details of monastic buildings see Cramp 1973: 119-22.

had been extended eastward in apsidal form in Norman times, and that a wooden predecessor of the Anglo-Saxon stone church had stood to its east so that the wooden nave had been almost completely overlaid by the Norman apse (Rodwell 1973).

Rochester (Vol. II: 518-19). The remains of a small church with an apsidal chancel were discovered in 1889 at the west of the early Norman cathedral church into which the bones of Paulinus were translated in the presence of Archbishop Lanfranc who died in 1089. Since this small church is partly overlaid by the present Norman nave there can be no doubt about claiming it as Anglo-Saxon. It is, however, open to doubt whether it is necessarily the church of St Andrew which is recorded by Bede (*H.E.* II, 3) as having been built by King

Ethelbert; in the first place there is no good ground for deciding between this church and another which was later discovered in the angle between the south transept and the south aisle; and secondly, although it is commonly said (and was so illustrated on our plan, Vol. II: 519) that the western church had a triple chancel-arch which would make it closely resemble other early Kentish churches, there does not seem to be any satisfactory evidence for this in the published record of the excavations.

Stafford (Vol. II: 564). Excavations at the west of St Mary's church in 1954 on a site where an ancient chapel of St Bertelin had formerly stood, disclosed stone foundations of an eleventh-century two-cell church which enclosed a simple wooden rectangular church. This was thought most likely

to belong to the period of the reconquest of Stafford early in the tenth century. Parts of a wooden cross about 8 ft tall were found within the wooden church.

Thetford, St Martin (Vol. II: 611-12). Excavations west of Thetford in 1957 disclosed parts of the foundations of a rectangular stone chancel and a slightly wider nave, in association with middle-Saxon pottery.

Thetford, St Michael. The site of St Michael's church in Thetford was excavated in 1970, and a sequence of three buildings was established. The earliest was wooden, with a rectangular chancel, a larger rectangular nave, and a west porch. This wooden church was replaced in the eleventh century by a stone church of the same proportions but slightly larger. In the twelfth century the stone church was itself enlarged (M.A. 1971: 130-1).

Wharham Percy. The deserted medieval village and abandoned church at Wharham Percy have been the subject of many years of comprehensive study and excavation. The church had long been regarded as Norman and later, but excavation has established four Anglo-Saxon phases before the Norman apsidal church: the first was a wooden church of one cell; the second was also of one cell but in stone; the third was of two cells in stone, the nave rectangular and the chancel roughly square; and the fourth had unusually long rectangular cells for both nave and chancel (M.A. 1969: 252-3; 1973: 159-60; and 1975: 229-30). The last two-cell stone church was shown to have had a west doorway which was later incorporated into a Norman tower which spanned across the west wall (M.A. 1973: 159).

York (Vol. II: 700-9). Extensive excavations during the years 1966-71 in connection with repairs to the central tower of York Minster have shown conclusively that early remains first discovered below the church after the fire of 1829 form parts of the church built by Thomas of Bayeux (first Norman Archbishop, 1069-1100) (Phillips 1975: 24). On the evidence available before these excavations we had incorrectly interpreted these remains as

belonging to the church built by Archbishop Albert and consecrated by him in 780.

SECTION 6. EARLY NORMAN BUILDINGS IN ENGLAND

The need has been explained in Section 1 for a brief study of the buildings erected in the Norman style in England soon after the Conquest. It would be inappropriate to embark on any detailed study of these buildings, but there should at least be a record of the principal examples that have been taken into account for comparison with the buildings of the Anglo-Saxon style, and also a record of the dates here assigned to these Norman buildings. It should also be recorded that general comparisons and contrasts with Anglo-Saxon buildings have been extended over a far wider range of Norman churches than those listed in this section. The list given here has been chosen to cover some of the most important examples for which the dates are fairly well established and free from controversy; moreover, it covers those that have been particularly convenient for consultation from Cambridge.

The particular contrast which is shown between the fabric of these buildings and those of the Anglo-Saxon churches listed earlier in this chapter is the almost uniform use by Norman builders of stones cut to a standard size, not only vertically so as to ensure regularity of coursing but also horizontally so as to ensure ease of handling and of keeping to regular bonding such as is so simple with standard units like bricks. By contrast with this Norman regularity which almost suggests some system of mass-production at the quarries, the Anglo-Saxon builders seem to have delighted in the use of irregular sizes, particularly stones which passed through the full thickness of their walls and would therefore to modern eyes seem quite inconveniently large and heavy.

Canterbury, St Augustine's abbey. The first two Norman abbots (Scotland, 1070-87; and Wido, 1087-91) replaced the early buildings of the abbey with others in the Norman style, of which considerable remains can still be seen. Abbot Scotland consulted Pope Alexander about his plans, and since the Pope died in 1073 the new work was probably planned and begun early in Scotland's

abbacy. In any case it is known that during his tenure the surviving eastern crypt was completed, with the sanctuary above it and also the monks' choir. Gocelin's description of the destruction of the lateral porticus of the Anglo-Saxon church makes clear that the new nave was built by Wido, some of whose work can be seen in a surviving part of the outer wall of the north aisle.

Canterbury, cathedral church of Christ. The Anglo-Saxon cathedral church was burnt in 1067 and Lanfranc began a rebuilding of the monastic buildings and the church soon after his appointment as Archbishop in 1070. Unfortunately almost nothing remains of that church, which was substantially complete at the time of his death in 1089. But detailed drawings made by J. C. Buckler of the north-west tower (which was destroyed as recently as 1834) are preserved in the Red Portfolio of the Society of Antiquaries. These show very clearly the regular masonry all cut to uniform sizes for convenience of handling, and the consistent use of cushion capitals.

Ely. The Norman abbey church at Ely was begun by Abbot Simeon (1081-93) but at the time of his death only the eastern arm, which is now destroyed, and the lower stages of the main transept had been completed. His successor Richard (1100-7) built the monks' choir which extended westward to include two bays of the Norman nave. His successor Hervey (abbot 1107-9 and first bishop 1109-31) completed the upper parts of the transept and much of the nave. The carved capitals of the lower

stage of the south transept (about 1090) are amongst the most important and earliest sculptured Norman capitals in England after those in the crypt of the castle at Durham (about 1072). For a convenient illustrated account see Zarnecki 1958; and for the primary historical evidence *Liber Eliensis* ed. E. O. Blake (London, 1961).

Gloucester. In the present cathedral church of Gloucester there are considerable remains of the Norman abbey church which was begun about 1089 and dedicated in 1100. These remains include not only the crypt under the eastern arm and transepts but also much of the main fabric of which the interior was later modified by the addition of a veneer in the Perpendicular style. For our purpose the most important detail is the widespread survival of double-splayed windows in the outer walls of the eastern parts, not only in the crypt but also at higher levels, thus showing that these distinctively Anglo-Saxon features were indeed used in Norman times.

St Albans. The rebuilding of the abbey church, now the cathedral church of St Alban, was begun and completed by Abbot Paul of Caen although it was not until 1115 that his successor Abbot Richard had it dedicated. This church has survived in an unusually complete state and is important because ashlar is used much less in it than in most of the other important buildings of this period, so that it gives very valuable opportunity for comparison and contrast with Anglo-Saxon use of rubble and particularly tile.

CHAPTER 2

SECONDARY EVIDENCE

Features that are Characteristic of an Anglo-Saxon Style

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

In Chapter 1 we have established from first principles that in a group of over sixty churches there are substantial surviving parts that were built before the Norman style became current in this country. For about three-quarters of this group the fabric concerned stands above-ground, with recognisable architectural features of distinctive character which we have already noted in some cases as being at variance with the character of Norman work. The remainder of the group exists mainly as ruins, but even some of these are useful in defining plans or other distinctive features.

As the next step towards recognising further churches that can be claimed as Anglo-Saxon it is obviously now desirable to list all the features that occur frequently in the churches of Chapter 1, to eliminate any that also occur in Norman work and then to regard the remainder, at any rate tentatively, as representing features that are characteristic of an Anglo-Saxon style. Moreover, in so far as any buildings have been established as belonging to a particular date within the Anglo-Saxon era it will be desirable to record their date or date-range in association with the features shown by those buildings. Unfortunately there are so far only ten buildings for which we have definite dating evidence of this sort, and half of these are ruins.

Before proceeding to the detailed consideration of individual groups of features it is worth while to record a very general distinction between Anglo-Saxon and Norman buildings even when each period is defined only by the quite limited number of buildings considered in Chapter 1. This distinction is perhaps best enunciated by saying that except when building in rubble the Normans

almost always followed a workmanlike and logical system of using stones that had been cut in advance to a convenient and more or less uniform size so that they could easily be handled by one man and could readily be laid in regular courses; by contrast we have seen that ashlar of this sort was hardly ever used in our Anglo-Saxon buildings which instead often used very large and rather irregularly shaped stones which must have presented real problems in handling. This general distinction in use of materials can be carried a stage further by saying that even when the Normans were using rubble for the main fabric of walls, they normally used ashlar for the facings of openings and for the corners of walls; by contrast, the Anglo-Saxons would sometimes face openings with very large stones as mentioned above but at other times would form the openings (or other salient angles) wholly in rubble without any use of dressed stone. These generalisations will be supported by specific examples in the following sections of this chapter.

We turn now to the consideration of features that can be seen to occur in several of the churches of Chapter 1 and to be absent from Norman practice. It will obviously be convenient to consider the features in a systematic fashion in a small number of groups so that regular trends can be more easily seen when we come to the study of Anglo-Saxon buildings as a whole. For this purpose we shall study the features of the buildings of Chapter 1 under the following headings:

Openings through the walls: Major arches, doorways, windows and belfry openings.

The walls themselves: Fabric, thickness, foundations, plinths, quoins, pilaster-strips and string-courses.

General design: Plans, volumes and interior spaces, floors, crypts, porches and towers.

SECTION 2. OPENINGS THROUGH THE WALLS

MAJOR ARCHES

Fabric and shape. Round arches were used both by Normans and Anglo-Saxons; but in sharp contrast to Norman practice almost all the Anglo-Saxon arches of Chapter 1 are of a single square order and of through-stone construction both in the arch and its jambs, whereas Norman arches and jambs are commonly recessed and are usually built of ashlar cut to convenient sizes. The supporting evidence from Chapter 1 may be summarised thus:

Arches and jambs of a single square order and of through-stones. The tower-arches (TA) and chancel-arches (CA) at the following places all belong to this distinctive type except where minor variations are noted: Barnack, TA; Barrow, CA; Barton-on-Humber, two TAs; Bibury, CA, jambs present but arch lost; Deerhurst, Odda's Chapel, CA; Deerhurst, St Mary, CA, but with jambs of cylindrical section; Langford, eastern TA, but of moulded section; Monkwearmouth, west arch in porch, but with balusters and sculpture in the jambs; Stow, four TAs, jambs only, later arches; Wittering, CA, but of moulded section.

Arches and jambs of a single square order, but not of through-stones. Brixworth, west arch in porch, brick and rubble voussoirs; Hart, CA, megalithic voussoirs; Langford, western TA, megalithic jambs and voussoirs; Ledsham, CA, megalithic jambs and through-stone voussoirs; Norton, north and south TA, megalithic jambs and arch.

Recessing of arches and jambs. The only recessed arch of two orders in the Anglo-Saxon churches of Chapter 1 is in the west doorway of Kirkdale church, where the recessing is of a very tentative type. This tentative recessing, with ill-placed angle-shafts and with megalithic jambs that are almost of through-stones will be seen in other churches which are claimed as Anglo-Saxon in Chapter 3 by secondary evidence, for example, Broughton, Hovingham, and Kirk Hammerton. It is noted here not for use as a characteristic feature

but mainly to emphasise how seldom any form of recessing is employed in Anglo-Saxon buildings. The surviving jambs of the destroyed chancel-arch at Kirkdale are also recessed, with angle shafts.

Outlining by hoodmouldings or stripwork. Norman and later arches are often enriched by a hood-moulding which is carried round the curved head of the arch and is stopped at each end either on the imposts or by small decorative features called label-stops. Several of the Anglo-Saxon arches of Chapter 1 have hoodmouldings, but of a distinctive plain square cross-section whereas Norman and later hoodmouldings are almost always of chamfered or more elaborately moulded section. An even more distinctively Anglo-Saxon enrichment on several of the arches of Chapter 1 consists in carrying the moulding not only over the head of the arch but also down beside the jambs; for this feature, which is quite foreign to Norman and later practice, we shall use the name stripwork. The supporting evidence from Chapter 1 may be summarised thus:

(a) *Stripwork:* Barnack, Barrow, Barton-on-Humber, Brigstock, Diddlebury, Langford, Wittering

(b) *Hoodmoulding of plain square section:* Deerhurst, Odda's chapel, and St Mary's church; Norton

Reliability of characteristic features. Although Norman arches are usually recessed and Anglo-Saxon arches almost always of plain square cross-section yet in the simpler Norman churches arches of plain square section are found quite often, particularly between the nave and a west tower. It is therefore not possible to claim that an arch of plain square section gives a reliable indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. If, however, we notice also the materials, it is possible to claim with reasonable certainty that an arch of a single square order is Anglo-Saxon if the arch and jambs are constructed either of through-stones, or of exceptionally large stones, or else wholly of rubble (including tile or flint under the heading of rubble). In openings built of exceptionally large stones, the heads and jambs are sometimes lined not with through-stones but by pairs of stones each of which extends through roughly half of the thickness of the wall in a fashion for which a convenient name is

half-through-stone technique. This also seems to be unusual in Norman work.

We have also seen that a further confirmation of Anglo-Saxon workmanship will be given if the arch is outlined on the face of the wall by a hood-moulding of plain square section; and we have noted that an even more reliable confirmation is provided if the outlining is carried not only over the head but also as stripwork down the wall beside the jambs.

Finally it should also be said that almost all the major arches in the churches claimed as Anglo-Saxon in Chapter 1 show some of the characteristic features mentioned above.

DOORWAYS

It is convenient to consider doorways immediately after major arches since these two forms of openings are so closely related; but although doorways differ from major arches mainly on a matter of scale, yet their smaller size means that there is a greater variety of shape since some are covered by flat lintels and some by pairs of stones set in gabled formation whereas neither of these expedients would be possible for major openings. Gabled and flat-headed doorways are, however, to be seen in Norman and later buildings, and these shapes by themselves therefore do not give any indication of Anglo-Saxon work.

Fabric and cross-section. Norman doorways are usually recessed and faced with ashlar, whereas the Anglo-Saxon doorways of Chapter 1 present a sharp contrast in that most of them are of a single square order, cut straight through the wall, and are either lined with through-stones or built wholly with rubble. The evidence may be summarised under three headings, subject to minor variations which are noted separately.

(a) *Single square order, wholly lined with through-stones:* Bardsey; Barnack; Barton-on-Humber; Brigstock; Deerhurst, Odda's chapel, and some at St Mary's; Diddlebury; Jarrow. Also Monkwearmouth, but with rebates for doors.

(b) *Single square order, jambs but not heads of through-stones:* Deerhurst, St Mary (some); Hart; Norton. Also others (but with rebates for doors) at Billingham; Deerhurst, St Mary; and Ledsham.

(c) *Single square order, with jambs or heads of rubble:* Brixworth; Langford. Also some at Deerhurst, St Mary.

It should be noted that while most of these doorways are round-headed, those at Brigstock, Hart and Norton are gable-headed, while the south doorway at Ledsham and some at Deerhurst, St Mary have round heads outside and flat heads inside the church. These differences of shape in elevation do not give any indication of period since similar shapes sometimes occur in Norman and later times.

Outlining by hoodmouldings and stripwork. Stripwork beside the jambs and over the head of doorways is to be seen at Barnack, Barton-on-Humber, and Diddlebury, and hoodmouldings of plain square section at both of the Deerhurst churches.

Reliability of these characteristic features. Under major arches we noted that a simple square cross-section by itself was not a conclusive indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship because there were many Norman tower-arches in this form; by contrast, Norman doorways are seldom cut straight through the wall without decorative recessing in separate orders or even a rebate for the hanging of a door. Therefore doorways of simple square cross-section can with some certainty be regarded as Anglo-Saxon. This indication is, of course, greatly strengthened if it is confirmed either by megalithic or through-stone fabric or by outlining either with stripwork or with hood-moulding of plain square section; any of these criteria are themselves good indications of Anglo-Saxon work even if the doorway should be rebated for the hanging of a door as is the case for some at Billingham, Deerhurst St Mary, Ledsham and Monkwearmouth.

Position of doorways. In Chapters 6 and 15 we shall consider the extent to which indications of date within the Anglo-Saxon era may be given by the presence or absence of doorways of entry from the west of the church. The small number of churches in Chapter 1 would not give adequate support for any investigation of this delicate question, nor would it justify any discussion of the significance of doorways at upper levels.

WINDOWS

Windows provide by far the most numerous group of features in Chapter 1, and perhaps also

the most distinctive. The ordinary windows which light the churches of Chapter 1 fall into two groups: single-splayed windows in which the narrowest aperture is at or close to the outer face of the wall and the opening then widens towards the interior of the church; and double-splayed windows in which the narrowest aperture is close to the centre of the wall and the opening then widens both outward and inward. An exception is seen at Barton-on-Humber where the earliest part of the church had windows of two lights with the main jambs cut straight through the wall; but this type of opening is normally confined to belfries and will be considered separately below. The single- and double-splayed windows of this section are all characterised by simplicity and absence of ashlar facings.

Double-splayed windows. Norman buildings in England provide very few examples of double-splayed windows, although in Chapter 1 we have noted their use in Gloucester cathedral and they are to be found also in the north transept at Durham, in the Bishop's chapel at Hereford, at Lewes Priory, and in the small church of Shipley in Sussex; but all these Norman examples use an ashlar technique and are thus sharply distinguished from the Anglo-Saxon ones which are usually of rubble construction, or else occasionally use large stones in a characteristically Anglo-Saxon megalithic fashion. The evidence for double-splayed windows from Chapter 1 may be summarised thus:

(a) *Rubble fabric:* Round-headed: Clapham; Darenth; Deerhurst, Odda's Chapel; Guildford; Langford; Leicesters; Wouldham.

Circular: Bibury; Framingham Earl; Godalming

(b) *Megalithic fabric:* Barrow; Deerhurst, St Mary (tower, second floor); Diddlebury; Jarrow (tower, second floor). These are all round-headed except for Deerhurst where the heads are flat.

Single-splayed windows. Both Normans and Anglo-Saxons used single-splayed windows and therefore any attempt to find characteristically Anglo-Saxon features in single-splayed windows must rely on details of their construction. The smaller single-splayed windows which have rubble jambs and monolithic heads are singularly difficult to date since they were used throughout Anglo-

Saxon, Norman and later periods, particularly in towers and other less important parts of the church. Larger windows, however, show a distinctive treatment because the Normans generally used ashlar facings, and usually had a rebate round the outer face, whereas the large Anglo-Saxon windows of Chapter 1 do not use ashlar but are mainly megalithic, with a single exceptional appearance of all-rubble construction in the very large windows at Brixworth:

(a) *Megalithic fabric:* Avebury; Bardsey; Barnack; Brigstock; Geddington; Hackness; Jarrow; Monkwearmouth.

(b) *Rubble fabric:* Brixworth

Reliability of these characteristic features. Double-splayed windows have long been regarded as possibly the most reliable indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship and the evidence given above suggests that this is true so long as the fabric is of rubble or of irregular large stones, not ashlar.

It is perhaps more difficult to draw sharp distinctions between Norman and Anglo-Saxon techniques in single-splayed windows on the limited evidence of Chapter 1. In reviewing the evidence for windows in Chapter 7 we shall, however, get further confirmation of the validity of megalithic fabric for indicating Anglo-Saxon workmanship.

BELFRY OPENINGS

Double openings. A very distinctive Anglo-Saxon form of belfry opening occurs in the churches of Chapter 1 at Barton-on-Humber and at Branston. This is a double opening whose main jambs are cut straight through the wall as are also the heads of the two lights whereas Norman double belfry openings are recessed (Vol. 1:5, Fig. 3). Belfry openings of the same double type occur in the churches of Chapter 1 at Billingham, Lincoln (both St Mary-le-Wigford and St Peter-at-Gowts), Monkwearmouth, and Rothwell; but all of these are in parts of the churches which have not as yet been proved by the arguments of Chapter 1 to be Anglo-Saxon. The megalithic nature of the workmanship in all of the examples is, however, a strong indication against their being Norman.

Single openings. The distinctive Anglo-Saxon tower at Barnack has single gable-headed openings in its uppermost stage with elaborately pierced stone mid-wall slabs, which strongly suggest that these were from the first intended as belfry openings. The elaborate tower at Langford has pairs of round-headed windows in each face, all built of through-stones.

Reliability of this evidence. The features described above are wholly alien to Norman technique, but the number of examples brought forward by the investigation of Chapter 1 is so small that the features cannot as yet be accepted without reserve as a basis for claiming any other churches as Anglo-Saxon. This applies particularly to the single openings which do not have any straightforward unity as an aid in the search for analogues.

SECTION 3. THE WALLS THEMSELVES

The walls may be considered under a number of headings such as the materials of which they are built, the coursing of this material, the thickness of the walls, their foundations, the floors, the plinths, and special treatment of the walls such as strengthening of the angles by quoining or dividing their expanse into smaller units by horizontal strengthening-courses or vertical pilaster-strips.

Materials. We have already noted the Anglo-Saxon preferences for megalithic construction or for the use of rubble; put in another way, their very infrequent use of ashlar seems to suggest that they preferred to use materials which were to hand rather than to undertake the cutting of fresh stone for their own use. This observation is supported by the use of Roman brick at Canterbury and of Roman-tooled stone at Escomb and Hexham. The high quality of Anglo-Saxon mortar is shown by the survival of thin walls that have later been subjected to quite unforeseen loads, as in the case of the porches at Bardsey, Brixworth, and Monkwearmouth where heavy towers were later built on walls that were not intended to carry such loads.

Coursing. Both Normans and Anglo-Saxons used

coursed rubble in some of their buildings, and they both also used random rubble. Neither of these techniques can therefore be used to distinguish between the two periods. But coursed ashlar was used frequently by the Normans and not at all in any of the Anglo-Saxon buildings of Chapter 1.

Herringbone fabric. In the churches of Chapter 1 herringbone fabric occurs at Brixworth and at Deerhurst; and the whole interior of the north wall at Diddlebury is faced in this distinctive style. Baldwin Brown used Diddlebury as the principal example in support of his contention that herringbone fabric was a secure indication of Norman work (1925: 245); in Vol. I: 212-3 we showed that the herringbone fabric had been built at Diddlebury as an integral part of the wall which was accepted by Baldwin Brown as Anglo-Saxon and has again been shown to be so in Chapter 1. There is good evidence to show that herringbone fabric was used by Romans, Anglo-Saxons, Normans and later masons and that therefore by itself it gives no indication for or against Anglo-Saxon workmanship. Nevertheless in a single church such as Deerhurst St Mary which shows a number of different building phases the presence or absence of herringbone fabric in different parts may serve as a useful pointer in disentangling the sequence of erection (Butler, Rahtz and Taylor 1975: 358-61).

THICKNESS OF WALLS

Apart from towers, almost all the Anglo-Saxon walls of Chapter 1 are appreciably thinner than 3 ft, and at Monkwearmouth the west wall is only 2 ft and those of the porch (later raised to a tower) only 1 ft 8 in. But there are exceptions, notably at Brixworth where the walls of the nave are close on 4 ft thick. There are also notable exceptions to the general belief that Norman walls are usually thicker than 3 ft, for the nave of the well-known Norman church at Weaverthorpe has walls only 2 ft 4 in. thick (Vol. II: 642). Nevertheless the evidence of Chapter 1 supports the long-standing general rule that it is worth looking more closely at a church with walls appreciably thinner than 3 ft to see if there is confirmatory evidence for claiming it as Anglo-Saxon.

FOUNDATIONS

There are not as a rule very many opportunities of studying the foundations of standing buildings from the Anglo-Saxon or Norman periods; but the buildings of Chapter 1 give the following evidence:

Repton. The present chancel rests on the walls of a square crypt which was built within a slightly larger square hole excavated about 6 ft below the contemporary ground surface and well below the natural undisturbed levels; the interior wall of the crypt was built of megalithic quasi-ashlar almost of through-stones, and the hole was then back-filled with well-mortared rubble as the interior walls were built. The plinths of the main walls stand partly on this rubble backfilling and mainly on the quasi-ashlar inner wall.

Deerhurst, St Mary. The foundations have been seen down their full extent for the whole of the apse; for the east end and part of the north wall of the main rectangle; for the whole of the west wall of the west porch-tower; for the whole of the east and north walls of the north porticus and for parts of the north-east and north-west porticus. All of these foundations are of coursed rubble, and all have been laid in trenches excavated down to but not below the undisturbed natural surface. The total depth of excavation could not be ascertained for the apse because the present surface of the ground there is probably lower than at the time of building; for other areas the excavation was about 5 ft or more. Most of the foundations were laid in good mortar but those of the north-west porticus were dry-laid.

Jarrow. The fragmentary survivals of foundations of the principal church were of boulders, carefully set in a trench and levelled on the top with a thin bed of clay.

Rivenhall. The church stands on disturbed ground, above much earlier occupation material, including loosely backfilled robber trenches of a Roman building. A secure foundation was made without the great labour of building mortared stone walls down to the undisturbed subsoil, by the expedient

of digging a foundation-trench to a depth of a yard or more and filling it with rammed hoggins which was available from a nearby site (Rodwell 1973: 225). Somewhat similar arrangements have more recently been found at Hadstock (Rodwell 1976: 59).

Winchester. The foundations of the earliest church were of rubble derived from the demolition of the Roman forum, horizontally laid in deep trenches. These foundations survived intact, but the footing walls of unmortared greensand blocks placed on the foundations proper had been robbed in the Norman demolition, apart from four blocks. The walls constructed on the footing walls had been entirely robbed. The foundations of St Martin's tower to the west, datable on archaeological grounds to the eighth century, were of rammed chalk alternating with beds of flint and mortar. The massive foundations of the tenth-century western additions were in four parts. The north wing of the lateral facade added c. 910 to the west end of the original nave, had foundations of flints and mortar on a basal bed of chalk rubble and mortar. The cells added to the east of this wing had foundations of flints and mortar. The laterally-apsed building constructed c. 971-3 between the original nave and St Martin's tower, had foundations of puddled and rammed chalk carefully laid in thin layers to a depth of up to 3½ ft in an irregular but generally round-bottomed foundation trench. Slots in the top of these foundations carried a series of centrally-placed longitudinal timbers to give additional strength. The upper surfaces were smoothed and on them a few fragments of the mortared flint walls of the superstructure had survived, set on a bed of clay-like yellow mortar capping the chalk. The later foundations which cut through the great apsidal chalk foundations and defined the square west-work, dedicated in 980, were some 6 ft deep but had been almost completely robbed. Patches of the foundations left adhering to the sides of the foundation trench showed, however, that they were constructed of beds of mortared flint with narrower bands of rammed chalk. The eastern additions, consisting of north and south apses and an eastern apse, dedicated in 993-4, were built on foundations similar to those of the westwork of 980.

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Summary. It is clear that these limited observations on five churches do not define any simple rules for recognising Anglo-Saxon foundations, but they do show that in all these cases great care was taken about adequate support.

FLOORS

The use of hard red plaster or cement for floors in St Augustine's abbey at Canterbury and in the earliest work at Glastonbury has often been used as an indication of early Anglo-Saxon work, and it should be kept in mind when considering other criteria. We shall see confirmatory evidence in Chapter 3. Flagstones with a raised border were found at Winchester, but there is at present a shortage of other evidence about floors.

PLINTHS

Norman and later buildings usually employ plinths to form a solid horizontal course as a secure seating for the standing walls and as a beginning for the dressed masonry in distinction to the rougher work of the foundations. Norman plinths usually have a simple chamfered profile or a series of chamfered courses. Baldwin Brown expressed the view (1925: 23) that plinths were absent from the earlier Anglo-Saxon buildings and occurred only after the middle of the tenth century. It is, however, worth recording here that plinths have recently been brought to light at a number of buildings where earlier they were concealed by earth that had been banked against the walls. The evidence of Chapter 1 shows Anglo-Saxon plinths of both simple square profile and also of a variety of more elaborate types.

Plain square plinths. These occur at Barnack; Branston (nave but not tower); Brigstock (nave and porch-tower); Langford; Lincoln, St Peter-at-Gowts (nave; tower has a taller and chamfered plinth); Wittering.

Multiple plinths. Barholm; Barrow; Diddlebury; Repton; Stow.

Summary. It is clear that plinths as such do not provide a characteristically Anglo-Saxon feature,

but some of these are different from Norman practice; and it will be desirable to record the presence of plinths, and their shape and fabric, at every building.

QUOINS

Three distinctive types of quoining have been noted in Chapter 1, none of which is normally found in Norman buildings. Each of these occurs in several of the churches of Chapter 1 as listed below and can therefore be taken as a reliable indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship subject to what is said below about rubble quoins composed wholly of tile.

Long-and-short quoining. This is found in clearly defined form at: Barnack, nave and tower; Barton-on-Humber, tower and west annexe; Bishopstone, nave and porch, but of an irregular type; Branston, nave only; Brigstock, nave and porch-tower; Deerhurst, Odda's chapel, nave; Lincoln, St Peter-at-Gowts, nave only; Rothwell, nave only; Wittering, chancel.

Megalithic side-alternate quoining. There are clear examples of this type at the following churches of Chapter 1: Avebury, nave; Bardsey, nave and porch; Branston, tower; Hart, nave; Jarrow, present chancel, formerly a separate church; Kirkdale, nave; Ledsham, nave and west porch; Seaham, nave; Stow, crossing and transepts; Wroxeter, nave. In addition the megalithic quoining at Repton is of a mixed form sometimes side-alternate, sometimes face-alternate, and sometimes of equal length along both faces of the wall.

Plain rubble quoins without dressed stone. These are found at the following churches of Chapter 1: Brixworth, nave and tower; Clapham, tower; Darenth, nave; Deerhurst, St Mary, nave, lateral porticus, and west porch; Framingham Earl, nave; Iver, nave. The rubble quoins at Darenth are almost wholly of tile and those at Iver of flint with occasional tiles. In view of the wide use of plain tile quoins in the Norman work at St Albans, there must be doubt about claiming any church as Anglo-Saxon solely on the evidence of quoins of tile.

STRING-COURSES

Comparatively few string-courses appear in the Anglo-Saxon churches of Chapter 1, where they are found only at Barnack, Branston, Monkwearmouth and Repton. There is no unity of design in these examples to serve as a guide for recognising other Anglo-Saxon churches.

PILASTER-STRIPS

Examples of the division of walls into panels by the use of vertical pilaster-strips of shallow projection are to be seen in nine of the churches of Chapter 1, as follows:

Barnack; Barrow; Barton-on-Humber; Bibury; Brixworth; Deerhurst, St Mary (apse); Framingham Earl; Langford; Repton

This treatment is quite alien to Norman building and can therefore be taken as a reliable guide in the search for other Anglo-Saxon churches. It should be noted that while most of these examples of pilaster-strips are of tall narrow stones, those at Brixworth are broader and flatter and those at Framingham are of rubble.

Pilaster-buttresses. By contrast to the pilaster-strips of shallow projection the ruined church of St Peter and St Paul at Canterbury has pilaster-buttresses whose projection and width are each about 1 ft. This one example would not justify our claiming other churches as Anglo-Saxon simply on the ground that they also possessed pilaster-buttresses; but we shall see that examples do indeed occur in churches whose claims are based on independent characteristic features.

RELIABILITY OF EVIDENCE FROM
THIS SECTION

Of the criteria noted in this section as giving indications of Anglo-Saxon workmanship only long-and-short quoining and pilaster-strips can be regarded as giving clear evidence; and only these are used in Chapter 3 as a basis for claiming other churches as Anglo-Saxon. Nevertheless some of the other criteria, particularly very thin walls, are useful as a means of drawing attention to a church which may deserve further study.

SECTION 4. GENERAL DESIGN

Under this heading we shall consider the plans of churches; their bulk as seen from outside and the arrangement of their interior spaces; and special auxiliary compartments such as crypts, porches and towers. At this stage we shall see that the churches of Chapter 1 do not provide enough evidence about these features to give much help in detecting other Anglo-Saxon churches; but in later chapters the additional evidence that is then available will allow us to make useful groupings of these features into types which belong to special periods or serve special purposes.

PLANS

The churches of Chapter 1 define a number of different types of plan, but only one is distinctive in the sense that it does not appear in Norman practice; this is a cellular plan in which the main church opens through doorways on either side to small chambers or groups of chambers usually known as porticus. The churches of this type noted in Chapter 1 are Canterbury, St Peter and St Paul; Deerhurst, St Mary; Glastonbury; Ledsham; Lyminge, St Mary; Repton; and Winchester. Of these churches Ledsham, Lyminge and Repton had single flanking porticus while of the others some began in this way but all ended with groups of porticus on either side of their naves. Brixworth and probably also the main church at Jarrow were of a similar type, but the openings to the lateral porticus were of the nature of major arches rather than doorways.

Exterior bulk and internal arrangement of space will best be left for discussion later (Chapter 16) since the evidence from Chapter 1 is inconclusive.

CRYPTS

Important examples of crypts occur in the churches of Chapter 1 at Brixworth; Canterbury, St Augustine's abbey; Hexham; and Winchester. These crypts, however, do not possess any immediately recognisable unity of design which would provide a characteristic feature for claiming other churches as Anglo-Saxon on that ground alone. However we have already seen both the

CHAPTER 2 SECONDARY EVIDENCE

historical evidence that St Wilfrid built churches at Hexham and Ripon, and also the structural evidence that a crypt which closely resembles the Hexham one survives at Ripon and is overlaid by a Norman nave; the Ripon crypt can therefore on secondary evidence be claimed as Anglo-Saxon and associated with St Wilfrid as its builder. Moreover at Wing we shall later see a crypt which shows a number of resemblances to the one at Repton, while the chancel above it has pilaster-strips and a window of the double belfry type which justify claiming the chancel as Anglo-Saxon.

PORCHES AND TOWERS

It is convenient to make a single study of porches and towers because even the limited evidence of Chapter 1 shows several examples of porches which were later raised to become towers (at Bardsey, Brixworth, Deerhurst St Mary, and Monkwearmouth) although the evidence of Chapter 1 alone is not sufficient to show in all cases that the later work was Anglo-Saxon. We shall see in

Chapter 3 that the most straightforward evidence for claiming towers as Anglo-Saxon is the secondary evidence of belfry windows; but in Chapter 1 we have seen primary evidence for claiming towers as Anglo-Saxon at Barnack, Barton-on-Humber, Clapham, Guildford, Langford, Norton and Stow. These have little unity of form, although three have pilaster-strips (Barnack, Barton and Guildford); nor is there any unity of placing in the church, since some are western, some axial and some central; moreover at Stow the surviving Anglo-Saxon work rises no higher than the eaves of the nave and the present stone tower is a much later one built on its own massive piers within the Anglo-Saxon crossing.

RELIABILITY OF EVIDENCE FROM THIS SECTION

As might perhaps be expected, the general design provides few features that can be used as a basis for distinguishing a church as Anglo-Saxon. But there are several features which can be used to support other evidence.

SECTION 5. ABBREVIATED NOMENCLATURE FOR FEATURES

To facilitate the detailed discussion of Anglo-Saxon features in subsequent chapters, and in particular to allow for tabular arrangement, it is important to have a system of brief code-symbols both for the features themselves and also for different types of each feature. Although most of these will be explained where they occur, it is important to have a comprehensive list in one place for convenient reference. Most of the code-symbols are self-explanatory, e.g. DB for double belfry windows, and DS for double-splayed windows; but for the detailed discussion of arches and doorways there seems to be no way of avoiding a few arbitrary symbols with no such self-explanatory significance. These arbitrary symbols are given below in Table 1, and the main group of self-explanatory symbols is given in Table 2.

TABLE 1. *Arbitrary code-symbols*

A	Arch and jambs of plain square section	D	Arch of square section, but jambs moulded or recessed
A*	As A, but rebated internally as for hanging a door	J	Imposts of decorative character, whether sculptured, chamfered, moulded, or stepped
B	Arch and jambs moulded or recessed	Q	Flat-headed opening below a semicircular tympanum
C	Arch moulded or recessed, but jambs square		

TABLE 2. *Self-explanatory symbols*

Ag	Head formed of the same rubble aggregate as the wall	Cs	Coursed
ARC	Arcade	DB	Double belfry (windows)
AS	Anglo-Saxon	DS	Double-splayed (windows)
Bal	Baluster	FA	Face-alternate (quoins)
Bb	Bulbous	F or FH	Flat-headed
Br	Brick	Fl	Flint
c	Chancel	G	Gabled (triangular-headed)
CA	Chancel-arch	Hb	Herringbone
Ch	Chamfered	HM	Hoodmoulding over head
cr	Crypt	H/W	Ratio of height to width
Cr	Circular	I	Imposts of plain square section
		L	Lintelled head (windows)

5. ABBREVIATED NOMENCLATURE FOR FEATURES

TABLE 2. *Self-explanatory symbols—contd.*

LA	Lateral arch	Sq	Square, plain square in section, square or rectangular in plan
LS	Long-and-short (quoin)	SS	Single-splayed (windows)
L-V	Lintelled head externally but voussoirs internally	St	Small stone, quasi-ashlar
M	Megalithic (excl. TS)	StV	Dressed stone voussoirs
M*	Megalithic (incl. TS)	SW	Stripwork over the head and beside the jambs of an opening
n	Nave	t	Tower
p	Porticus	TA	Tower-arch (west tower)
OA	Other arch (i.e. not CA, LA, TA or TA*)	TA*	Arch in a tower other than a west tower
Rb	Rubble	TS	Through-stone
RbV	Rubble voussoirs	TSV	Through-stone voussoirs
RH	Round-headed	$\frac{1}{2}$ TS	Half-through-stone
RL	Round lintelled head (doorways)	$\frac{3}{4}$ TS	Three-quarter-through-stone
RM	Random megalithic (quoins)	U	Upright
RRb	Random rubble	v	vestigial, vestige
RV	Round head formed of voussoirs		
SA	Side-alternate (quoins)		
Sc	Sculptured		

CHAPTER 3

COMPLETE LIST OF CHURCHES

*Churches or parts of churches that have been established as
Anglo-Saxon by the evidence of Chapters 1 and 2*

In Chapter 1 we have established from first principles the claims of over sixty churches to be Anglo-Saxon in whole or in part; and from these we have established in Chapter 2 a series of features which can reliably indicate that other churches are Anglo-Saxon. To distinguish between the two types of evidence we have already noted that the churches of Chapter 1 will be said to have been established as Anglo-Saxon on *primary evidence* whereas the others will be said to have been established on *secondary evidence*. These distinctions were already made in Volumes I and II where indeed the basis for claiming the churches as Anglo-Saxon followed the general principles described above; but the arguments had not then been based upon such rigorous analysis as that of Chapters 1 and 2. It is therefore now desirable to review the claims of all the churches that were included in our earlier volumes and for the present to accept only those whose claims satisfy the rigorous standards of Chapters 1 and 2.

The churches which by this method are confirmed in whole or in part as Anglo-Saxon are set out in alphabetical order in Table 2, below. With each church there is given very briefly the evidence on which it has been accepted; and it will be seen that for the majority this evidence is either primary or else is based on the presence of two or more characteristic features. It will also be seen that for some churches the evidence is different for different parts, which have therefore been listed separately. The churches which have been claimed on primary evidence have been distinguished with the single word 'primary'; it has not been felt necessary to refer here to their characteristic features since these have already been discussed in Chapter 2. Nor has it been felt necessary to refer in Table 2 to the churches whose names appeared in Volumes I and II but are now excluded. The total number of

these is over one hundred; but it should not be assumed that all, or even most, of them have no claim to be considered Anglo-Saxon; rather is it true that their claims have not been established by our more rigorous analysis. Special reference should, however, be made to the omission of Breedon and Edenham from Table 2: although we believe there are good reasons for thinking that the early Anglo-Saxon sculptured string-courses at Breedon are *in situ* (Taylor 1966a: 30-1) it is difficult to prove this beyond question; and although there is no doubt that the sculptured roundels at Edenham are *in situ* it seems more logical at this stage to accept no church into Table 2 unless its claims have been established wholly by the methods of Chapter 1 and 2.

The alphabetical list of churches in Table 2 has several practical applications: in the first place, the 267 churches there listed form the basis of the typological studies of the subsequent chapters; secondly, the evidence cited beside each church records the basis for claiming it as Anglo-Saxon; and thirdly, to the left of each name there is given a code-symbol consisting of the initial letter of the place-name and a number. These code-symbols can be used for distinguishing the churches whenever the use of full names would be impossible or inconvenient; for example, in computer-analysis, or on distribution-maps where places are closely grouped together. Since the names of all these churches appear many times in all subsequent chapters it is important to abbreviate them as far as is possible without loss of clarity. It would, of course, be possible to use the code-symbols for this purpose, and thus to abbreviate the name of each church to a single letter and either one or two digits; but in my opinion this course would involve too great a loss in clarity by comparison with the use of shortened names in the way that is now

explained. It will at once be seen from Table 2 that many of the place-names are longer than are needed for our purposes; for example there is no need for the full name Barton-on-Humber once it has been established that throughout this volume no other place with the name Barton will be under consideration, and it will be sufficient to distinguish places such as Stanton Lacy and Stanton-by-Bridge if they are referred to as Stanton L and Stanton B. Moreover, for some few places such as Monkwearmouth an abbreviation like Mwearmouth can be used without loss of clarity. All the abbreviations proposed are in-

dicated in Table 2 by printing the names in full but enclosing in brackets the parts that will be omitted in all subsequent tables.

There remains one difficulty for the few places at which there are two or more churches. In most cases these can be distinguished by using a single initial letter for the separate dedications of the churches; but the full list of these places and the abbreviations that are adopted in subsequent tables are all shown in Table 1. Although these abbreviations will always be used in tables it will often be more appropriate to use the dedications when referring to churches in the body of the text.

TABLE 1. *Abbreviations for places with more than one church*

Bywell:		Lyminge:	
St Andrew	A	St Mary	M
St Peter	P	St Mary and St Eadburga	ME
Canterbury:		Norwich:	
St Augustine	A	St John Timberhill	T
(including St Peter and St Paul and St Mary)		St Julian	J
St Martin	M	St Martin-at-Palace	P
St Pancras	P	St Mary-at-Coslaney	M
Deerhurst:		St Albans:	
St Mary	M	St Michael	M
Odda's chapel	O	St Stephen	S
Elmham:		Thetford:	
North	N	St Martin	Ma
South	S	St Michael	Mi
Heysham:		Wareham:	
St Patrick	Pa	Lady St Mary	L
St Peter	Pe	St Martin	M
Lincoln:			
St Mary-le-Wigford	M		
St Peter-at-Gowts	P		

TABLE 2. *Alphabetical list of churches claimed as Anglo-Saxon and of the evidence upon which the claim for each church (or part of a church) is based*

Code-symbol	Name	Evidence of Anglo-Saxon work
A1	Alkborough	DB windows; M SA quoins
A2	Alton (Barnes)	Pilasters; M quoins of quasi-LS form
A3	Appleton (-le-Street)	M SA quoins; DB windows
A4	Arlington	LS quoins; DS window
A5	Arreton	M doorway; M SS window
A6	Aslacton	DB windows
A7	Atcham	M SA quoins; M SS window
A8	Avebury	Primary
B1	Bardfield (Little)	Tower: Rb quoins; Rb windows Nave: Rb quoins; DS windows
B2	Bardsey	Nave and Porch: primary Tower: DB windows; M SA quoins
B3	Barholm	Primary
B4	Barnack	Primary
B5	Barrow	Primary
B6	Barsham (West)	Rb quoins; DS windows

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B7	Barton (-on-Humber)	Primary
B8	Bedford (St Peter)	<i>Tower:</i> Rb quoins; DS windows <i>Porch:</i> M LS quoins <i>Nave</i> (present chancel): LS quoins; DS window
B9	Beechamwell	DB windows; LS quoins
B10	Bessingham	DB windows with Rb SW
B11	Bibury	Primary
B12	Billingham	<i>Nave:</i> primary <i>Tower:</i> DB windows with SW; M SS windows; M SA quoins
B13	Birstall	DS window
B14	Bishopstone	Primary
B15	Bitton	TS arch; lateral porticus
B16	Boarhunt	Arch with SW; pilaster on gable; DS window
B17	Bolam	DB windows; M SA quoins
B18	Bosham	M SA quoins; M arch; DB window
B19	Botolphs	TS arch
B20	Bracebridge	<i>Tower:</i> DB windows <i>Nave:</i> LS quoins
B21	Bradford (-on-Avon)	TS arches with SW; DS windows; lateral porticus
B22	Bradwell (-on-Sea)	Pilaster-buttresses; lateral porticus; Rb arches
B23	Branston	Primary
B24	Breamore	DS windows; pilasters; M LS quoins; M doorway
B25	Bremhill	LS quoin
B26	Brigstock	<i>Nave:</i> primary <i>Tower:</i> LS quoins; DS windows <i>Porch:</i> LS quoins; M SS windows
B27	Britford	Arches with SW; lateral porticus (vestiges)
B28	Brixworth	Primary
B29	Broughton	M (¾ TS) arch
B30	Burcombe	LS quoins
B31	Burghwallis	M SA quoins
B32	Bytham (Little)	LS quoins
B33	Bywell A	DB windows with SW; M SA quoins
B34	Bywell P	M SA quoins; M SS windows; lateral porticus (destroyed); M doorway
C1	Cambridge (St Bene't)	DB windows; TS arch with SW; TS upper doorway
C2	Canterbury A	Primary
C3	Canterbury M	Pilaster-buttresses; lateral porticus; Rb SS windows
C4	Canterbury P	Rb quoins; lateral porticus; pilaster-buttresses
C5	Carlton (-in-Lindrick)	<i>Tower:</i> DB windows <i>Nave:</i> M SA quoins
C6	Caversfield	DS windows
C7	Cheddar	Primary
C8	Cheriton	DS window; Rb doorway
C9	Chickney	DS windows; Rb quoins
C10	Chithurst	M SA quoins; M arch; M SS window
C11	Cirencester	Primary
C12	Clapham	Primary
C13	Claydon	LS quoins
C14	Clayton	M SA quoins; M arch with TS jambs
C15	Clee	DB windows
C16	Colchester	DS windows; Rb quoins; Rb arch with SW
C17	Collingham	M SA quoins
C18	Colney	<i>Tower:</i> DS windows <i>Nave:</i> Rb quoins
C19	Coln R(ogers)	LS quoins; pilasters; TS arch
C20	Coltishall	DS windows
C21	Corbridge	M SA quoins; TS arch; M SS windows
C22	Corhampton	LS quoins; pilasters; TS arch with SW
C23	Corringham	DB windows
C24	Cricklade	Pilaster

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C25	Cringleford	DS windows
D1	Daglingworth	LS quoins; M arch
D2	Darenth	Primary
D3	Debenham	LS quoins
D4	Deerhurst M	Primary
D5	Deerhurst O	Primary
D6	Diddlebury	Primary
D7	Dover	Rb and M quoins; DS windows; doorway and arches with SW
D8	Dunham (Magna)	LS quoins; DB windows; DS windows
D9	Dymock	Pilasters
E1	Earl's Barton	LS quoins; pilasters; DS windows; M doorways
E2	Elmham N	Primary
E3	Elmham S	Rb quoins; Rb SS windows
E4	Escomb	M SA quoins; M SS windows; TS arch; TS doorways
E5	Exeter (St George)	TS doorway; lateral porticus (destroyed) (App. F)
F1	Fakenham (Magna)	LS quoins
F2	Fareham	LS quoin
F3	Fetcham	Rb quoins; Rb SS window
F4	Forncett (St Peter)	DS windows; DB windows; Rb doorway
F5	Framingham (Earl)	Primary (but provisional)
F6	Freshwater	LS quoins
G1	Gayton (Thorpe)	DS windows
G2	Geddington	Primary
G3	Gissing	DS windows
G4	Glastonbury	Primary
G5	Glentworth	DB windows
G6	Godalming	Primary
G7	Gosbeck	LS quoins
G8	Green's N(orton)	LS quoins; M upper doorway
G9	Greensted	Wooden church (special case)
G10	Guestwick	Rb quoins; Rb arch with Rb SW
G11	Guildford	Primary
H1	Hackness	Primary
H2	Haddiscoe	DB windows with SW
H3	Haddiscoe T(horpe)	Rb pilasters; DS window
H4	Hadstock	DS windows; TS doorway with HfM; M arch-jamb
H5	Hale (Great)	DB windows; M SS windows
H6	Hales	DS windows
H7	Hambleton	Pilasters
H8	Hannington	LS quoin
H9	Hardwick	DS window
H10	Harmston	DB windows
H11	Harpswell	DB windows with Rb jambs
H12	Hart	Primary
H13	Headbourne (Worthy)	LS quoins; pilasters; TS doorway with SW
H14	Heapham	DB windows
H15	Herringfleet	DB windows with SW
H16	Hexham	Primary
H17	Heysham Pa	M SA quoins; doorway with TS jambs and M head
H18	Heysham Pe	Doorways with TS jambs and M heads
H19	Holton (-le-Clay)	M SA quoins; Rb arch
H20	Hornby	DB windows
H21	Hough (-on-the-Hill)	M FA quoins; M doorways; M SS windows
H22	Houghton (on-the-Hill)	DS windows
H23	Hovingham	DS window, DB windows; M SA quoins; M ($\frac{3}{4}$ TS) doorway
H24	Howe	DS windows; Rb quoins

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I1	Inglesham	Rb quoins; doorway with SW
I2	Inworth	DS windows
I3	Iver	Primary
J1	Jarrow	Primary
J2	Jevington	DB windows; M arch with SW
K1	Kingston (-upon-Thames)	Historical (plan only)
K2	Kirby Cane	Rb pilasters (vestiges)
K3	Kirby Hill	M SA quoins
K4	Kirkdale	Primary
K5	K(irk) Hammerton	M SA quoins; DB windows; M doorway with SW; M (‡TS) doorway
L1	Langford	Primary
L2	Laughton (-en-le-Morthen)	M doorway with SW; M LS quoins
L3	Lavendon	Rb quoins; Rb SS windows
L4	Ledsham	Primary
L5	Leeds (Kent)	DS windows (vestiges)
L6	Leicester	Primary
L7	Lewes	Doorway with SW (not <i>in situ</i>)
L8	Lexham (East)	LS quoins; DB window
L9	Limpley (Stoke)	TS doorway with HM
L10	Lincoln M	DB windows; dedication stone
L11	Lincoln P	<i>Nave</i> : primary <i>Tower</i> : DB windows with TS jambs
L12	London (All Hallows)	Tile arch to porticus
L13	Lopham (South)	DS window
L14	Lusby	M SA quoins; arch with SW (vestige)
L15	Lydd	Rb quoins; DS window
L16	Lyminge M	Primary
L17	Lyminge ME	Primary
M1	M(arket) Overton	TS arch
M2	Marton	DB windows; Rb quoins
M3	Melton (Magna)	Rb quoins; Rb doorway (vestige)
M4	Mersea (West)	DS window
M5	Middleton (-by-Pickering)	M SA quoins; M SS windows; M doorway with SW
M6	Milborne (Port)	<i>Destroyed nave</i> : pilasters; LS quoins <i>Chancel</i> : pilasters
M7	Minster (-in-Sheppey)	Rb quoin; Rb SS windows
M8	Miserden	Doorways with HM
M9	Missenden (Little)	Rb arch; Rb SS windows (App. F)
M10	M(onk) Fryston	DB windows
M11	M(onk) wearmouth	Primary
M12	Morland	DB windows; M doorway
M13	Morton (-on-the-Hill)	DS window
M14	M(uch) Wenlock	Primary
N1	Nassington	LS quoins
N2	Newton (-by-Castleacre)	DB windows; DS window
N3	Northfleet	LS quoin
N4	N(orth) Leigh	DB windows
N5	Norton	Primary
N6	Norwich T	LS quoin
N7	Norwich J	DS windows
N8	Norwich P	LS quoins
N9	Norwich M	DB windows
N10	Notley (White)	Rb quoin; Rb arch
O1	Ovingham	M SA quoins; DB windows with SW
O2	Oxford (St Michael)	DB windows; Rb quoins

LIST OF CHURCHES

P1	Pattishall	LS quoins
P2	Paxton (Great)	DS windows; arches with TS jambs and SW
P3	Peakirk	LS quoin
P4	Pentlow	Rb quoins; primary indication from problematical doorway
P5	Peterborough	Primary
P6	Poling	LS quoin; DS window
P7	Potterne	Primary
P8	Prittlewell	Rb doorway
Q1	Quarley	Rb quoins; Rb SS windows
R1	Reculver	Rb quoins; lateral porticus; DS window (inserted later); pilaster-buttresses
R2	Reed	LS quoins
R3	Repton	Primary
R4	Richborough	Primary
R5	Ripon	Crypt similar to Hexham, overlaid by Norman nave
R6	Rivenhall	Primary
R7	Rochester	Primary
R8	Rockland (All Saints)	LS quoins
R9	Ropsley	LS quoins
R10	Rothwell	Nave: primary Tower: DB windows; M SA quoins
R11	Roughton	DB windows
R12	Rumbolds (whyke)	M SA quoins; M ($\frac{1}{2}$ TS) arch
R13	Ryther	TS arch
S1	St Albans M	Rb quoins; Rb SS windows
S2	St Albans S	Primary
S3	Scartho	DB windows
S4	Seaham	Primary
S5	Selham	M SA quoins; Sc imposts
S6	Shelford (Little)	DS window
S7	Sherborne	LS quoin; M doorway with SW
S8	Shereford	DS window
S9	Shoreham (Old)	Doorway with SW (vestige)
S10	Shorne	DS window
S11	Singleton	DS windows
S12	Skillington	LS quoins
S13	Skipwith	M SA quoins; DS windows; M arch with SW
S14	Sockburn	M SA quoins
S15	Somborne (Little)	LS quoins; pilasters; DS windows; (App. F)
S16	Somerford (Keynes)	TS doorway
S17	Sompting	LS quoin; pilasters; DB windows; DS window
S18	Springfield	Rb quoins; Rb SS windows
S19	Stafford	Primary
S20	Staindrop	Primary
S21	Stanley (St Leonard)	HM (vestige)
S22	Stanton (by-) B(ridge)	LS quoin
S23	Stanton L(acy)	M SA quoins; pilasters; TS doorway with SW
S24	Stevington	LS quoins; Rb doorway
S25	Stoke (d'Abernon)	LS quoins and TS arch (all destroyed)
S26	Stoughton	M SA quoins; DS windows
S27	Stourmouth (West)	DS window
S28	Stow	Primary
S29	Stowe-n (ine) -C(hurches)	DS window; pilasters; arch with SW
S30	Strethall	LS quoins; DS windows; M arch with SW
S31	Swanscombe	Rb DS window
S32	Swavesey	LS quoins (vestiges)
T1	Tasburgh	Rb pilasters; Rb arch
T2	Tedstone (Delamere)	Doorway with SW (vestiges)

CHAPTER 3 LIST OF CHURCHES

T3	Thetford Ma	Primary
T4	Thetford Mi	Primary
T5	Thorington	Rb pilasters
T6	Thornage	DS windows; LS quoin (vestige)
T7	Thurlby	LS quoin
T8	Thursley	DS windows
T9	Tichborne	DS windows; pilasters
T10	Titchfield	M SA quoins; TS arch
T11	Tredington	DS windows
T12	Turvey	DS windows
W1	Waithe	DB windows
W2	Walkern	Primary
W3	Wareham L	Arches with HM (destroyed)
W4	Wareham M	M SA quoins; TS arch with HM
W5	Weybourne	DB windows with Rb SW; Rb quoins
W6	Wharram (-le-) S(treet)	DB windows with SW; M SA quoins
W7	Wharram P(ercy)	Primary
W8	Whitfield	DS window; Rb quoins
W9	Whittingham	LS quoins; destroyed DB windows; M arch
W10	Wickham	DB windows; LS quoins; DS window
W11	Wilsford	LS quoins
W12	Winchester	Primary
W13	Wing	Pilasters; window of DB type; arch with HM
W14	Winstone	M arch
W15	Winterborne (Steepleton)	M SA quoins; doorways with HM
W16	Winterton	DB windows
W17	Witley	DS windows
W18	Wittering	Primary
W19	Witton	DS windows
W20	Woodston	DS window
W21	Woolbeding	M SA quoins; pilasters
W22	Wootton (Wawen)	LS quoins; M arches with HM
W23	Worth	LS quoins; pilasters; TS arches; windows of DB type
W24	Wouldham	Primary
W25	Wroxeter	Primary
Y1	York (St Mary Bishophill Junior)	DB windows with SW; M arch with HM

Basic evidence. With a very few exceptions, the basic evidence for claiming these churches as Anglo-Saxon, with a full discussion of individual features, has already been set out in Volumes I and II. The major exceptions are the churches of Cheddar, Cirencester, Exeter, Little Missenden, Rivenhall, Wharram Percy, and Winchester, for which we did not then have the necessary information. For all of these, except Exeter and Little Missenden,

details have been set out briefly in Chapter 1, and for these two they are given in Appendix F. It should also be recorded here that the evidence for Sherborne has been greatly increased since the bulk of this volume was written (Gibb 1975), and that on the evidence now available Sherborne would be classed as primary and included in Chapter 1, Sections 3 and 4.

CHAPTER 4

OBJECTS AND GENERAL PRINCIPLES OF TYPOLOGICAL STUDIES

The object of the typological studies in the following chapters is to disclose whatever regularities there may be in what might otherwise seem to be the rather random features in the Anglo-Saxon churches of Chapter 3. The purpose of this book is to work towards an architectural history of the Anglo-Saxons; and this implies that we need to determine at what times and places there were many buildings of a single type, and to what extent these more popular styles of building varied not only from time to time but also from place to place, whether at one time or throughout the period as a whole. Moreover, we should attempt to discover what might have been the purpose for which particular features were used, and whence they might have been derived. These aims will not be achieved unless we can reduce the features to some systematic order, and in particular unless we group together all occurrences of features which show family resemblances, in the hope that the examples in these smaller groups will disclose reasons for their origin, or show favoured occurrence in special districts or even at particular times.

But since at present the dating of most churches is ill defined, any deductions about dates of features must be provisional. The general purpose of securing a more reliable system of dating will best be served simply by listing all the places at which each feature occurs; because the lists of place-names for each feature will always remain true whereas date-ranges for particular features will not begin to become reliable until we are much more certain than we are at present about the dates of a considerable number of buildings. Moreover, for reasons explained in Section 1 of Chapter 1 it is undesirable at this stage to use analogues from other countries as an aid towards the dating of features.

It may be felt that little purpose can be served by lists of places at which particular features occur; but many, if not most, of the errors of the past in claiming dates for Anglo-Saxon churches can be attributed to the absence of such lists; and only the provision of them is likely to reduce the risk of similar errors in future. These may seem extravagant claims to make on behalf of tedious lists of names, but the justification of the claims can best be seen by taking a simple example. Authors have often in the past claimed a particular date or date-range for a church because it has features that occur in one or more churches which they assert to be generally accepted as belonging to the date-range in question, but such claims have seldom been supported by any attempt to provide a comprehensive list of other known occurrences of the features concerned; and when such lists are studied it is often found that the features occur also in just as many churches for which even the authors themselves postulate very different dates. Attention has recently been directed to an important instance of this type of error in connection with claims for an early date for the important chapel at Bradford-on-Avon (Taylor 1973b: 165-6 and 169-70).

It is for this reason that it seems of such importance to include in these typological studies the completest possible lists of places of occurrence of each of the clearly recognisable Anglo-Saxon features. We shall therefore pass in review in the following chapters all the distinctive features of the 267 churches that have been established as Anglo-Saxon in Chapter 3, whether on primary or on secondary evidence. We shall group these features under much the same headings as were used in Chapter 2, devoting one chapter to each main heading, and in each chapter dividing the occurrences of the features into smaller groups depending on where they occur, what is their shape, and

what is the detailed method of their construction. In order to shorten the lists as far as possible, full use will be made of the abbreviations described in Chapters 2 and 3 for features and place-names.

In many, if not most, of the churches under review any particular kind of feature will occur only once, if at all; but in a few of the best preserved churches such as Brixworth and Deerhurst several kinds of features such as arches, doorways, and windows each occur several times. The importance of such churches for our studies is therefore very greatly enhanced because of the possibility of comparing the details of different examples of the same kind of feature in a single building, and of considering whether the differences of treatment represent changes of fashion with time or whether they represent distinctions of style that were considered appropriate at one and the same time for features of a single kind that occurred in different parts of a single building. For example, doorways in upper and less accessible parts of a building might at any one time be expected to be treated in a simpler fashion than those giving direct access to the ground floor; but it will clearly be of special importance to consider reasons why doorways and windows on the second floor of the tower at Deerhurst should be of so much greater elaboration than those on the first floor; and equally it will be of importance to consider evidence of later insertion of features such as can so clearly be seen for the triple window in the west of the nave at Brixworth.

When only two or three different examples of a particular kind of feature occur in a single church it will usually be easy to distinguish the separate examples by a few brief words in the text and by symbols in tables; for example in considering major arches we shall refer in the text to the chancel-arch and the tower-arch at a church such as Marton, and in tables they can straightforwardly be referred to as Marton CA and Marton TA. But when there are many examples of a particular feature at one church it may be necessary to give a complete list of them and to assign serial numbers or code-symbols to the several examples so that subsequent references can name each example by its number, thus avoiding tedious references such as 'the north window on the second floor of the tower'. The most appropriate method differs from

feature to feature and is therefore defined in each chapter where necessary.

For many of the features under consideration, it will be found that decisions about similarity of type or date will depend sharply on details of size, shape, and construction. It is therefore important that as many as possible of the features should be illustrated by diagrams all of which are drawn to a uniform scale. It is, of course, also important to have features of one kind illustrated side by side in one place. For both these reasons a great many of the features under discussion in this volume have been illustrated by fresh line drawings even though some of them were illustrated in Volumes I and II.

Finally, it should be noted that it is by no means a main purpose of these typological studies to make elaborate deductions from frequency distributions. The validity of any such deductions would be greatly in question because of the extent to which the material under study is so small a sample of the original evidence, and more particularly because it is a sample which has been subject to such peculiar methods of selection by decay, or by destruction whether as a result of war or of deliberate rebuilding. Therefore only the broadest numerical deductions will be made from these typological studies.

In particular, distribution maps of the occurrence of features will be given only when there are many examples of the features concerned; and similarly charts or tables showing the variations of shapes and sizes of plans or of features such as doorways or other openings will be restricted to those for which there are many survivals.

CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

As far as is conveniently possible consideration will be given in each chapter to continental analogues for the features under discussion; for some of the more frequently occurring features the discussion of continental analogues may indeed be given in relation to separate classes of the English features. But in all cases only a brief discussion of the continental evidence is given; as a help towards interpretation of the English evidence, and in some cases to elucidate the purpose of certain features for which written or structural evidence is available on the Continent but none is found in England.

CHAPTER 5

MAJOR ARCHES

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

In order more easily to see some regular patterns in the considerable number of major arches still surviving in Anglo-Saxon churches it will be best to study them in a number of smaller groups. The most numerous group is formed by the arches that open to towers, and these also comprise the tallest and most imposing arches. They should therefore obviously be studied first; and it will be natural then to consider the *chancel-arches*, which follow next both in scale and in surviving numbers. The next most obvious group is formed of lateral arches, whether singly or in arcades, opening from naves to porticus or aisles. Thereafter a final small group can be defined as all those which have not yet been considered, where we shall see that the principal members are the western openings which lead or led from the porches at Brixworth, Corbridge, Monkwearmouth, and Titchfield.

It should at once be said that there is some degree of ambiguity or of subjective judgment in the placing of arches under these headings: for example some of the arches from central and axial towers could be, and often are, regarded as *chancel-arches*; and some of the doorways which have been excluded from this chapter for consideration in Chapter 6 (like those which open from the towers to the naves at Billingham, Brixworth, and Monkwearmouth) could have been classified as small *tower-arches*, as has been done for the arch at Stowe-nine-Churches. But in the main it will perhaps be agreed that these ambiguities are of little consequence and that the arches considered in this chapter can legitimately be called the major examples.

With only three exceptions (at West Barsham, Newton-by-Castleacre, and Roughton) all the surviving arches have round heads, in the Roman

manner; so that the Anglo-Saxon style is legitimately to be regarded as Romanesque in the wider, and now perhaps old-fashioned, sense of that name. The three exceptions are *cruck-shaped arches*, now wholly covered with plaster, but most probably formed in a concrete-rubble aggregate by setting it in place over a cruck-shaped wooden frame.

Finally, it should be noted that, with only two exceptions, all the major arches are on the ground floor. The exceptions, at Deerhurst St Mary, are at first-floor level, where they opened from the upper chambers of the main north and south porticus into the central choir.

SECTION 2. TOWER-ARCHES

It is convenient to consider under this heading all arches which open from towers into any part of the body of the church; but since the name *tower-arch* has often been restricted to arches opening from west towers into naves it has seemed best to regard these as one group of *tower-arches*, and to treat as a separate group the arches which open from central or axial towers into any part of the church. As has already been mentioned above, some of the arches in the latter group could be, and often are, regarded as *chancel-arches*.

A word should next be said about a group of six churches whose *tower-arches* have been excluded from consideration in this section because they give an immediate impression of being Norman; indeed sometimes the Norman character of these arches has been advanced as a good reason for doubting the Anglo-Saxon character of the church or tower. But evidence has already been given in Volume I for a straightforward assertion that in two of these churches, Gayton Thorpe and Ledsam, the arches are indeed Norman insertions in an

CHAPTER 5 MAJOR ARCHES

earlier fabric; for at Gayton the vestiges of an earlier arch can be seen above the head of its Norman successor, and at Ledsham the Norman arch has partly cut away the sill of an Anglo-Saxon window above it. At Gissing the indication of Norman date is a zig-zag plaster moulding round the head of the arch, but it seems probable that this is a Victorian embellishment like that for which there is recorded evidence at Colney (Vol. I: 168). At Bardsey and Harmston the evidence is less immediately obvious, but careful study shows that both present tower-arches are indeed later insertions in earlier walls; at Bardsey the arch is similar in style to those of the Norman north arcade and the clear evidence of its later insertion in the west wall is provided by the way its imposts and string-course cut across the normal coursing of the wall; and at Harmston the arch is obviously too wide for the tower in which it has been re-set, with

part of its outermost order concealed by the side walls of the tower. The evidence of later insertion at Appleton has not been examined in detail, but there seems no reason to doubt the stylistic evidence for claiming the main body of the tower as Anglo-Saxon but accepting the tower-arch as a Norman insertion.

TOWER-ARCHES IN WEST TOWERS

A small group of fragmentary or doubtful remains which have been excluded from the detailed discussion should perhaps be mentioned first: at Jarrow (Vol. I: 347) there are vestigial remains of a taller and narrower arch above the wide Norman arch that opens to the present chancel; at Ovingham the tower-arch has been so mutilated as to give no useful information; at Roughton the cruck-shaped tower-arch is fully covered with

TABLE I. *Tower-arches in west towers (TA)*

1. Alkborough	A	St		21. Hovingham	A	M	
2. Barnack	A	TS	SW	22. Howe	A	?	
3. Bessingham	A	Rb		23. Jevington	A	M	SW
4. Bosham	A	M		24. K Hammerton	A	M	
5. Bracebridge	A	St		25. Lavendon	A	?	
6. Brigstock	A	TS	SW	26. Lincoln M	A	M	
7. Broughton	B	St		27. Lincoln P	A	M	
8. Cambridge	A	TS	SW	28. M Overton	A	TS	
9. Carlton	B	St	HM	29. Marton	A	St	
10. Clapham	A	St		30. Rothwell	A	St	
11. Clee	A	St		31. Scartho	A	St	
12. Colchester	A	Rb	SW	32. Skipwith	A	TS	SW
13. Colney	A	Rb		33. Sompting	B	St	
14. Corbridge	A	TS		34. Stowe-nC	A	?	SW
15. Corringham	C	St	HM	35. Tasburgh	A	Rb	
16. Forncett	A	Rb		36. Thurlby	A	St	
17. Glentworth	A	St		37. Wharram S	B	St	
18. Haddiscoe	A	Rb		38. Whittingham	A	M	
19. Hales	A	Rb		39. Winterton	A	St	
20. Holton	A	St		40. York	B	M	HM

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Cross-section of arch and jambs</i>			<i>Fabric</i>		
A	Arch and jambs square	34	M	Megalithic	8
B	Arch and jambs moulded or recessed	5	TS	Through-stone	6
C	Arch moulded or recessed, jambs square	1	Rb	Rubble	7
			St	Small stone	16
			?	Unknown	3
		—			—
		40			40
		—			—
<i>Decoration</i>					
HM	Hoodmoulding	3			
SW	Stripwork	7			

plaster; and at Singleton the tower-arch is pointed, no doubt an insertion of the thirteenth century, but its simple jambs and imposts may be original.

At the forty churches listed above there are round-headed openings, mostly of plain square cross-section, leading from the west towers to the naves, and all complete with arch and jambs. Many of these are of the megalithic construction that we have already noted as being distinctively Anglo-Saxon, and a few are of through-stones, while others are wholly of rubble. In order to provide a convenient record of these and other important constructional details in tables such as those which follow, the details are listed, church by church, using the abbreviations set out in Chapter 2, and at the foot of each table notes are given to show the number of times each feature occurs in the table. By this means it is immediately possible to link the table with the associated discussion in the text and in particular to check the numerical statements in the two places.

TOWER-ARCHES IN CENTRAL AND AXIAL TOWERS

By contrast with the 'ordinary' tower-arches in west towers, where the position of the arch is settled by its very nature as being between the tower and the nave, the arches in central and axial towers need to have their position specified. In some of the central towers all four arches survive, but in others only a smaller number; in any case it is best to specify the position precisely, using the abbreviations N, S, E, and W for the principal points of the compass. Although all these arches could logically have been grouped with those in west towers it is especially convenient to keep them separate in order to lead up to a consideration of the central space or crossing and its relation to the arches which open from it to the arms of the church. This aspect of the arches is briefly considered at the end of this section.

In addition to the ten churches listed in Table 2 with central or axial towers supported on complete arches which lead to the main arms of the church there are somewhat enigmatic and fragmentary remains at North Leigh and at Newton-by-Castleacre. At North Leigh the round western

arch is blocked and no jambs have survived; at Newton the cruck-shaped south arch is also blocked and is wholly covered in plaster; moreover at neither place is there any secure evidence above-ground about the nature of the space to which the arches led. Again, a word is necessary about arches which have been wholly or substantially modified in later times and are therefore not included in Table 2: at Dover the north and south arches have been completely rebuilt in pointed form on new jambs; at Milborne Port the east and west arches have been replaced in pointed form, but on their original jambs; and at Norton the east and west arches are Norman, but clearly inserted later in the earlier fabric. A special word is necessary about Stow, where all four arches are markedly different in style from the jambs on which they stand. The primary evidence of Chapter 1 serves to specify the jambs as Anglo-Saxon, but it cannot be used to make a similar claim for the arches, because these could have been built in replacement of earlier work at any one of the several reconstructions of which the fabric gives evidence, at times both before and after the Conquest. It is therefore best at present to leave open the date of the arches although the simple palmette ornament round the west arch indicates a linkage in date with the tall window of the Anglo-Saxon south transept.

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF TOWER-ARCHES

It now remains to consider whether the facts recorded in Tables 1 and 2 allow us to see any distinctive treatments of particular groups of arches, or any other regularities of form, fabric, or decoration that might be regarded as pointers toward special use, or as indications of date. We have already noted that all these arches have round heads; it therefore remains to consider the different profiles used for the cross-sections of jambs and heads, the different types of fabric, and the extent to which decoration was employed. In considering decoration we shall discuss not only purely structural decoration such as the use of recessing or moulding or the addition of stripwork and hood-mouldings but also sculptural decoration, which we shall see was used very sparingly.

TABLE 2. *Tower-arches in central and axial towers (TA*)*

1. Barton					6. Milborne				
1-2	E,W	A	TS	SW	10-11	N,S	B	St	
2. Dover					7. Newton				
3-4	E,W	A	Rb	SW	12	E	A	?	
3. Dunham					8. Norton				
5	E	A	Rb	SW	13-14	N,S	A	St	HM
6	W	A	Rb	HM					
4. Guestwick					9. Stow				
7	E	A	Rb	SW	15-18	N,S,E,W	C	M	SW
5. Langford					10. Wootton				
8	E	B	TS		19-22	N,S,E,W	A	M	HM
9	W	A	M	SW					

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Cross-section of arch and jambs</i>					<i>Fabric</i>			
A	Arch and jambs square		15		M	Megalithic		9
B	Arch and jambs moulded or recessed		3		TS	Through-stone		3
C	Arch moulded or recessed, jambs square		4		Rb	Rubble		5
					St	Small stone		4
					?	Unknown		1
			—					—
			22					22
			—					—
<i>Decoration</i>								
HM	Hoodmoulding		7					
SW	Stripwork		11					

CROSS-SECTION OF JAMBS AND ARCHES

It will be seen at once from Tables 1 and 2 that in both types of tower-arch the plain square section of arch and jambs is in a majority; but for the arches in west towers it is used almost to the exclusion of other types (34 out of 40) whereas in central and axial towers the majority is much less pronounced (15 arches out of 22, but 7 places out of 10). When we consider chancel-arches we shall again notice that the preference for plain square cross-section of arch and jambs is less pronounced than in the western tower-arches; and therefore it seems fair to deduce that arches between the nave and the chancel were regarded as being worthy of more elaboration than those opening from the nave to the west tower.

It is next worth considering each of the instances of decorative cross-sections in tower arches since these involve only six places in west towers (Broughton, Carlton, Corringham, Sompting, Wharram S, and York) and only three places but seven arches in central and axial towers (Milborne, Stow and the east arch at Langford). Plans, elevations and cross-sections of all these arches except Corringham are shown in Figs. 647-9, all drawn to

a uniform scale to assist in comparison. The purpose of these drawings is not only to show the design of the cross-sections of arches and jambs but also to give a visual impression of the fabric, showing the extent to which special treatments such as megalithic or through-stone techniques are used, and emphasising differences of cross-section or fabric between arch and jambs. Therefore most of the drawings show both a soffit-face and a wall-face in the elevations of the arch and the jamb; and each drawing shows a cross-section of the arch with a plan of the impost, and a cross-section of the jamb with a plan of the base or bases. The smaller arches have been shown more or less complete, in order to give the clearest possible impression of their construction. For the larger arches of Fig. 649 much more limited areas have been illustrated, as a measure of economy; but it will be found that even these limited areas provide a good indication of the differing techniques. It will be seen that at York simple recessing of two plain square orders is used in both arch and jambs, with imposts also of two orders of plain square oversailing type. At Broughton and Wharram the arches are of two plain square orders, but the jambs are enriched with angle-shafts at both places, and at Broughton

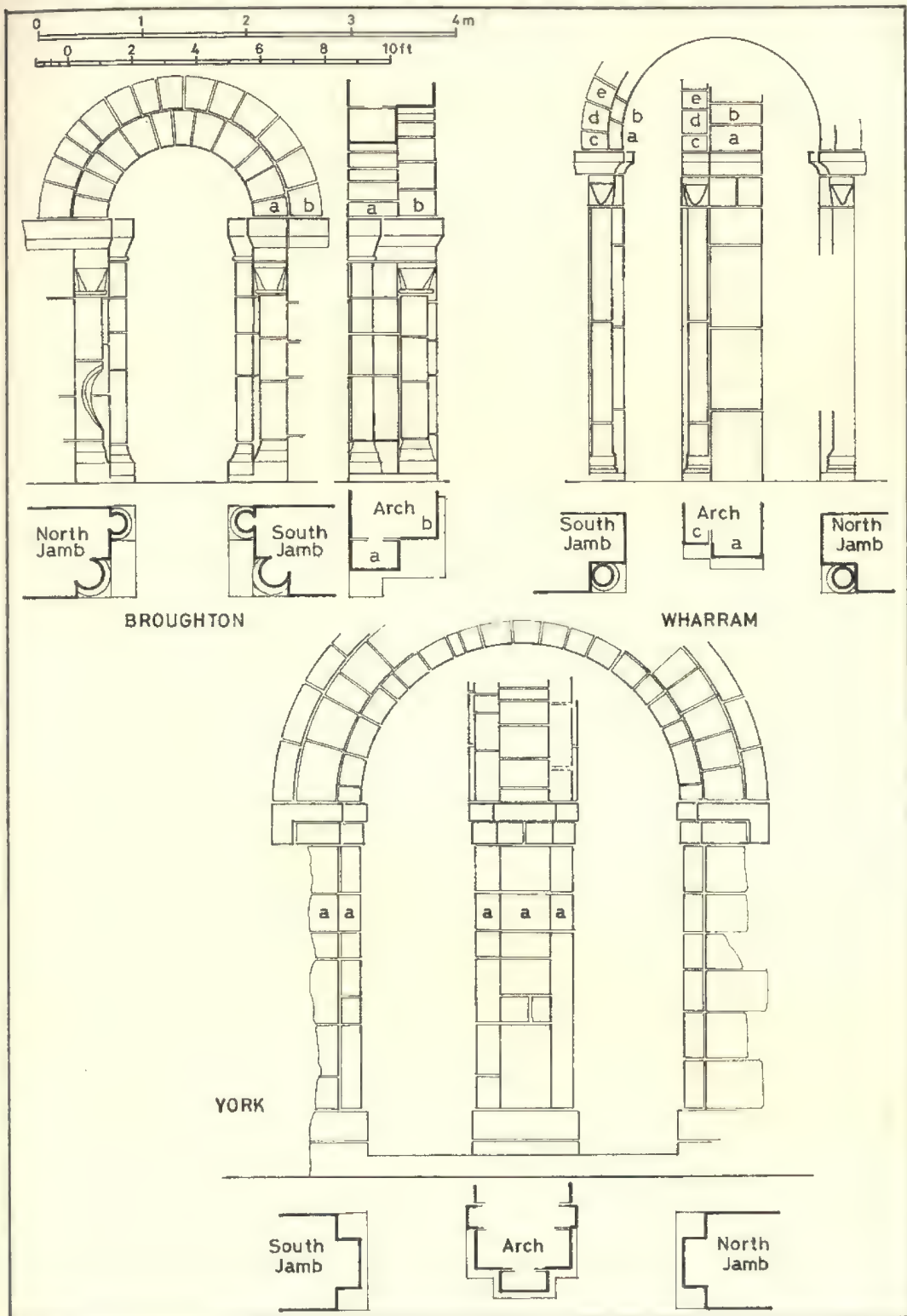


FIG. 647. TOWER-ARCHES: BROUGHTON, WHARRAM-LE-STREET AND YORK
 The three-quarter-through-stone technique is clearly shown in the soffit faces of the arches and jambs at Broughton and Wharram. Note also the contrast of superimposed orders at Broughton and York with orders in parallel at Wharram.

by a further pair of soffit-shafts which are very oddly placed unless they once supported a tympanum which has now been lost. At Corringham (Vol. I: 180) and Stow the jambs are square but the arches are of two elaborately moulded orders; and at Carlton, Langford, Milborne and Sompting arches as well as jambs are moulded. Of all these nine churches with decorative cross-sections only the east arch at Langford is formed of through-stones; but at none of the others, except perhaps Broughton, Milborne and York, could it be said that the arches were formed of regularly laid orders of voussoirs in the way that would normally be associated with Norman workmanship.

Superimposed or parallel orders of voussoirs. Attention was directed in Volume II to the special character of the jambs and arch at Wharram (Vol. II: 649-50), and in particular to the way in which the outer order of the arch does not rest on the inner order but stands parallel to it as a separate and independent arch placed in front. This method of construction contrasts sharply with the logical system of superimposed orders whereby wooden centring was used only for the laying of the innermost order, while the stones of the outer order were supported by those of the inner order. The illogical method of orders in parallel can also be seen in the arch at Carlton, and it will be noted in certain doorways in Chapter 6, e.g. at Kirkdale.

Unrecessed orders. At Stow the two elaborately moulded orders of the arches are laid almost in one plane, rather than with the inner order recessed behind the outer. The same is true but to a smaller degree at Corringham. But at Clee and Holton there are arches of two plain square orders laid without any recessing at all, so that the plain square cross-section of the arch as a whole occupies the total thickness of the wall, and thus the use of two orders did not reduce at all the width of wooden centring that was needed for the erection of the arch.

Three-quarter through-stones. At Broughton and at Wharram-le-Street the inner order of jambs and arch occupies almost three-quarters of the thickness of the wall and is built of stones each of which passes through the whole of that thickness. This

method of building clearly demands more use of wooden centring than would be needed if the inner order had been half the wall-thickness or less.

Pseudo-orders. At Sompting the arch might be thought of as consisting of two orders; but this is not so, for the construction is basically that of a single square order enriched by a soffit roll worked on the face of each voussoir.

FABRIC

It will be seen from Tables 1 and 2 that in arches, as in most other fields, the fabric may give a less clear indication than is given by methods of construction. It is indeed true that in both types of tower-arch the instances of megalithic, through-stone, and rubble fabric represent a majority (21 out of 40 in west towers and 17 out of 22 in central and axial towers) but the sixteen instances of small stone fabric of quasi-ashlar character in western tower-arches show only too clearly that while megalithic, through-stone, or rubble construction may give a fairly clear indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship it is by no means true to say that quasi-ashlar fabric can be regarded as giving a clear counter-indication.

DECORATION

We have already considered structural decoration by the use of moulded or recessed orders. It now remains to consider structural decoration by imposts, hoodmouldings, and stripwork; and also sculptural decoration of which no mention has been made in Tables 1 and 2.

Hoodmouldings and stripwork. These features are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 12; but it is worth noting at once from Tables 1 and 2 that they occur with much greater frequency on the arches of central and axial towers (18 out of 22) than on the western tower-arches (10 out of 40), and this confirms the indication already given by recessing and moulding that the arches in the area between the nave and chancel were considered worthy of more decoration than those at the west of the nave. It is interesting to note that sometimes hoodmould-

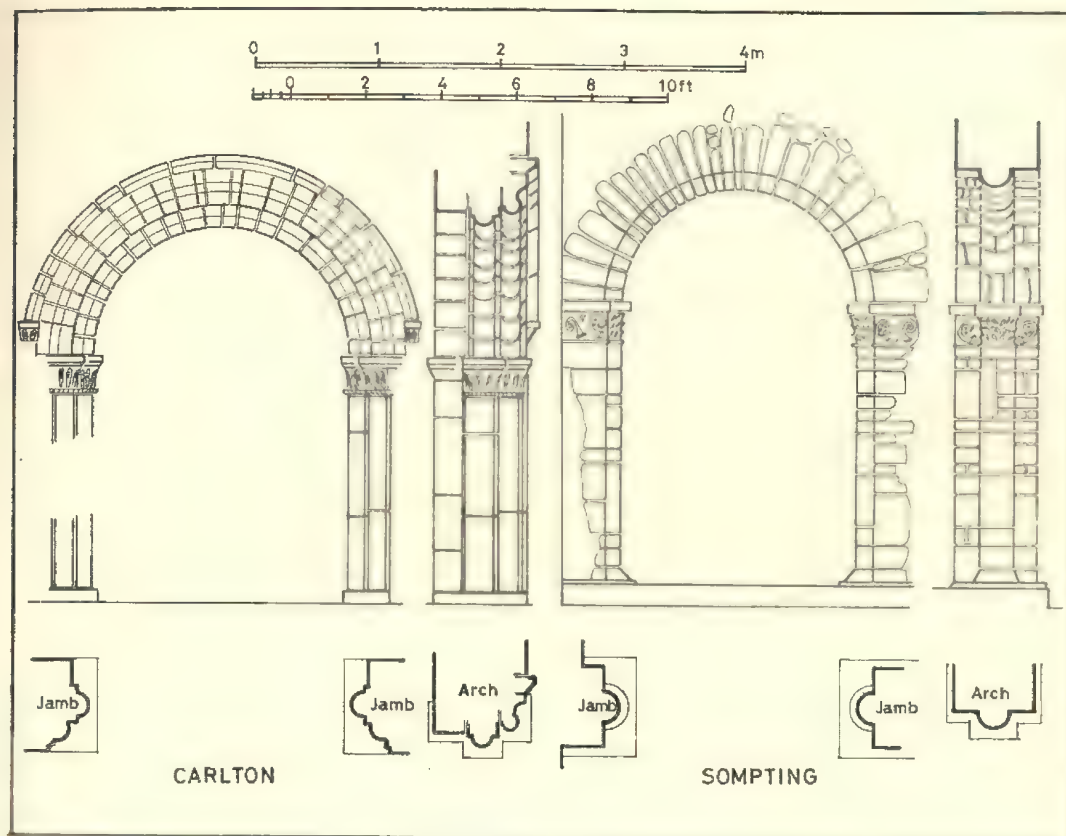


FIG. 648. TOWER-ARCHES: CARLTON-IN-LINDRICK AND SOMPTING

At Carlton the soffit-roll is a separate order; at Sompting the whole arch is of one order with the soffit-roll worked on it.

ings and stripwork were applied to both faces of the wall through which the arch was pierced but in other cases only to one side. The presence of this decorative enrichment on one side only may give an indication that greater importance was assigned to that side. For example the presence of stripwork only on the interior faces of the arches in the tower-nave at Barton indicates its greater importance relative to the western annexe or the eastern chancel.

Special forms of stripwork. Most examples of stripwork round tower-arches make use of strips of plain square section; but at Dunham the section is half-round; at Cambridge, Skipwith and Stow double strips are used, one square and one half-round; and at Guestwick there are triple half-round strips, all made of small stones that are accurately laid to produce the correct profile.

Imposts. For the sake of simplicity information about impost has not been given in the tables of this chapter; but full details are given in Chapter 17 where all the places are named and all the types of impost are specified. Therefore here it is adequate to say briefly that impost is provided on all tower-arches except at Kirk Hammerton.

Imposts as string-courses. The broad moulded impost on the tower-arches at Barnack and Cambridge are carried right across the west walls of the naves as string-courses; and the same is done with the plain square impost at Brigstock, Rothwell and Skipwith.

Sculpture. There is very little use of sculpture on tower-arches. It is used on or beside impost at Dunham, Milborne, Sompting and Whittingham, and also on one hoodmoulding at Stow; at Carlton

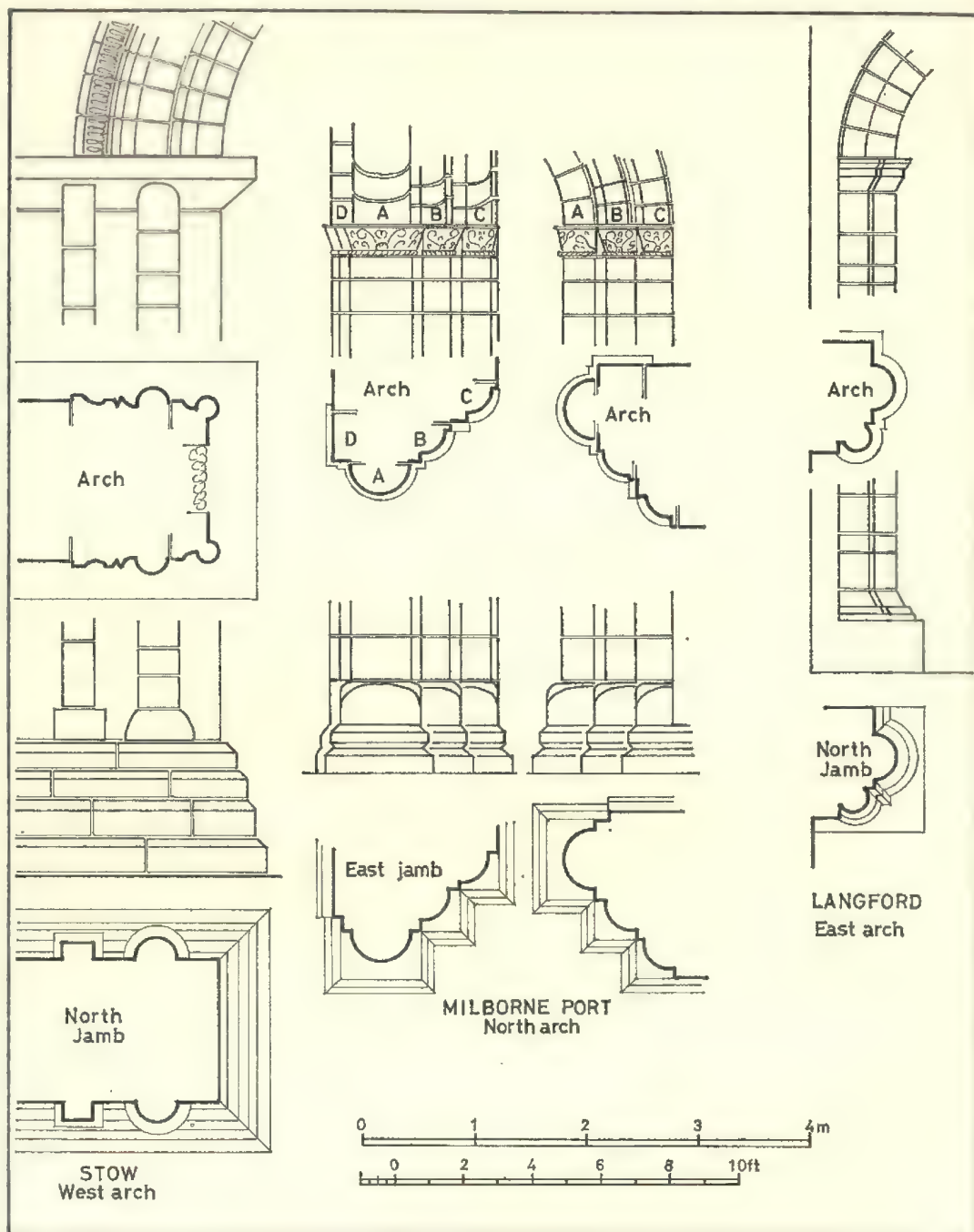


FIG. 649. TOWER-ARCHES: STOW, MILBORNE PORT AND LANGFORD
Stow and Milborne have recessed and superimposed orders whereas Langford has a single order of through-stones.

capitals and label-stops are enriched with simple palmette leaves; and at Cambridge an animal is carved as a kind of label-stop across the stripwork above each impost.

THE PURPOSE OF TOWER-ARCHES

One apparently obvious difference between the western tower-arch and the arches in axial and

central towers is that the former might conveniently serve as the principal entry to the church whereas the latter can only serve to communicate between separate parts of the main body of the church. But this apparently simple distinction cannot be sustained as a satisfactory one, because some large and imposing western tower-arches open from the nave into towers which have no exterior doorways nor any trace of blocked entries: for example most of the round towers, and Bosham, Lavendon, Skipwith, and Whittingham among the square ones.

West towers and their arches. Of the forty west towers involved in Table 1 we have seen that several show no trace of any entry from outside. The remainder all originally had access from outside although at Brigstock this has later been blocked by the addition of a round western stair-turret; therefore for these it would be possible to assume that the main purpose of the tower-arch was to form the principal entry to the church, using the ground-floor chamber of the tower or porch as a *porticus ingressus* in the way that is described by Bede for the west porch at Monkwearmouth (*H.A.B.*: 385). But even this seems to be too simple an explanation, if only in view of the marked variation in size and importance of these western tower-arches. We have already noted that the western doorways from the naves to the porches at Brixworth and Monkwearmouth have been excluded from this chapter to be treated as doorways in Chapter 6 whereas the slightly larger opening at Stowe-nine-Churches has been included here as a tower-arch. While it seems reasonable to treat openings of this size as entries to the church from a porch, it seems somewhat doubtful whether great arches such as those at Brigstock and the two Lincoln churches should be so regarded, rather than as arches which linked a western chamber more or less fully into the liturgical use of the body of the church. This concept seems to be especially clearly indicated at Barnack where the ground floor of the tower is provided with seats which include a throne-like centrally placed western seat, and where aumbries in the side walls suggest that the area was indeed used as a western sanctuary, with clergy seated at the west on either side of an abbot or bishop. Against this interpretation of the

tower as a western sanctuary it might be objected that the south doorway must to some extent reduce the privacy of that area and make it into a sort of throughfare; but this need not have been so if the church had entrances in its side walls; and it should be remembered that in later medieval times it was common practice to provide a south doorway into the main eastern sanctuary.

If we accept the general proposition that a large tower-arch was intended to link the tower-space into the body of the church for some liturgical use such as a sanctuary or a baptistery, while a small arch or a doorway indicated that the tower-space was intended as a porch, we could visualise three main types, for each of which we name a few examples:

(a) Liturgical use, with no outer doorway and a large tower-arch: Bosham, Lavendon, Skipwith and Whittingham in the square towers; Bessingham, Colney and Tasburgh with round towers.

(b) Liturgical use, with an outer doorway and a large tower-arch: Barnack, Lincoln M, Lincoln P, Rothwell, Wharrah S.

(c) Entrance-porch, with a large outer arch and a small opening to the church: Brixworth, Monkwearmouth and Titchfield. It should specially be remembered that the contemporary record specified for Monkwearmouth that the entrance-porch was also used for the burial of Abbot Easterwine.

The special case of Broughton. Although Broughton has been placed in Table 1 in accordance with the present status of its arch opening from a west tower to a nave, it should be remembered that the ground-floor space of the tower was originally the nave and that the foundations of a narrower chancel were found beneath the floor of the present nave in 1896 (*Vol. I*: 115). Thus although the arch is now a tower-arch it was originally a chancel-arch with its principal face to be seen from the west within the tower-nave.

Arches in axial towers. The purpose of arches in axial towers differs little from the purpose of chancel-arches, to which fuller consideration will be given in Section 3. The clearest examples are those of Dunham and Langford, where it can be seen that, whereas in an ordinary two-cell church a single chancel-arch pierces the single wall which would otherwise separate the nave from the chancel, the three-cell church consisting of nave,

axial tower, and chancel has a square chamber and two arches interposed between the nave and the chancel. Whether or not this square chamber beneath the tower originally served as a choir it does not now seem possible to say; but in larger monastic churches we shall see clear examples of a progression from west to east from the nave through the monastic choir to the sanctuary or chancel, each separated from the other by a cross wall pierced by an arch. It therefore seems possible that the simpler axial three-cell church had the same general purpose in mind. The remains at Guestwick and Newton are less clear; at Guestwick they are somewhat fragmentary, and at Newton there is a need for excavation to see whether the plan was originally cruciform (Vol. I: 461).

The special case of Barton-on-Humber. At Barton, as at Broughton, the ground-floor chamber of the tower was originally the nave; but unlike Broughton there are arches opening both to the east and to the west. The foundations of a small chancel were found on the east in 1897 (Vol. I: 55), and the western arch opens to an annexe which stands to the present day, with windows at two levels. The annexe was therefore probably occupied at two levels whereas the tower-nave probably extended as a single chamber through both these levels, receiving its light from the double-windows at the upper level. These are matters to which we return in later chapters. At present we contrast the two-cell church at Broughton with its three-cell neighbour at Barton; though both have tower-naves they are markedly different in detail, and particularly in that the nave at Broughton had (and still has) a separate first-floor chamber above it whereas at Barton the nave was almost certainly the height of both those chambers.

Arches in central towers. Table 2 lists arches in central towers at five places at which there is surviving fabric to show clearly the former existence of cruciform churches each with a central tower opening through four arches to a nave, a chancel, and two lateral chambers or transepts; namely Dover, Milborne, Norton, Stow and Wootton. Table 2 shows that only at Stow and Wootton do all four arches still survive, but the evidence at the other churches is adequate not only

to show with certainty that there were originally four arches but also to give clear indications about the sizes of the missing arches; in particular, although the original east and west arches at Milborne have been replaced by later pointed arches, the original jambs have survived. The sizes of the arches in central towers have an important bearing on the extent to which the four arms of the church and the central space could be regarded as forming a single connected volume, or alternatively whether they were more-or-less cut off from each other. In the first case we might envisage a single service filling the whole church whereas in the second case the separate arms of the church might better be regarded almost as separate buildings in each of which devotions could proceed without reference to what might be going on in the others. If we consider the churches in turn, at Wootton the arches are all relatively modest in size, and the lateral arches are appreciably smaller than the axial ones to east and west. Thus, although the arms of the original church have largely vanished we can envisage that the lateral arms were smaller and lower than the nave and chancel, and that each was appreciably isolated from the others.

At Dover, too, the lateral arches were clearly much smaller than those on the principal axis, and the surviving walls show that there were low transepts attached to a church with a strongly emphasised longitudinal axis. By contrast, when we come to Norton, the marks of gabled roofs on the central tower show that all four arms of the church were roughly the same height, and so we get a truly cruciform arrangement both in plan and in three dimensions. But here again the arches opening to the four arms were of modest height and were appreciably narrower than the surviving transepts. Thus at all three of these churches we secure an impression of considerable isolation of the separate parts; the greatest isolation at Wootton; rather less at Dover; and less, but still appreciable, at Norton.

But when we turn to Milborne and Stow we find tall arches, of widths not much less than those of the arms of the church; thus for the first time we begin to see all four arms integrated to each other and to the central space in a way which begins to approximate to the regular crossing as it developed in the mature Romanesque form.

We have perhaps moved a little beyond the scope of this chapter in discussing the layout of these churches both in plan and in three dimensions; but since the degree of integration of the interior spaces of a church depends so much on the scale of the arches that link them together it seems best to introduce the concept in this chapter and then to return to it in detail in Chapters 15 and 16 where we consider plans and interior spaces.

SECTION 3. CHANCEL-ARCHES

Before passing to the study of complete chancel-arches whose structural details are set out in Table 3 it will be desirable to devote a few paragraphs to fragmentary remains which give little or no evidence about constructional details but yet are of importance in the more general parts of our studies.

Arches that have almost completely vanished. The first important group includes three Kentish churches, at Canterbury, Lyvinge and Rochester. At St Pancras in Canterbury there is surviving structural evidence for a chancel-arch which was originally triple, with square jambs of tile at its outer ends, and re-used Roman columns for the two central supports; there is also surviving structural evidence for the later blocking of the outer arches, so as to form a single arch with square jambs of tile; and the excavators of 1902 laid bare part of the original arch, built of tiles set in yellow mortar (Vol. I: 147). Modern accounts of the churches at Lyvinge and Rochester (e.g. Clapham 1930: 20–23) have very generally given the impression that their chancel-arches were also of this triple nature, which has come to be regarded as a special characteristic of the Kentish group. We unfortunately even strengthened this impression in our text and figures (Vol. I: 408 and Vol. II: 519); but it ought now to be put on record that the original excavators' reports do not justify a confident claim for a triple arch at either place, and certainly not an indication of precise position or shape of the intermediate supports. A fuller assessment of the true position at Lyvinge was set out some years ago (Taylor 1969b).

Three other fragmentary remains, at Bitton, Hart and Lusby, deserve mention. Almost nothing

remains of the chancel-arch at Bitton except part of an impost and capital on the east face of the wall and short lengths of square hoodmoulding on the west; but a brief description of the arch published soon after its destruction indicates that it was of square section with Escomb fashion jambs (Vol. I: 74). At Hart a few surviving voussoirs above a later Norman arch serve to define a lost Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch of tall and narrow shape (Vol. I: 288–9). At Lusby the arch has vanished but there are parts of the jambs and double stripwork still in position (Vol. I: 404); the stripwork is discussed in Chapter 12.

Surviving jambs and imposts. The important arches at Bibury, Kirkdale and Great Paxton have vanished, but their jambs and imposts survive and thus settle their size. At Bibury there is floral carving on the imposts, and the plain square jambs are of through-stones (Vol. I: 65). At Kirkdale the jambs are recessed, with angle-shafts, and the moulded imposts are carried across the wall of the nave as a string-course (Vol. I: 360). At Paxton the elaborately moulded jambs are of through-stones with moulded bases on tall cubical plinths, and with strangely moulded imposts (Vol. II: 486).

Destroyed arches of known form. The chancel-arches at Reculver, Stoke d'Abernon and Wareham Lady St Mary were destroyed last century, but are known in some detail, principally from drawings. The arch at Reculver was triple, with massive columns which are now in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral (Vol. II: 507). At Stoke the drawing indicates an arch and jambs wholly of through-stones (Vol. II: 574). The Wareham chancel-arch and the lateral arcades of the nave were outlined by broad hoodmouldings and are known both by drawings and by a measured plan (R.C.H.M. Dorset 2,2, 1970: 304–6); it therefore seemed appropriate to include them in the tables.

DETAILED STUDY OF CHANCEL-ARCHES

At the thirty-six churches listed in Table 3 chancel-arches and jambs survive in a fairly complete state except at Bradwell, and at Wareham L of which special mention has been made above. At Bradwell only the jambs and the springings of the arches

TABLE 3. *Chancel-arches (CA)*

1. Barrow	A	TS	SW	19. Inworth	A	?	
2. Barsham	A	Rb		20. K Hammerton	B	St	
3. Boarhunt	A	M	SW	21. Ledsham	A	M	
4. Bosham	B	M		22. Marton	B	St	
5. Botolphs	C	M		23. Missenden	A	Rb	
6. Bracebridge	A	St		24. Notley	A	Rb	
7. Bradford	A	TS	SW	25. Pattishall	B	St	HM
8. Bradwell	A	Rb		26. Rumbolds	A	M	
9. Brixworth	A	Rb		27. Ryther	A	TS	
10. Chithurst	A	M		28. Selham	B	St	
11. Clayton	B	M		29. Stoughton	B	M	
12. Coln Rogers	A	TS		30. Strethall	A	M	SW
13. Corhampton	A	TS	SW	31. Wareham L	A	?	HM
14. Daglingworth	A	TS		32. Wareham M	B	TS	HM
15. Deerhurst M	D	TS	HM	33. Wing	A	?	HM
16. Deerhurst O	A	TS	HM	34. Winstone	A	M	
17. Escomb	A	TS		35. Wittering	B	TS	SW
18. Hackness	A	TS		36. Worth	D	TS	SW

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Cross-section of arch and jambs</i>			<i>Fabric</i>		
A	Arch and jambs square	24	M	Megalithic	10
B	Arch and jambs moulded or recessed	9	TS	Through-stone	13
C	Arch moulded or recessed, jambs square	1	Rb	Rubble	5
D	Arch of square section, jambs moulded	2	St	Small stone	5
			?	Unknown	3
		—			—
		36			36

Decoration

HM Hoodmoulding	6
SW Stripwork	7

remain; but it seemed important to include them in Table 3 because it is the only multiple chancel-arch which survives even in part. It should be noted that our reconstruction of it as a triple arch has subsequently been contested in favour of a double arch with one central column (Carter 1966: 18–19). In any case there can be no doubt that the surviving springings are much too sharply curved to allow restoration as a single arch.

The details of these chancel-arches are listed as was done for tower-arches in Tables 1 and 2; and at the foot of the table notes are similarly given to show how many times each feature occurs.

CROSS-SECTION OF JAMBS AND ARCHES

It will be seen from Table 3 that the plain square section of arch and jambs is in a majority (24 out of 36) but to a smaller degree than for the western tower-arches of Table 1 (34 out of 40). The twelve exceptions to the general rule of plain square cross-

section for jambs and arches fall into six fairly well-defined groups each of two members, all of which are illustrated in Figs. 650–1 at the same scale as was used for the tower-arches. In the first and simplest group the arches are recessed in two plain square orders: at Pattishall the recessing of the arch is very slight and the jambs are left without recessing, but at Kirk Hammerton both arch and jambs are boldly recessed with stepped imposts of similar design. The second group at Deerhurst St Mary and Worth has arches of plain square section but cylindrical jambs. In the third group the arches are enriched by a soffit-roll placed in the middle of the otherwise plain square order: at Wareham St Martin this roll is carried down the jambs, but at Botolphs it is stopped on a corbel-like capital. The fourth group, at Clayton and Wittering, represents an enrichment of the third group by adding two further roll-mouldings, one on each face of the wall. The fifth group comprises the neighbouring churches of Bosham and Stoughton, where the

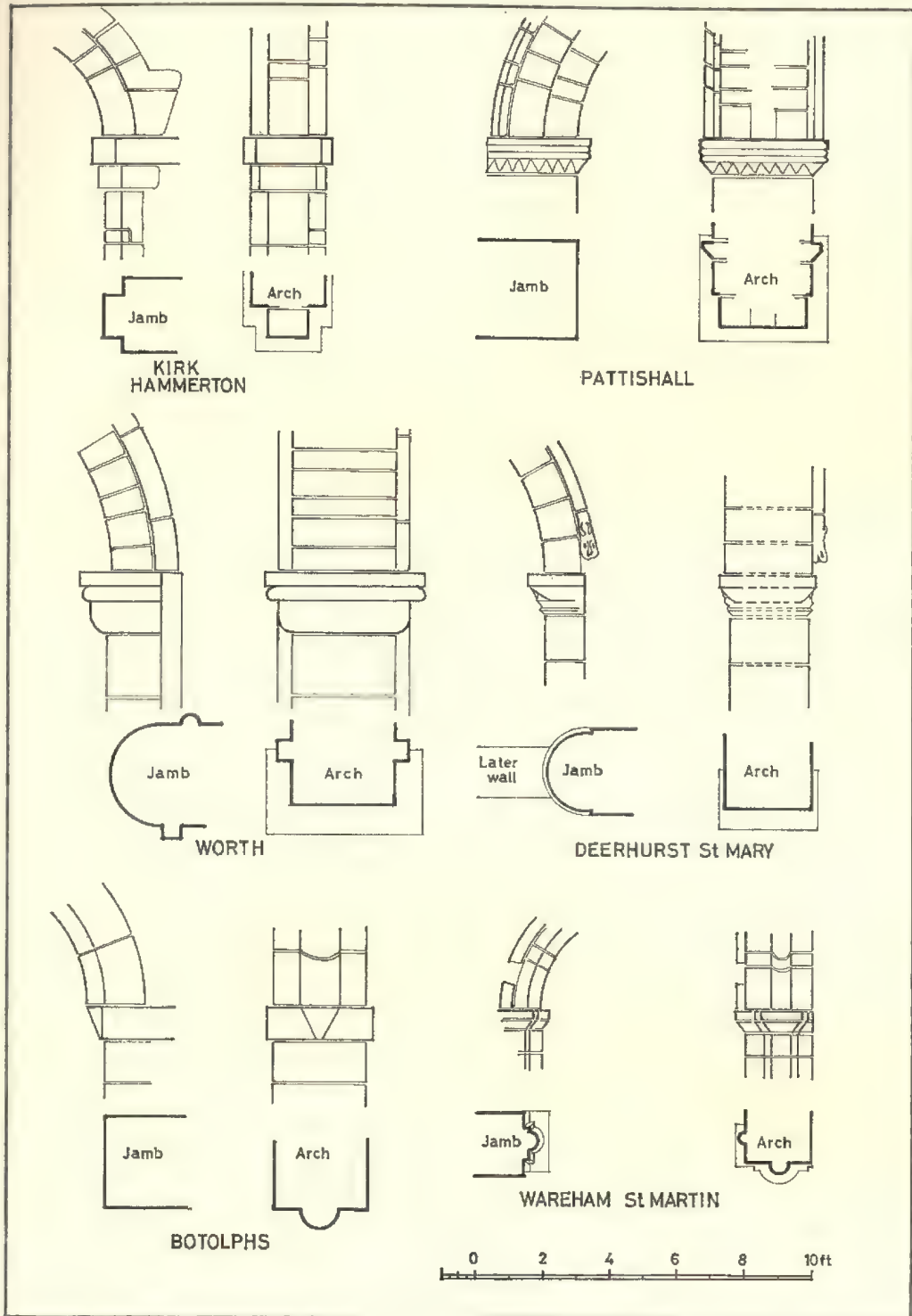


FIG. 650. CHANCEL-ARCHES WITH RECESSED OR SIMPLY MOULDED ORDERS

CHAPTER 5 MAJOR ARCHES

elaborately moulded arches of two orders are almost identical in form but rest on jambs and imposts that differ widely in design. Finally at Marton and Selham we have arches roughly square in section, with rather tentative but quite elaborate mouldings on the angle facing the nave; the jambs are enriched with detached shafts, and there are elaborately carved capitals.

FABRIC

Table 3 shows that thirteen of the openings are built wholly of through-stones, and a further ten though not wholly of through-stones are megalithic, making a total of twenty-three that are built of large stones. Of the remainder, five are of rubble, five of small stones approximating to ashlar, and three are doubtful because their construction is concealed by plaster. The distinctively Anglo-Saxon megalithic construction is therefore rather more in evidence in chancel-arches than in either of the groups of tower-arches analysed in Tables 1 and 2. It should be remarked here that it is sometimes a little difficult to draw a clear distinction between megalithic and small stone construction, and that some observers might well class the chancel-arch at Kirk Hammerton as being megalithic although here it has been placed among those of small stone fabric.

DECORATION

In addition to the structural decoration by recessing and moulding already considered, there is a certain amount of decoration of chancel-arches by imposts, hoodmouldings, and stripwork; and by sculpture, which is mainly confined to imposts or capitals.

Hoodmouldings and stripwork. In addition to vestigial remains at Lusby, hoodmouldings and stripwork occur on thirteen of the thirty-six chancel-arches, and thus with greater frequency than on the western tower-arches (10 out of 40) but less than on the arches of central and axial towers (18 out of 22). On the other hand, to the extent that the latter group is allied to chancel-arches, it is fair to maintain the general proposition that this form of decoration is appreciably more favoured on the chancel-arches than elsewhere.

Special forms of stripwork and hoodmouldings. On chancel-arches there is only one completely surviving example, at Wittering, of the double stripwork of separate half-round and square strips which are such a striking feature of the great tower-arches at Cambridge, Skipwith, and Stow; but vestiges of a similar feature survive beside the jambs of the destroyed arch at Lusby (p. 785). Hoodmoulding of half-round section is used at Wareham St Martin, and triple stripwork at Bradford and Strethall. Reference should be made to Chapter 12 for full details.

Imposts. Only one chancel-arch is without imposts, namely Wing, where it is just possible that an inner order has been removed (Vol. II: 670). Reference should be made to Chapter 17 for full details.

THE PURPOSE OF CHANCEL-ARCHES

From the point of view of modern services the nave and the chancel would probably be more convenient if no cross wall had been interposed, however much its separating effect may have been reduced by the provision of a wide and tall arch. That this is not an idle reflection can be strongly supported by the evidence of the destruction of Anglo-Saxon chancel-arches and their replacement by wider openings at many subsequent periods from Norman right down to Victorian times. But there is probably much more symbolic purpose in the use of an arch between the nave and the chancel than is imagined by modern church-goers or by students of architecture. In many continental churches of our period the apsidal chancel was provided with a stone half-domical ceiling, and there is a strong body of opinion that this had an important symbolic significance akin to that of the domical covering that formed so important a part of Byzantine architecture (e.g. Smith 1918). Moreover it is quite possible that to the medieval mind an adequate imitation of the continental apsidal chancel with its half-domed ceiling would be provided in the less ambitious buildings of Anglo-Saxon England by a cross wall between the nave and the chancel, so long as this was pierced by the round-headed arch which formed the most striking feature of the continental sanctuary as seen from

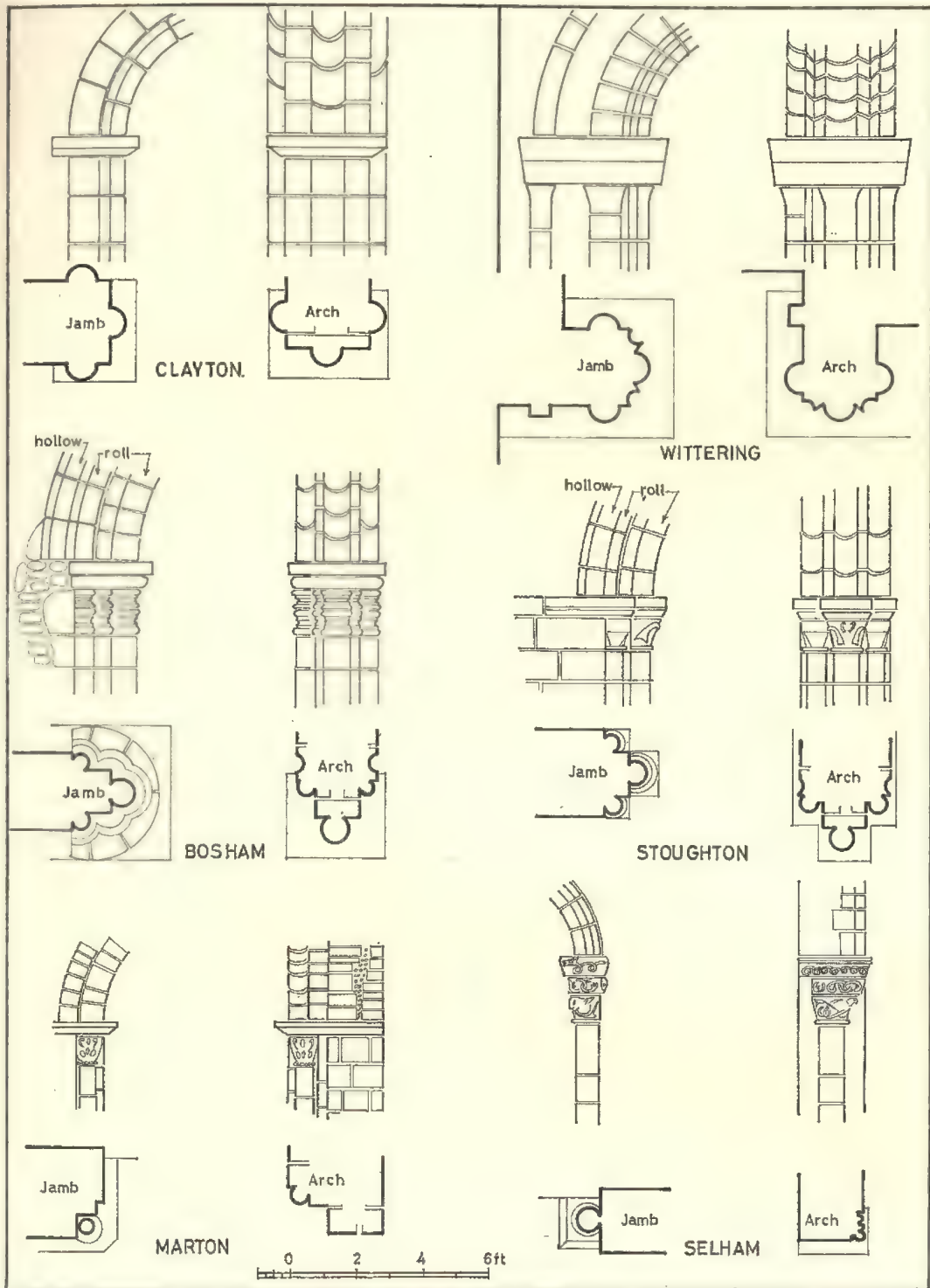


FIG. 651. CHANCEL-ARCHES WITH MORE ELABORATELY MOULDED ORDERS

the nave. In this connection it is important to bear in mind the wide variations which were accepted in medieval times between an original structure and a copy which was sponsored even by such lavish patrons as Carolingian emperors (Krautheimer 1942b). In considering towers, and particularly the German westworks, we shall see the importance that was attached to vaulted entrance-chambers which are often referred to as crypts, and it does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the somewhat enigmatic cross wall in the west porch at Deerhurst St Mary may represent an economical copy of these vaulted entrance-chambers, just as chancel-arches may have represented economical copies of the arch of triumph and the half-domed apsidal sanctuary of the greater continental churches. In any event it is clear from surviving fabric that the cross wall between nave and chancel served to carry scriptural paintings as was the case in the continental analogues.

Turning to more practical considerations we may ask whether there is significance in the variation in size between chancel-arches, ranging from the great 25 by 20 ft opening at Wing down to the remarkably small 10 by 4 ft arch at Bradford-on-Avon. One straightforward suggestion was made by Clapham (1930: III), that the wider arches might have been appropriate for buildings served by a body of clergy, while the narrow arch was used in the small village or parish churches where the establishment was of one priest only. While there is no doubt a good body of truth in this simple explanation there is perhaps a need to consider also the effect of changes in the extent to which the service was expected to be open to participation by the congregation as a whole. Moreover even in monastic communities the degree of integration or separation changed, and with those changes there were associated variations in the degree of integration of the several compartments of the church. For example Boeckelmann (1954: 106-7) associates the monastic reform and its passage from Cluny to Lorraine between 950 and 1000 with the change from narrow arches in Carolingian churches to the widely open regular crossings in the Ottonian churches; and something of the sort is perhaps to be seen in the differences we have noted in Section 2 between the small lateral arches at Dover and Wootton and the

uniformly wide and tall quartet of arches at Milborne Port and Stow. This reference back from chancel-arches to arches in central towers may usefully serve to underline the close relationship between the two groups.

SECTION 4. LATERAL ARCHES

In this section we shall consider both single arches which open from the main body of the church to subsidiary chambers, whether on the ground floor or at upper levels, and also the lateral arcades which are such an impressive feature of a few of our Anglo-Saxon churches. But, as with tower-arches, it will be convenient to set out details of members of the two groups in separate tables and then to consider them all together. Moreover it will be appreciated that there is a somewhat narrow borderline between the lateral arches in the towers of which we considered several examples in Table 2 and the lateral arches which we shall now consider, opening from naves to side chambers or transepts at six churches in Table 4. Indeed reconstructions have proposed central towers at some of these churches, with a consequent underlining of the similarity between the arches which we are here considering separately.

SINGLE LATERAL ARCHES

As usual it is convenient to begin with a brief discussion of arches for which there is only fragmentary information. There are three of these, all round-headed and of plain square cross-section; two are on the north side of their naves, at Barnack and Whittingham, and one is on the south, at London All Hallows; the arch at Barnack is close to the east end of the nave (Vol. I: 47) while those at London (Vol. I: 399) and Whittingham (Vol. II: 658) are close to the west. In addition there are the lateral arches at Repton, which were destroyed in 1854, but are known not only from descriptions and drawings but also from partially surviving columns and capitals (Vol. II: 514 and Fig. 555).

We should next look at the varying degrees of completeness of the evidence at the six churches listed in Table 4. Whereas symmetrical pairs of arches have remained in more or less complete preservation at Britford, Deerhurst and Worth

TABLE 4. *Single lateral arches (LA)*

1. Bitton						4. Hadstock				
1	N	A	TS			6	N	B	M	
2. Britford						5. Paxton				
2-3	N,S	A	M	SW		7	N	D	M	SW
3. Deerhurst M						6. Worth				
4-5	N,S	A	St	HM		8-9	N,S	A	TS	SW
(1st floor)										

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Cross-section of arch and jambs</i>			<i>Fabric</i>		
A	Arch and jambs square	7	M	Megalithic	4
B	Arch and jambs moulded	1	TS	Through-stone	3
D	Arch square, jambs moulded	1	St	Small stone	2
		—			—
		9			9
		—			—
<i>Decoration</i>					
HM	Hoodmoulding	2			
SW	Stripwork	5			

with fairly complete lateral chambers at the latter two places, there is only scanty evidence for the chambers into which the arches led at Britford and it is not until recently that they have been fully understood as constituting north and south porticus associated with a four-cell church as shown in Fig. 735 of Chapter 15. At Bitton only the north arch survives, without any evidence of the chamber to which it opened; but foundations of the southern chamber were found last century (Vol. I: 74); at Hadstock neither arch has survived intact, but the jambs and imposts are complete on the south, and have been recorded in the table where it has also been assumed that the arch itself was moulded as is the arch of the north doorway; at Great Paxton the plain arch and the moulded jambs are complete on the north but the southern arch has been destroyed and the jambs lowered. Finally it should be noted that at Deerhurst the arches are at first-floor level and that recent work has shown that both arches were originally of similar design and size (about 8 by 6 ft) with hoodmouldings round their heads on the outer faces toward the porticus (Butler, Rahtz and Taylor 1976: 358-9).

two square orders supported on quatrefoil columns (Vol. II: 486-7). The arcades at Wareham Lady St Mary are known in some detail from a description, a plan and a painting made before their destruction in 1841-2 (Vol. II: 634-7). They were of plain square cross-section on rather taller and lighter rectangular piers than any that have survived, and they differed from all surviving examples by having hoodmouldings of plain square section.

At Brixworth the complete range of four arches has survived on each side of the nave; at Lydd only the north wall survives, with clear evidence of all three original arches, though one is partially destroyed (Vol. I: 407); at Paxton two arches with a short section of a third survive on each side and it is probable but not certain that three was the original total; at Wareham the plan shows a total of six as the original arrangement on each side; and at Wing there are three on each side, probably the original total. It has seemed simplest in view of these uncertainties of numbers to record arcades as single units in Table 5; but the numbers of arches and their comparative widths are shown in Fig. 652.

LATERAL ARCADES

All the surviving Anglo-Saxon arcades are of round-headed arches, and all are of plain square cross-section on massive rectangular piers except at Great Paxton where the recessed arches are of

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION OF LATERAL ARCHES WHETHER SINGLY OR IN ARCADES

Cross-section. It will be seen from the tables that there is a very strong preference for plain square cross-section (11 out of 14).

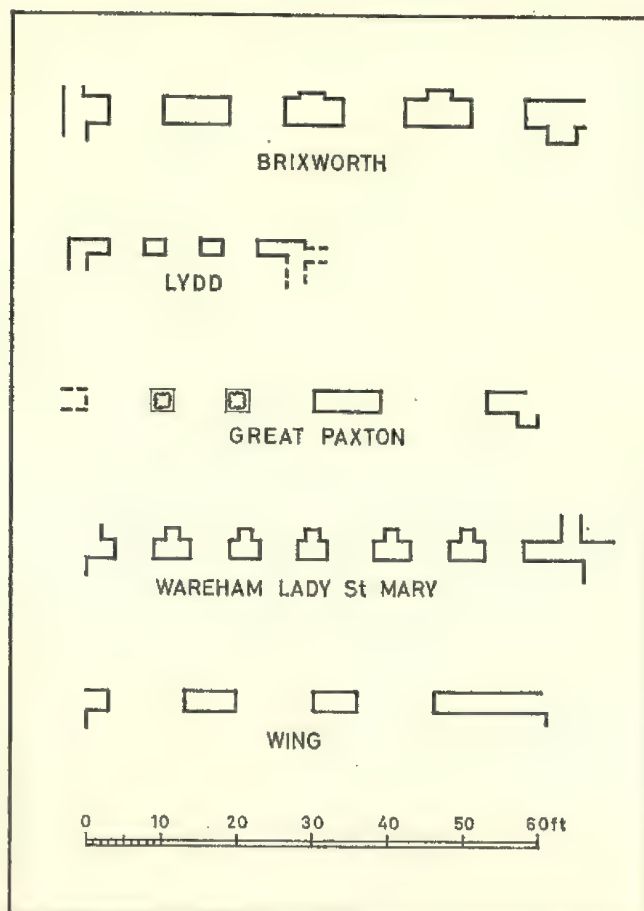


FIG. 652. COMPARATIVE PLANS OF NAVE ARCADES

In each plan only the north arcade is shown.

Fabric. In the single lateral arches there is a strong preference for megalithic and through-stone construction (7 out of 9); but in the arcades the preference is for rubble (3 out of 5).

Hoodmouldings and stripwork. In the single lateral arches there is marked preference for decorative enrichment with hoodmouldings or stripwork (7 out of 9) but in arcades this was used only at Wareham.

Imposts. Only one lateral arch is without impost, namely the opening to the north porticus at Bitton. Reference should be made to Chapter 17 for full details.

Sculpture. The distinction of enrichment that has already been noted between single arches and arcades in the field of structural decoration becomes even more marked when we turn to the field of sculpture. The north arch at Britford provides one of the richest surviving examples of Anglo-Saxon sculpture in an architectural setting, with scrolls of vine stems, leaves and fruits both on the tall vertical panels and also on the square insets; and at Hadstock the impost and capitals of the angle-shafts are enriched with honeysuckle ornament. By contrast there is no attempt at decorative enriching of arcades except at Paxton, and even there it is by way of structural rather than sculptural ornament in the quatrefoil columns with their shaped bases and capitals.

TABLE 5. *Arcades (ARC)*

1. Brixworth	A	Rb	4. Wareham L	A	?	HM
2. Lydd	A	Rb	5. Wing	A	Rb	
3. Paxton	B	M				

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Cross-section of arch and jambs</i>		<i>Fabric</i>	
A	Arch and jambs square	4	M Megalithic
B	Arch and jambs moulded or recessed	1	Rb Rubble
			? Uncertain
		-	-
		5	5
		-	-
<i>Decoration</i>			
HM	Hoodmoulding	1	

SECTION 5. OTHER ARCHES

In this section we consider arches that do not fall into any of the categories already treated above. As their name might suggest they do not constitute a single clearly defined class. There is first a group of four western arches of entry to towers; of these two are still seen complete and serving their original purpose, at Monkwearmouth and Titchfield; while the other two at Brixworth and Corbridge are partially blocked and somewhat mutilated. It would be possible to consider the four of these as constituting a further special class of tower-arches, but on the whole it seems better to reserve that name for arches within the church.

Next there is at Brixworth the mutilated arch which might be called a choir-arch because it opened from the nave to the monastic choir; only its outer jambs remain, with fragmentary indications of high-up springings of arches of tile; but Watkins recorded the discovery of foundations which defined rectangular piers that divided a central arch about $9\frac{1}{2}$ ft wide from two outer openings each about 5 ft wide (Vol. I: 114). It has usually been assumed that the arrangement at Brixworth was another example of the triple arches which certainly existed at Canterbury St Pancras and Reculver; but it should be noted that neither of the investigators who observed the evidence most closely during work on the building interpreted it in this way (Watkins 1867: 29, 53, 55; and Dryden 1889: 348). The words used by each of these writers clearly define a wall pierced by five openings consisting of a tall central arch flanked on either side by a doorway at floor-level

and a window above (Fig. 653). There seems little hope of settling with certainty which of these interpretations is correct unless the stripping of modern plaster from the jambs would reveal on the one hand either a part of a sill of the windows or a fragment of the springing of the lower head of one of the doorways, or on the other hand a continuous array of tiles forming the jamb of one of the tall outer arches.

Next, there is at Deerhurst the blocked arch that opened eastward from the south porticus; its south jamb and its head are of through-stones of roughly

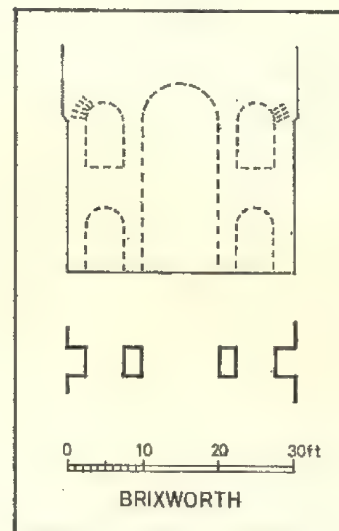


FIG. 653. BRIXWORTH: WALL BETWEEN THE NAVE AND THE MONKS' CHOIR

The upper diagram is my own interpretation of the written records of Dryden and Watkins. The lower diagram records the foundations reported by Watkins.

TABLE 6. *Other arches*

1. Brixworth				4. Lydd			
1	W porch	A	Rb	5	W porch	A	Rb
2	Triple arch	A	Rb				
2. Corbridge				5. Mwearmouth			
3	W porch	?	M	6	W porch	A	TS
3. Deerhurst M				6. Titchfield			
4	S porticus	B	TS	7	W porch	A	TS

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Cross-section of arch and jambs</i>		<i>Fabric</i>	
A	Arch and jambs of square section	5	M Megalithic
B	Arch and jambs moulded	1	TS Through-stones
?	Shape doubtful	1	Rb Rubble
		—	—
		7	7
		—	—

semicircular section, but its north jamb is of plain square section, as if a survival from an earlier doorway. Finally there is the somewhat enigmatical western arch at Lydd (Vol. I: 406–7) which seems to have led from the nave to a western annexe or entry-porch.

In addition to these surviving arches, there is indirect evidence for at least three other choir-arches separating naves from monastic choirs, although there is little or no structural evidence now visible in the buildings concerned. At Deerhurst and Repton the accounts of nineteenth-century restorations record the foundations of cross walls and give indications of the widths of arches (Butterworth 1887: 89; and Taylor 1971: 357–9), and rather tentative deductions about a similar cross wall at Hadstock have been confirmed by recent excavations (Rodwell 1976: 61–3). Moreover disturbed walling at Breamore and Great Paxton, and the rather lame ending of the string course at the east of the nave at the latter church have commonly been taken to indicate cross walls at both these places. There is therefore a considerable body of evidence for separately constituted monastic choirs divided from the nave by cross walls in churches which have now been modified to throw the nave and choir into a single open rectangular space. We shall return to this question when considering plans in Chapter 15, but meantime we note the former existence of a number of arches which, in default of more conclusive evidence, have been excluded from Table 6.

COMPARATIVE DISCUSSION

Cross-section. Only one of these openings has a moulded section for its arch and jambs, and five are certainly of plain square section; moreover at Corbridge where the section has been shown as doubtful it may originally have been square, although at present the jambs are rebated as if for the later hanging of a door, and the head has been greatly disturbed.

Fabric. Three of the openings are of rubble construction and three of through-stones; moreover at Corbridge the present megalithic fabric might originally have been of through-stones if the arch, now greatly disturbed, had been like the jambs.

Decoration. Apart from lightly incised saltires on what may have been a hoodmoulding round the arch at Corbridge, the only decoration on the arches of this section is the elaborate treatment of the west entry at Monkwearmouth. There the lower parts of the jambs are carved to show elaborately entwined fantastic creatures, and the upper parts are formed of pairs of turned balusters set side by side (Vol. I: 437); finally the imposts and voussoirs are enriched by very shallow recessing of certain areas.

Imposts. At Brixworth, Corbridge and Titchfield there is no very clear evidence; the imposts have been cut back or lost in later alterations; at Deer-

hurst the imposts are very seriously decayed; and at Lydd the very worn imposts were probably stepped. Only at Monkwearmouth are there well preserved imposts, of boldly chamfered form, with raised fillets at the arrises (Vol. I: 437).

SECTION 6. SYNTHESSES

If we consider next all the arches of this chapter grouped together as a whole we can summarise the statistical evidence as shown below.

FABRIC

We have already noted that the construction of major arches in the special techniques that we have described as megalithic, through-stone, or rubble

serve to give an indication of Anglo-Saxon workmanship by contrast with the almost exclusive use of ashlar for facing these openings in Norman times. We have not yet been able to assert that these different techniques can be used to distinguish between different periods of building within the Anglo-Saxon era as a whole; but it is nevertheless desirable to list in full all the occurrences of each of the different types of construction so that these shall be readily available for consideration when firm dates become known for more of the churches concerned. In order that the lists may give the fullest possible information, the type of each arch is specified, using the key-letters from the first column of Table 7; moreover this serves to distinguish the arches when more than one major arch occurs at a single church.

TABLE 7. *Major arches as a whole*

Type	Total number	Fabric					Profile					Decoration	
		M	TS	Rb	St	?	A	B	C	D	?	HM	SW
TA	40	8	6	7	16	3	34	5	1	0	0	3	7
TA*	22	9	3	5	4	1	15	3	4	0	0	7	11
CA	36	10	13	5	5	3	24	9	1	2	0	6	7
LA	9	4	3	0	2	0	7	1	0	1	0	2	5
ARC	5	1	0	3	0	1	4	1	0	0	0	1	0
OA	7	1	3	3	0	0	5	1	0	0	1	0	0
	119	33	28	23	27	8	89	20	6	3	1	19	30

TABLE 8. *Places of occurrence of types of fabric*

(a) *Megalithic* (Total 33)

Boarhunt CA	Corbridge OA	Ledsham CA	Stow TA*(N, S, E, W) 4
Bosham CA, TA 2	Hadstock LA	Lincoln M TA	Strethall CA
Botoolphs CA	Hovingham TA	Lincoln P TA	Whittingham TA
Britford LA(N, S) 2	Jevington TA	Paxton LA, ARC 2	Winstone CA
Chithurst CA	K Hammerton TA	Rumbolds CA	Wootton TA* (N, S, E, W) 4
Clayton CA	Langford TA*(W)	Stoughton CA	York TA

(b) *Through-stones* (Total 28)

Barnack TA	Cambridge TA	Deerhurst O CA	Ryther CA
Barrow CA	Coln Rogers CA	Escomb CA	Skipwith TA
Barton TA*(E, W) 2	Corbridge TA	Hackness CA	Titchfield OA
Bitton LA	Corhampton CA	Langford TA*(E)	Wareham M CA
Bradford CA	Daglingworth CA	M Overton TA	Wittering CA
Brigstock TA	Deerhurst M CA, OA 2	Mwearmouth OA	Worth CA LA(N, S) 3

(c) *Small stone* (Total 27)

Alkborough TA	Corringham TA	Milborne TA*(N, S) 2	Sompting TA
Bracebridge CA, TA 2	Deerhurst M LA(N, S) 2	Norton TA*(N, S) 2	Thurly TA
Broughton TA	Glentworth TA	Pattishall CA	Wharram S TA
Carlton TA	Holton TA	Rothwell TA	Winterton TA
Clapham TA	K Hammerton CA	Scartho TA	
Clee TA	Marton CA, TA 2	Selham CA	

CHAPTER 5 MAJOR ARCHES

(d) Rubble (Total 23)

Barsham CA	Colchester TA	Guestwick TA*	Notley CA
Bessingham TA	Colney TA	Haddiscoe TA	Tasburgh TA
Bradwell CA	Dover TA*(E, W) 2	Hales TA	Wing ARC
Brixworth CA, ARC	Dunham TA*(E, W) 2	Lydd ARC, OA 2	
OA(W, Triple) 4	Fornsett TA	Missenden CA	

(e) Uncertain (Total 8)

Howe TA	Lavendon TA	Stowe-nC TA	Wareham L ARC
Inworth CA	Newton TA*	Wareham L CA	Wing CA

PROFILE OF ARCHES

Elevation. We have already noted that, with the exception of the strange cruck-shaped arches at Barsham, Newton and Roughton (all in Norfolk), the major arches of Anglo-Saxon churches are all round-headed. As we shall see in Chapter 6, this is in sharp contrast to the practice for doorways, where triangular and flat heads form a quite considerable part of the whole.

Cross-section. Over three-quarters of the major Anglo-Saxon arches have the simple square cross-section both for arch and for jambs; but we have seen that this simple profile persisted even into the Norman period and so is unlikely to give any useful distinction between different parts of the Anglo-Saxon era. A list of the large number of churches where these simple forms are used would therefore serve little purpose, and we can accordingly confine our lists to the remaining thirty where either the arch or the jambs or both have a moulded or recessed cross-section. Details of most of these mouldings or recessings have been shown in the diagrams of this chapter.

DECORATION

Reference should be made to Chapter 12 for a detailed discussion of hoodmouldings and strip-work and to Chapter 17 for capitals, imposts and sculpture.

SCALE AND PROPORTIONS OF MAJOR ARCHES

It has often been said that the Anglo-Saxons were fond of tall narrow openings, and that by contrast the Norman openings were generally less tall in proportion to their width. It is therefore desirable to list the heights and widths of arches and doorways and to consider how the height varied in proportion to the width. Full details are given in Volumes I and II of the dimensions of all openings, but it is desirable in this chapter to give both a numerical and also a simple visual account of the size and proportions of the major arches in a way which will allow comparisons to be made in Chapter 6 with similar evidence for doorways.

H/W ratio. A simple numerical way of specifying the proportions of an arch, doorway or window is

TABLE 9. *Places of occurrence of moulded or recessed sections*

(a) Arch and jambs moulded or recessed (Total 20)

Bosham CA	Hadstock LA	Milborne TA*(S)	Stoughton CA
Broughton TA	K Hammerton CA	Pattishall CA	Wareham M CA
Carlton TA	Langford TA*(E)	Paxton ARC	Wharram S TA
Clayton CA	Marton CA	Selham CA	Wittering CA
Deerhurst M OA	Milborne TA*(N)	Sompting TA	York TA

(b) Arch moulded or recessed, jambs square (Total 6)

Botolphs CA	Corringham TA	Stow TA*(N,S,E,W)
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(c) Arch square, jambs moulded or recessed (Total 3)

Deerhurst M CA	Paxton LA	Worth CA
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(d) Uncertain Corbridge OA

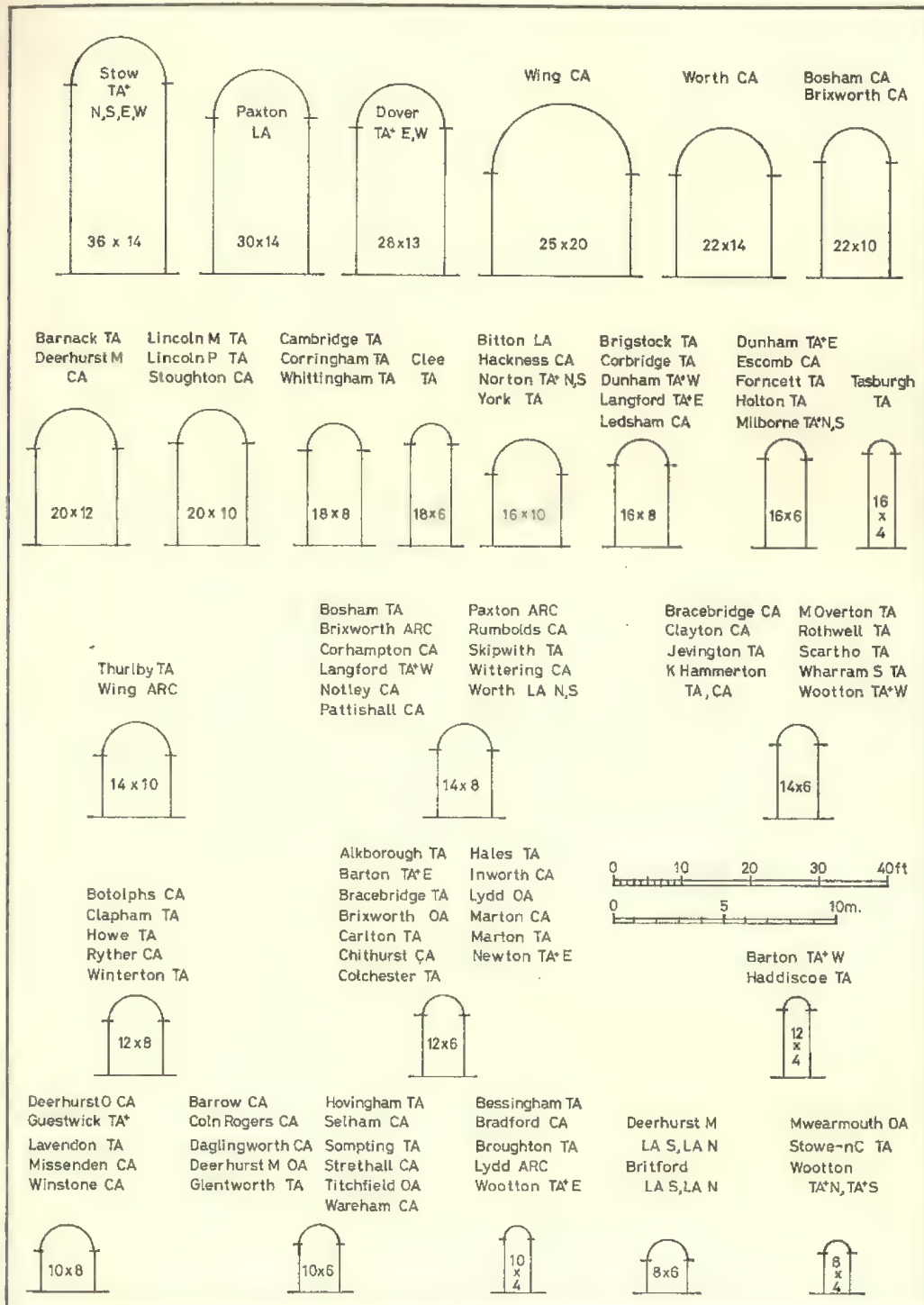


FIG. 654. CHART SHOWING THE SIZES AND PROPORTIONS OF MAJOR ARCHES
Over one hundred arches are listed in this figure, each represented within a tolerance of 1 ft in height and width by the twenty-five representative arches against which their names are recorded.

to state the ratio of its height to its width (the H/W ratio). These ratios have been determined for all the arches of this chapter and for all the doorways of Chapter 6 and windows of Chapter 7, using the dimensions of the openings as measured to the nearest inch. From these ratios and from the known heights and widths it is possible to arrange the openings in three different sequences: either in order of height, or in order of width, or in order of H/W ratio. For instance the tallest arches of this chapter are those at Stow (35.4 ft), Paxton (c. 30 ft), Dover (c. 28 ft) and Wing (c. 25 ft); the widest arches are those of Wing (19.8 ft), Worth (14.1 ft), Stow and Paxton (14.0 ft). But the highest H/W ratios are at the following places: Tasburgh (3.9), Haddiscoe (3.4), Broughton (3.2), Barton (3.0), Escomb, Forncett and Holton (2.8). It has not been considered necessary to print dimensions or H/W ratios in any of the tables of this chapter since the dimensions are available in earlier volumes and in any case the approximate dimensions and H/W ratios for all the arches are presented visually in Fig. 654. It should be mentioned that for a few of the arches listed in the tables of this chapter exact heights are not known, and therefore those arches are excluded from Fig. 654 and from the calculations of the following paragraph; it is for this reason that the numbers of arches specified in the following paragraph are slightly smaller than the totals given in Tables 1 to 6.

The overall average H/W ratio for the arches of this chapter is 2.0 whereas the separate averages for the six types of arches considered in Tables 1 to 6 are as follows:

Table		Average H/W
1	Tower-arches (39)	2.14
2	Other arches in towers (22)	2.16
3	Chancel-arches (32)	1.85
4	Single lateral arches (6)	1.67
5	Arcades (4)	1.92
6	Other arches (5)	1.80

The differences between the several types are not wide; but it is perhaps significant that the two classes of tower-arches have the highest average H/W ratios and that these classes also include not only the highest H/W ratios but also the tallest arches.

Visual presentation of size and proportion of major arches. In Fig. 654 the major arches are drawn to scale in twenty-five groups according to height and width. For simplicity of presentation the twenty-five idealised arches shown in the figure have been drawn with heights and widths at intervals of 2 ft and yet to represent each of the hundred or more arches of this chapter within a tolerance that does not exceed 1 ft in either height or width.

CHAPTER 6

DOORWAYS

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

Doorways form an important group of features in Anglo-Saxon churches, because over two hundred have survived in a fairly complete state, at many different levels, and among them it is possible to distinguish a number of distinctive types. We shall see that, while these types are characteristically Anglo-Saxon, yet neither the position nor the detailed construction of the doorways will at present serve to give clear indications of date within that era. On the other hand, doorways will give useful indications about the arrangements for access to the church; and the existence and condition of doorways that led from one part of the church to another can show the directions and extent of movement within the church. The level at which a doorway occurs is an important consideration, and therefore it will be desirable to divide the doorways into three separate groups consisting of those at ground level, those on upper floors, and those below the ground. The latter group contains only a few doorways associated with crypts, and these are considered separately in Section 7. For the main studies of this chapter we shall be concerned with the churches listed in Table 1, for doorways at ground level, and Table 2, for doorways at upper levels. It will be seen that twenty-six churches whose names are printed in italics occur in both lists; and the survival of doorways at different levels in so many churches gives support to the possibility of making useful comparisons and contrasts between the styles used in the two groups.

Vestigial or substantially complete survivals. Throughout this book the study of architectural styles has been based almost wholly on well preserved features, because deductions which are based on

fragmentary remains are always open to uncertainty. But for certain problems connected with the layout and use of buildings the vestiges of a doorway can give quite reliable information about the routes for movement within the building or for access from outside. Therefore the doorways considered in this chapter include vestigial remains in addition to the well preserved specimens, but the two types are kept separate and the study of architectural styles is based wholly on the latter type. It is therefore convenient to show in Tables 1 and 2 not only the names of the churches with Anglo-Saxon doorways but also the number of complete or vestigial doorways in each church. This information is given by the following conventions: a church with only one well preserved doorway is shown by its name alone; for a church with one vestigial doorway the symbol (1v) is printed after its name; and all other combinations of doorways are shown by separate numbers for well preserved and vestigial doorways, e.g. (1+3v) denotes one well preserved and three vestigial doorways. Doorways which are no longer *in situ* (at Bracebridge, Lewes, and Pattishall) have been excluded from consideration in this Chapter.

In Section 2 we consider the need for code-symbols to specify conveniently the position of each doorway. Thereafter consideration is given to doorways under two main headings: first their construction, and secondly their purpose. The considerations of construction are dealt with in Section 3, including both architectural details and decorative enrichment. These are mainly matters of fact and thus can be based wholly on the evidence of the buildings themselves. The discussion of the purposes of doorways and of the indications which they may give about the use of parts of the church will be found in Sections 4 to 6. These discussions are not simple matters of fact and

CHAPTER 6 DOORWAYS

TABLE 1. *Churches with ground-floor doorways*

1. Alkborough	33. Dover (2)	65. Miserden (2)
2. Appleton (1 + 1v)	34. Dunham	66. Mwearmouth (3)
3. Arreton	35. Earl's Barton	67. Oxford
4. Bardsey (2)	36. Elmham N (1v)	68. Pentlow
5. Barholm	37. Elmham S (3)	69. Prittlewell (1v)
6. Barnack	38. Escomb (2)	70. Reculver (8v)
7. Barton (2)	39. Exeter	71. Reed
8. Billingham	40. Fornsett	72. Repton (2v)
9. Bracebridge	41. Framingham (2)	73. Rivenhall (2v)
10. Bradford (3)	42. Hadstock	74. Rothwell
11. Bradwell (3v)	43. Headbourne	75. St Albans M
12. Branston	44. Heapham (1v)	76. Scartho
13. Breamore (2)	45. Heysham Pa	77. Seaham (2)
14. Brigstock	46. Heysham Pe (2)	78. Selham
15. Brixworth (7)	47. Holton (1v)	79. Sherborne
16. Broughton (2)	48. Hornby	80. Shoreham (1v)
17. Bywell P	49. Hough (1 + 1v)	81. Somerford
18. Canterbury A (2v)	50. Hovingham	82. Sompting (1v)
19. Canterbury M (3)	51. Howe	83. Stanley (1v)
20. Canterbury P (1 + 3v)	52. Inglesham	84. Stanton L
21. Cheriton	53. Jarrow (3 + 1v)	85. Stevington
22. Chickney (2v)	54. Kirby Hill	86. Stow
23. Clapham	55. Kirkdale	87. Stowe-nC
24. Clee	56. K Hammerton (2 + 1v)	88. Tedstone (1v)
25. Colchester	57. Laughton	89. Walkern (1v)
26. Coln Rogers (2v)	58. Ledsham (2)	90. Wareham M (1v)
27. Corbridge	59. Limpley	91. Wharham S
28. Corhampton	60. Lincoln M	92. Whitfield (1v)
29. Daglingworth	61. Lincoln P	93. Wing
30. Deerhurst M (9)	62. Lusby	94. Winstone (2)
31. Deerhurst O (1 + 1v)	63. Melton	95. Winterborne (2)
32. Diddlebury	64. Middleton	96. Worth (2)

96 churches; 117 doorways plus 40 vestiges

TABLE 2. *Churches with upper doorways*

1. Appleton (3)	14. Colchester (2)	27. Howe	40. Repton
2. Barnack (2)	15. Deerhurst M (5 + 4v)	28. Jarrow (3)	41. Roughton
3. Barton (2)	16. Dover (3)	29. Langford (2)	42. Scartho
4. Bedford	17. Dunham (2)	30. Lavendon	43. Singleton
5. Bessingham	18. Earl's Barton (7)	31. Lincoln M	44. Skipwith
6. Billingham	19. Gayton	32. Lincoln P	45. Stoke
7. Bosham (2)	20. Glentworth	33. Marton	46. Stowe-nC
8. Brigstock (2)	21. Green's N	34. Mwearmouth	47. Thurlby
9. Brixworth (2)	22. Haddiscoe	35. Nassington (2)	48. Tredington (2)
10. Broughton (2)	23. Hales	36. Newton (2)	49. Wharham S
11. Bywell A	24. Hart	37. Norton (5)	50. Wickham
12. Cambridge	25. Hough (3)	38. Ovingham	51. Wing (2)
13. Clapham	26. Hovingham	39. Oxford	52. Winterton

52 churches; 87 doorways plus 4 vestiges

cannot be based wholly on the evidence of the buildings; they require evidence from contemporary writings and from related buildings which have survived in more complete condition. It therefore follows that the conclusions of Sections 4 to 6 must be regarded as provisional, and open to

revision in the light of further evidence whereas the conclusions of Section 3 may be regarded as firmly established. Sections 7 and 8 deal briefly with doorways below ground and with continental analogues. Finally in Section 9 there is given a detailed tabular analysis of all the doorways dis-

cussed in this Chapter. This consists in the main of two alphabetical lists of the well preserved survivals at ground and upper levels respectively, showing by code symbols for each doorway its principal features.

Before passing to these detailed considerations it is convenient to mention briefly a few distinctive features of Anglo-Saxon doorways.

Distinctive types of fabric. From the Norman period onward, whether a church is built of rubble or of dressed stone, it is usual for all its important openings to be faced at the angles and even lined throughout the thickness of the wall with carefully dressed ashlar in blocks of fairly uniform shape and size. By contrast, Anglo-Saxon doorways seldom make use of ashlar masonry; instead, they are sometimes of the same rough rubble construction as the walls in which they stand, but they are more often faced with large stones which are seldom cut to regular sizes like ashlar or so carefully dressed, but which are often quite closely jointed and very impressive by reason of their large size. Moreover in many doorways some or all of these large stones have been chosen or worked so as to line the whole thickness of the wall, and often they are laid in alternating upright and flat formation in the way which bonds the uprights firmly into the wall and for which Baldwin Brown adopted the name 'Escomb fashion'.

Distinctive shapes. In Norman and later doorways it is usual for the outer face to be recessed and for its round head to be formed of a number of separate orders of voussoirs in a way which not only gives decoration but also allows for an economy in the use of wooden centring, which is thereby needed only for the support of the innermost order. Moreover most of these doorways are rebated on the interior face of the wall to provide for the hanging of a door within the thickness of the wall. By contrast, Anglo-Saxon doorways are mostly cut straight through the walls, without any external recessing or any internal rebate for the hanging of a door. We shall also see that both gabled and flat heads were used for Anglo-Saxon doorways more frequently than seems to have been common in later periods.

The hanging of doors. Since most Anglo-Saxon doorways were without any rebate it follows that any provision for a door must in these cases have been made by hanging it on the face of the wall. There does not seem to be any literary evidence on this matter but doors hung on the inner face of the wall are found in many Anglo-Saxon churches and while it can seldom if ever be proved that the doors themselves are contemporary with the church, there seems little reason to doubt that the arrangement itself is original.

SECTION 2. CHURCHES WITH MORE THAN ONE DOORWAY

It will be seen from Tables 1 and 2 that there are several churches with two or more doorways and that for a few churches the numbers are quite high; for example at Deerhurst there are nine doorways on the ground floor and nine at upper levels, at Brixworth the corresponding numbers are seven and two, and at Jarrow four and three; at Earl's Barton there is only one on the ground floor, but seven at higher levels; and at Reculver there are no survivals at upper levels, but eight vestiges on the ground floor.

The detailed analysis of construction shows considerable variation of treatment of these doorways within any one church, and it is therefore important to consider whether and to what extent these variations indicate differences of design associated with different importance or use of the doorways at a single time of erection, or whether they indicate changes of fashion associated with a lapse of time between the erection of different parts of a single church. These are difficult questions to answer, and some of them are under active investigation at present, for instance at Deerhurst. Therefore the studies of this particular section or indeed of the Chapter as a whole do not at present lead to any very settled conclusion; they are intended rather as a systematic method of nomenclature for groups of doorways and as an indication of how further intensive study of them may lead to useful conclusions.

Ground-floor doorways. It might well be felt that there is little call for any elaborate system of nomenclature for distinguishing the separate



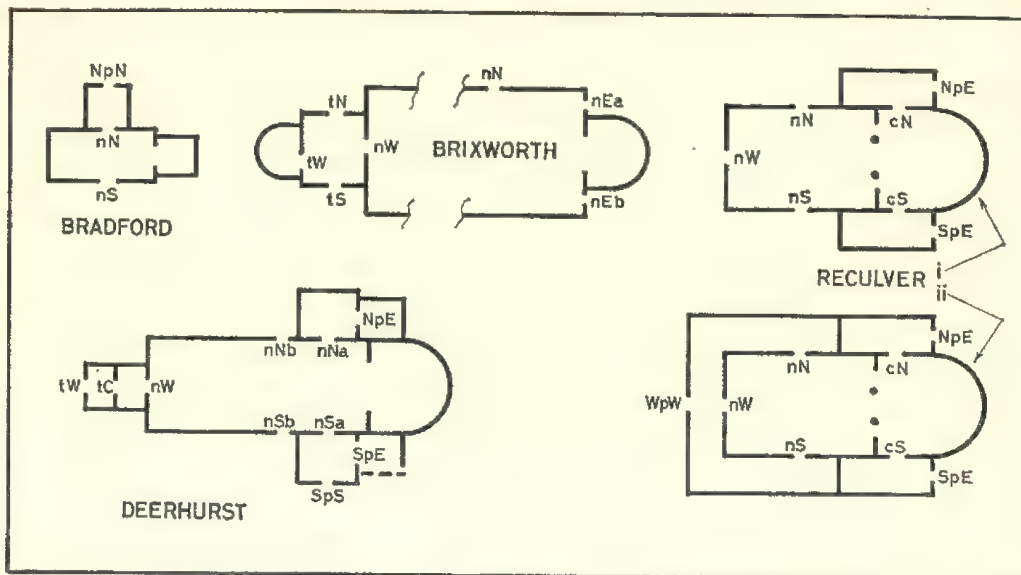


FIG. 655. CODE-SYMBOLS FOR CHURCHES WITH MANY GROUND-FLOOR DOORWAYS

The main cells (nave, chancel, tower, porticus) are denoted by small letters and the compass-points by capitals.

members of a group of doorways even when the numbers are as great as the nine lower and nine upper ones at Deerhurst; and certainly not for simple groups such as the pairs which constitute by far the greater number of instances of more than one doorway in a single church. But if it is to be possible to keep a clear mental picture of the position and purpose of each doorway during a discussion which involves not only churches with one but also churches with several, it becomes necessary to have simple means of distinguishing clearly and simply which one is under discussion. Moreover if we are to be able to distinguish changes of usage which depend on position within the building it is clearly desirable to have a convenient record of the position of every doorway, even when there is only one in a church. For all these purposes it therefore seems best to distinguish the position of each doorway by naming first the principal cell of the church to which it belongs, and secondly the wall in which it stands, for example nave North, abbreviated to nN. Moreover it seems adequate to use only four names for the separate cells of the church: namely nave (n), chancel (c), tower (t), and porticus (p). This choice treats as one unit a nave in which an eastern part is partially separated to form a monks' choir as at Brixworth and elsewhere; and it also makes no explicit

distinction between a porticus, a transept, or an aisle. It also requires amplification in some cases in order to distinguish the position of the porticus concerned. Moreover, although internal doorways communicate between two cells it is convenient to name only one of these, and for this purpose to regard the nave as the principal cell. Thus, a doorway leading into the church from a west porch or tower will be described as a west doorway of the nave rather than an east doorway of the porch or tower, and it will be denoted by the symbol nW. There are only a few instances of more than one doorway in a single wall, and in such cases it is convenient to use small letters to distinguish them, starting at the east for north or south walls and at the north for east or west walls. With these conventions, the naming of the ground-floor doorways at Bradford, Brixworth, Deerhurst and Reculver is shown in Fig. 655, where it will be seen that no more than three letters are needed to specify any doorway and usually two are sufficient. It will be seen that in addition to the letters N, S, E, and W for positions there is a need in the tower at Deerhurst for the letter C to denote central.

Some general observations about multiplicity of ground-floor doorways. Fig. 655 shows how in the original planning of Reculver there was direct access to the

nave from the west and from both sides, but after the building of the more westerly flanking porticus, the lateral doorways nN and nS no longer served as entries and the doorway nW must have become the principal entry. It is not certain what was the purpose of the eastern doorways (NpE and SpE) in the two easterly porticus, but it seems likely that they provided entries for members of the monastic community from their dwellings.

Recent investigations at Deerhurst (Butler, Rahtz and Taylor 1975: 358-9) have shown that the gabled lateral doorway nNa is a later insertion in the north wall whereas the adjoining flat-headed doorway (nNb) gives every appearance of having been part of the original fabric. These facts seem to imply that at Deerhurst the development of the plan involved changes in the principal entries to the nave on somewhat similar lines to those at Reculver. The original stone church (Deerhurst i of Chapter 15, Fig. 724) had access from the sides as well as from the west; after the addition of flanking porticus near the east end (Deerhurst ii or iii), lateral access was still possible through doorways nNb and nSb; still later (in Deerhurst vi of Chapter 15, Fig. 725) the lateral doorways nNb and nSb ceased to provide access from outside and provided only for movement from the nave to the side-chambers.

At Brixworth the main access to the nave was originally through the doorway nW from a west porch which had a great external western portal; this was later blocked by the building of the western stair-turret to give access to upper floors of the tower that had been added above the porch; the doorway tW was built in part of the great western portal; and access to the church may have been provided by way of lateral doorways in the nave or may have continued through the doorway nW and through one or both of the doorways tN, tS which formerly led to lateral chambers but may at this time have opened to the exterior as they do at present. It should be noted here that the doorways nEa and nEb are the blocked openings which formerly led downward from the east end of the nave or monks' choir to the ring-crypt.

Upper doorways. Almost exactly the same principles of nomenclature could be followed on upper floors; but, since upper doorways are concentrated

much more in towers than in the main compartments of the church, it seems more natural to regard the tower as being the cell to which the doorway belongs even when it opens from the tower towards the nave. This convention has the further advantage that it leaves open for the moment any decision on the vexed question whether the doorway opened to a gallery or to an upper chamber; or indeed whether it did other than allow a view of the nave, without providing entry to a gallery or chamber. It is, of course, also necessary to specify by a number the level at which each upper doorway occurs; moreover the absence of any such number in Fig. 655 and elsewhere is to be taken as evidence that the doorways there under consideration are on the ground floor. Using these conventions, Fig. 656 shows the naming of the upper doorways at Deerhurst, Brigstock, Hough, and Norton.

Some general observations about multiplicity of upper doorways. In the main the deductions that arise from upper doorways will be treated elsewhere in this chapter or in Chapter 9 in connection with the general discussion of the purpose of towers; but it will be convenient to pause for a moment here to bring out a few structural considerations which relate to the upper doorways illustrated in Fig. 656.

Taking first the several openings at Deerhurst, the cross wall in the first-floor chamber is known to be a later Anglo-Saxon insertion because it partially blocks widely splayed windows in the lateral walls; therefore the doorway t1C in this wall is certainly later than the chamber itself, whereas the doorway t1E and the triangular window beside it give every indication of being integral parts of the original chamber. Moreover the lateral doorways t1N and t1S appear only as blocked vestiges which can be discerned by the straight joints which mark their original rubble jambs. Neither doorway is therefore included in the discussions of constructional details, but their former existence is important in connection with access to upper chambers and communication between rooms at upper levels. In the second-floor chamber the eastern doorway t2E was clearly made *post hoc* by cutting away the sill and wall below the north light of the elaborate double

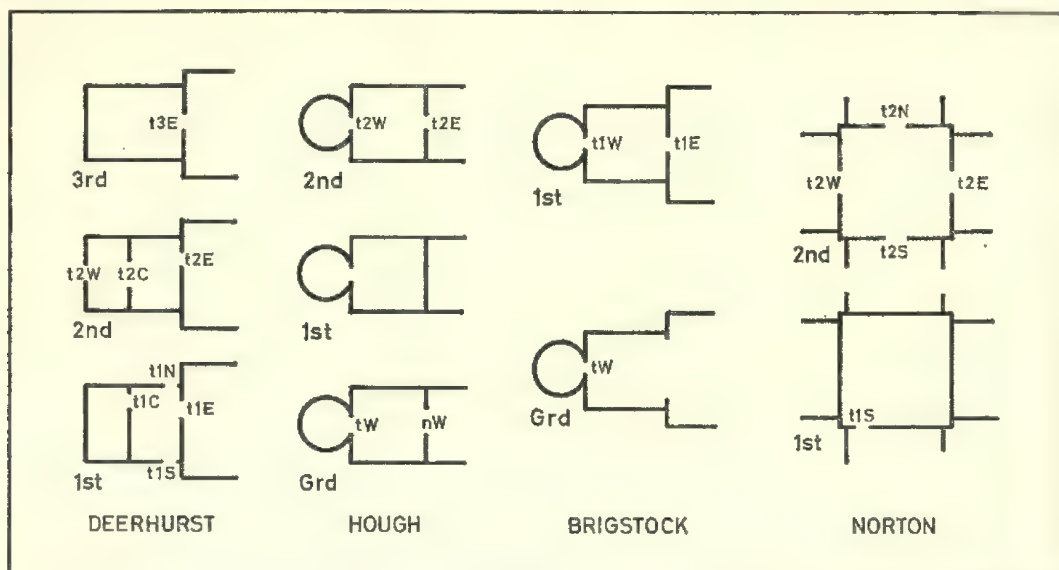


FIG. 656. CODE-SYMBOLS FOR CHURCHES WITH MANY UPPER DOORWAYS
The separate floors (first, second and third) are denoted by numbers.

gabled window; it therefore gives important evidence about a desire to give additional access to upper levels of the nave in late-Saxon times. The cross wall in this chamber is also known to be a later insertion because it partially blocks the elaborate lateral windows. The opening through it (t2C) is not considered further since its jambs and head are of relatively modern brickwork; but the western doorway t2W gives every indication of being an integral part of the chamber and is of great importance in relation to many similar doorways opening out from upper levels of towers elsewhere. Finally the third-floor doorway t3E opening from the tower to the roof-space above the nave is important not only because of the well-worn treads of the stairs that lead through it but also because of its relation to other doorways that led to roof-spaces such as those illustrated in Fig. 656 at Hough and Norton.

Taking next the towers at Brigstock and Hough, there is structural evidence at Brigstock to indicate that the stair-turret and the upper floor of the tower were later additions to an original west porch. Thus the original west doorway of the porch tW later became the access from the tower to the turret-stairway, from which access was gained to the new first-floor chamber through the

doorway t1W; the doorway t1E then no doubt led to a gallery or to a chamber over all or part of the nave. At Hough, by contrast, the tower and stair-turret are clearly integrated as a single structure, but are later additions to the nave. Thus vestiges of the original west doorway of the nave appear still, though much altered, as nW on the ground floor, whereas the doorway tW is an integral part of the later fabric of tower and turret, and has from the first served as access to the stairway; the doorways t1W and t2W give access to the upper chambers, and the doorway t2E no doubt gave access to the roof space over the nave much as did t3E at Deerhurst.

Finally, Norton has been illustrated in Fig. 656 to show that the conventions about nomenclature can be used for doorways in a central tower just as well as for those in the western towers illustrated in the other examples. The four doorways at second-floor level opened from a gallery inside the tower into chambers above the four arms of the church, while the single doorway at first-floor level served to lead a stairway from the south transept up to the second-floor gallery (Vol. I: 468). The same conventions of nomenclature can obviously be applied equally well to axial towers such as those at Dunham, Newton and elsewhere.

SECTION 3. CONSTRUCTIONAL DETAILS

In this section we are concerned not only with the various types of doorways but also with their frequency of occurrence and with the extent to which it is possible to distinguish any changes of fashion with time or place. It will be convenient to begin the discussion of each class of feature with a numerical account of its survival, under the two separate headings of ground-floor and upper-floor doorways; and then to elaborate that bare numerical record by descriptions and drawings of the most interesting features and by reference to the places where they are found. It will be convenient to arrange the discussion under much the same headings as were used for major arches; but since doorways have several different shapes of heads it will be necessary also to consider those shapes; thereafter we shall consider the cross-section of the jambs and heads, the materials used, and the various decorative enrichments. Although these separate headings are convenient for separating the discussion into easily understandable parts, it will nevertheless be necessary to discuss cross-connections between the separate headings, for example the frequencies with which different types of material are used in doorways of different shapes.

THE SHAPE OF DOORWAYS IN ELEVATION

Like other Anglo-Saxon openings, doorways most

often have round heads; but there are several other shapes, and the predominance of the round-headed shape is more marked for ground-floor doorways than for those at upper levels, where gabled and flat-headed shapes are only slightly fewer than those with round heads. A summary account of the various shapes and of their percentage occurrence is given in Table 3. In this table, as in the others of this section, the basic figures are extracted from Tables 23 and 25, at the end of the Chapter.

Round-headed doorways arched with voussoirs. The figures in Table 3 show that a total of 103 round-headed doorways are arched with voussoirs, seventy-six on the ground floor and twenty-seven at upper levels. But since arching by itself is not in any way distinctively Anglo-Saxon it is next desirable to consider how often and where use is made of the distinctively Anglo-Saxon methods of arching with through-stones or with rubble.

(a) *Through-stone voussoirs.* The detailed records show that through-stone voussoirs are used at the following thirteen places, in eighteen doorways all of which are on the ground floor except for one at Cambridge.

(b) *Rubble voussoirs.* Rubble voussoirs are used at sixteen places, in thirty doorways, nineteen on the ground floor and eleven on upper floors. The places concerned are given in Table 5, where it will be seen that Brixworth and Oxford occur in both lists.

If we contrast the use of the two types at different levels, we find that both types are almost

TABLE 3. *Shapes of doorways*

	Ground floor		Upper floors	
	Number	per cent	Number	per cent
Round-headed:				
With voussoirs (RV)	76	65	27	32
With lintels (RL)	7	6	6	7
Gabled (G)	5	4	27	30
Flat-headed:				
With simple lintels (F)	13	11	21	24
With tympana (Q)	10	9	0	0
Uncertain (?)	6	5	6	7
	117	100	87	100

TABLE 4. *Through-stone voussoirs*

Barnack	Cambridge	Diddlebury	Limpley
Barton	Deerhurst M (2)	Headbourne	Middleton
Bradford (3)	Deerhurst O	Laughton	Mwearmouth (3)
			Stow

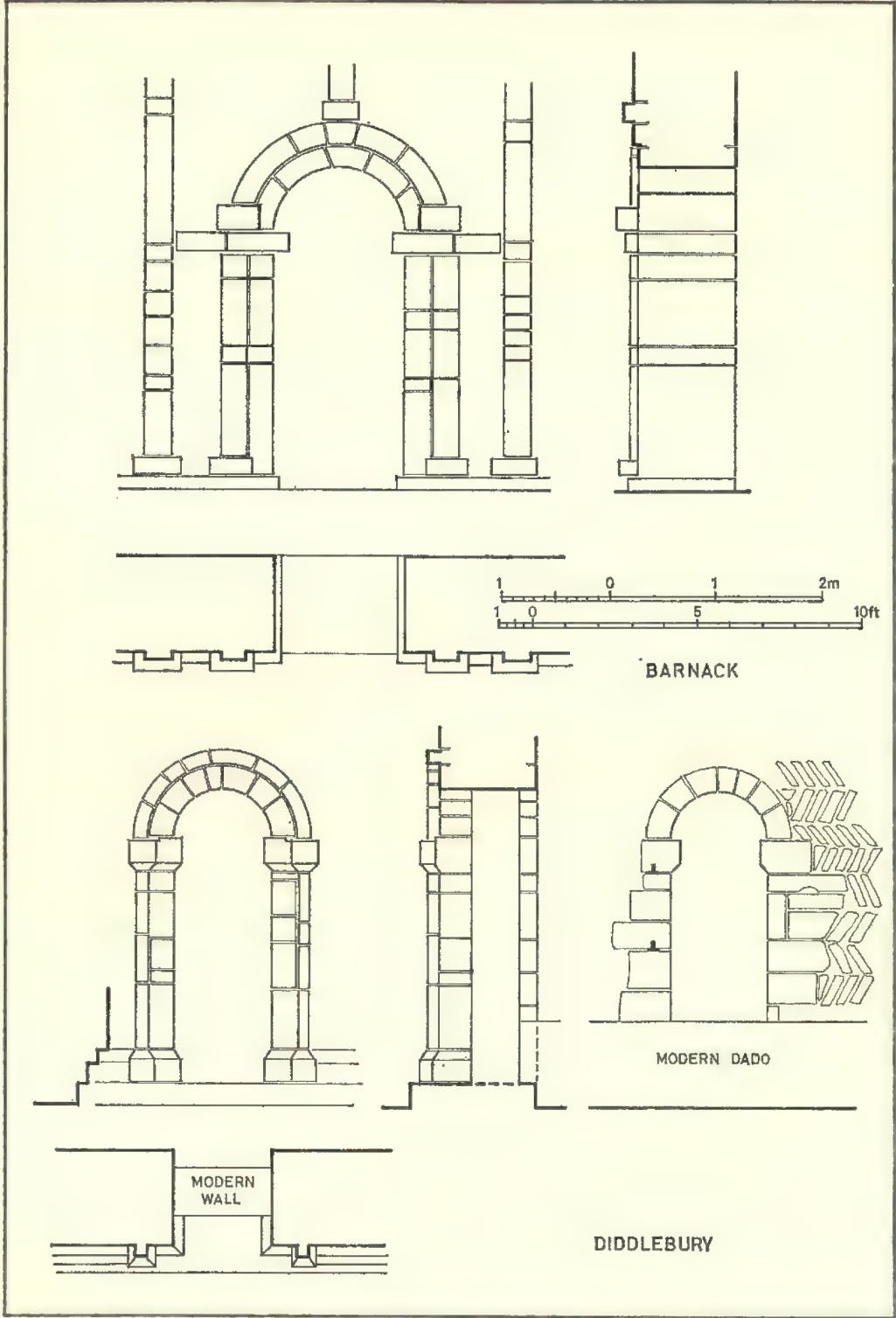


FIG. 657. ROUND-HEADED DOORWAYS WITH THROUGH-STONE VOUSSOIRS
Both doorways also show outlining with stripwork. At Barnack it is integrated not only into the doorway but also into the panelling of the walls.

TABLE 5. *Rubble voussoirs*

<i>Ground floor</i>			
<i>Brixworth</i> (7)	<i>Cheriton</i>	<i>Howe</i>	<i>St Albans M</i>
<i>Canterbury M</i> (2)	<i>Elmham S</i>	<i>Melton</i>	<i>Stevington</i>
<i>Canterbury P</i>	<i>Framingham</i> (2)	<i>Oxford</i>	
<i>Upper floors</i>			
<i>Bosham</i>	<i>Colchester</i>	<i>Dunham</i> (2)	<i>Wing</i> (2)
<i>Brixworth</i> (2)	<i>Dover</i> (2)	<i>Oxford</i>	

equally popular at ground level, but by contrast the use of through-stones has been almost completely ousted in favour of the rubble technique at upper levels, thus:

	<i>Ground level</i>	<i>Upper levels</i>	<i>Total</i>
Through-stones	17	1	18
Rubble	19	11	30

On grounds of practical convenience it might in any case be expected that rubble would be preferred to through-stones at upper levels; but it should be borne in mind that through-stones are quite often used at very high levels in the jambs of belfry openings as at Lincoln, St Peter.

Round-headed lintelled doorways. We have seen in Chapter 5 that the major arches in Anglo-Saxon churches all have round heads arched with stone voussoirs. By contrast Table 3 shows that there are thirteen round-headed doorways spanned by massive stone lintels whose lower faces are shaped to form the curved heads of the doorways; and in Chapter 7 we shall see that there are over 200 windows whose round heads are similarly formed by lintels in the outer face of the wall. This difference in treatment between major arches, doorways, and windows is, of course, easily to be understood as depending on the scale of the openings involved, for whereas major openings could only with great difficulty be spanned by lintels, windows can easily be treated in this way, and doorways might well be said to be about the borderline for the practicability of using lintels for comparatively primitive builders in stone such as the Anglo-Saxons. The thirteen round-headed

doorways with lintels occur in the churches listed in Table 6.

It should be noted that even the Anglo-Saxon taste for megalithic construction did not extend to the use of through-stone lintels except in one doorway at Deerhurst. At Bardsey, two lintels are used in parallel, as half-through-stones; and two of the doorways at Heysham each use three lintels in parallel (Vol. I: 314-16). At Earl's Barton and in the west doorway at Heysham St Peter lintels are used on the inner and outer faces of the wall while the wall between is carried by a system of corbeling (Vol. I: 223). At Somerford Keynes, a lintel is used externally and an arch with voussoirs on the inner side of the wall (Vol. II: 557). The three upper doorways here under consideration at Deerhurst St Mary (t1E, t2W, and t3E) constitute an interesting and homogeneous group; all three have round heads externally and flat heads internally; but only one, t2W, is fully open to inspection and in its original state (see Fig. 658 where it will be noted that both the head and the jambs are through-stones). The detailed construction of t1E is concealed by the later blocking; and the outer face of t3E has been reconstructed in recent times.

Gabled doorways. Table 3 shows the considerable popularity of gabled doorways, and a marked preference for them on upper floors, where twenty-seven have survived by comparison with only five at ground level. The distribution is given in Table 7 where the code-letters after the names of the churches show the nature of the main fabric involved.

TABLE 6. *Round-headed lintelled doorways*

<i>Ground floor</i>			
<i>Bardsey</i> (2)	<i>Earl's Barton</i>	<i>Heysham Pa</i>	<i>Heysham Pe</i> (2)
			<i>Somerford</i>
<i>Upper floors</i>			
<i>Billingham</i>	<i>Bywell A</i>	<i>Deerhurst M</i> (3)	<i>Ovingham</i>

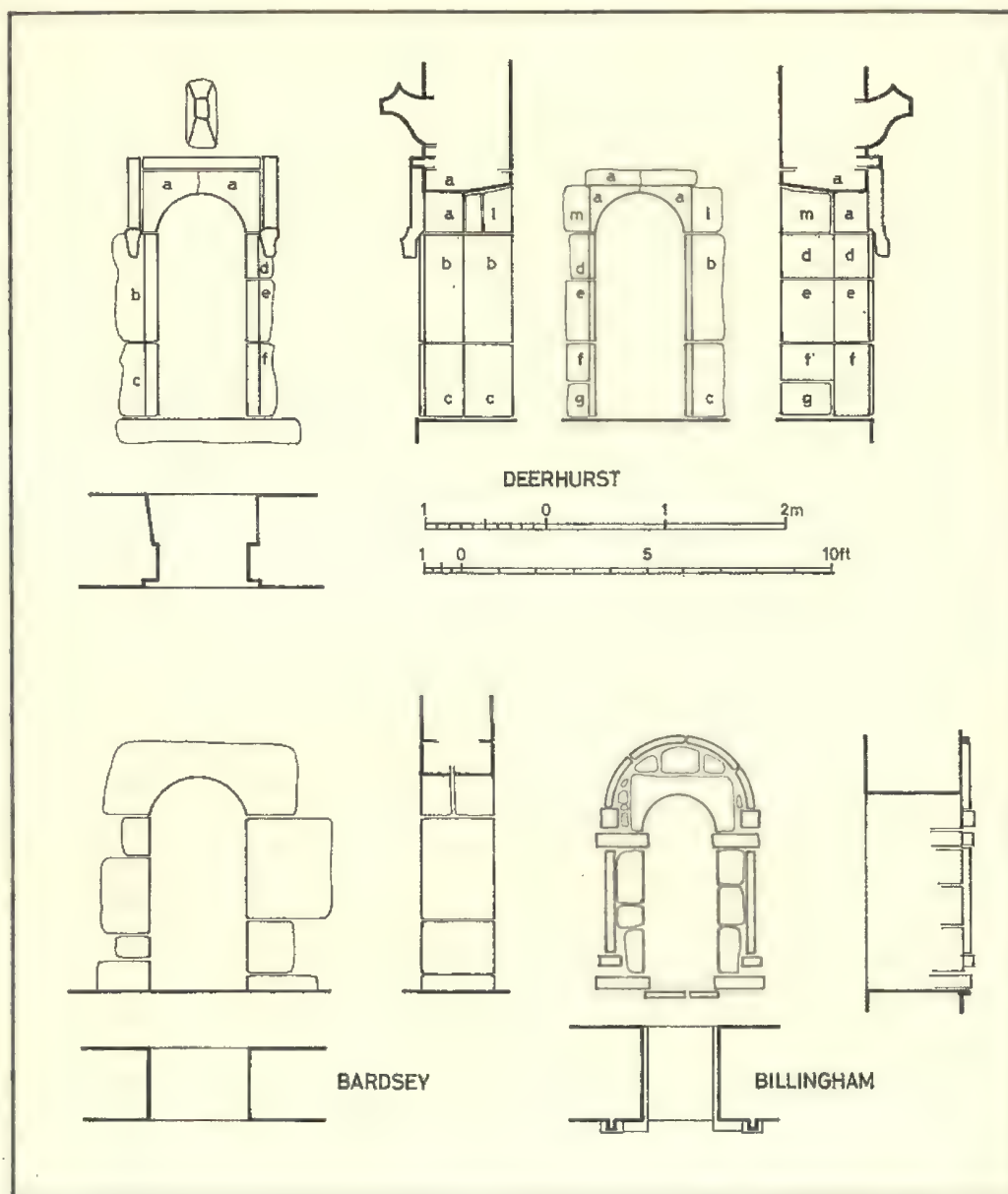


FIG. 658. ROUND-HEADED MEGALITHIC LINTELLED DOORWAYS

The example from Deerhurst (t2W) is unusual in that the lintelled head is a through-stone. At Bardsey (tN) the jambs are through-stones but the head is not, and Billingham (tS2) has no through-stones.

It will be seen that half of these gabled doorways are of megalithic construction (including three that are of through-stones). A further eight are of rubble; in six of these rubble is used throughout, but in two (at Bedford and Deerhurst) the heads are of large stones, of which one at Deerhurst shows Anglo-Saxon interlacing on the small exposed part of its upper face.

Flat-headed doorways. Although flat-headed doorways can relatively easily be spanned by a simple stone lintel and would therefore seem to be the simplest form of opening both to construct and also to close with a door, yet they are used in less than a quarter of all the surviving doorways. It would be tempting to explain this unpopularity of flat lintelled heads by suggesting that they were

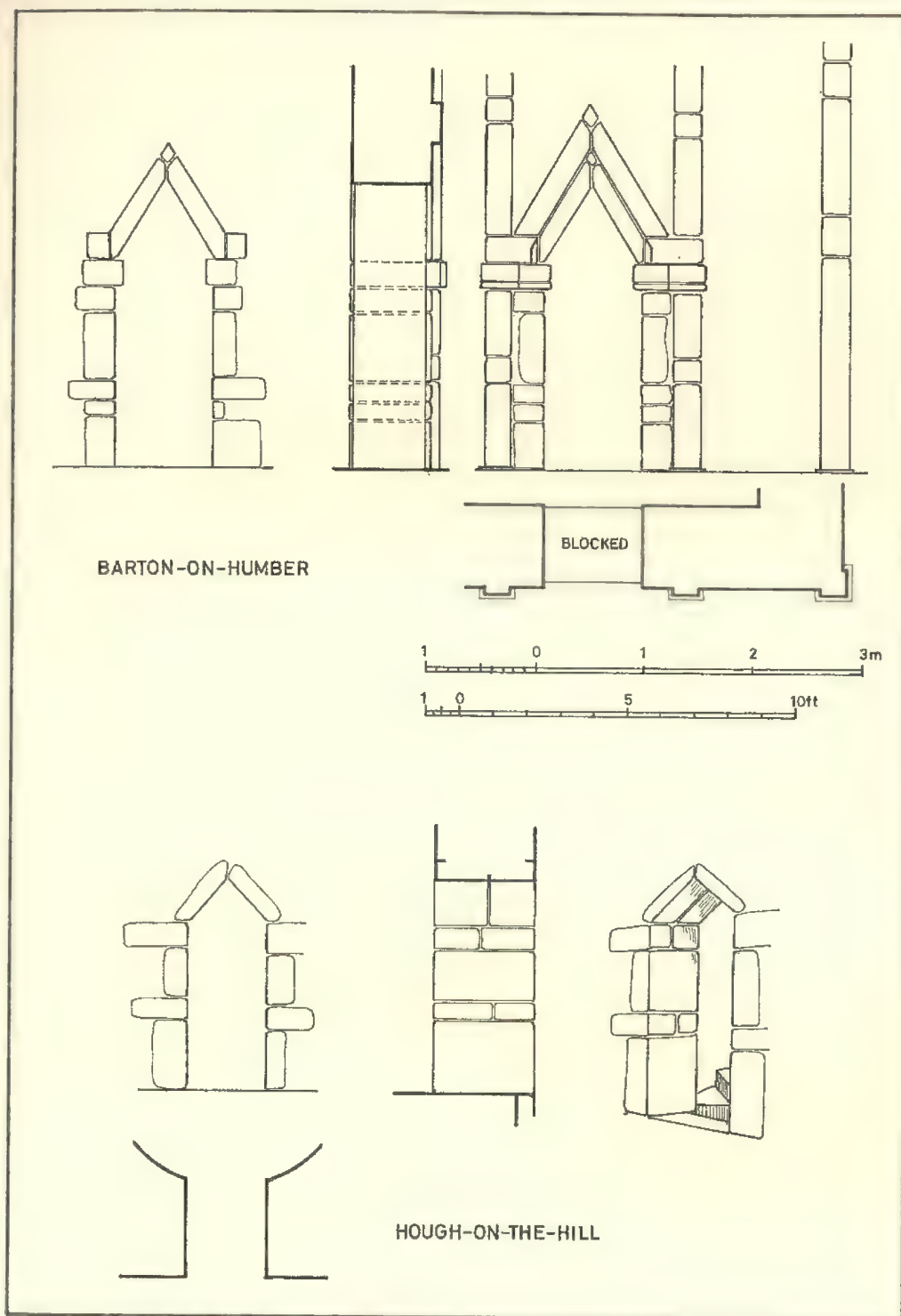


FIG. 659. GABLED MEGALITHIC DOORWAYS

The mixed use of through-stones and half-through-stones is clearly seen at Hough (t2W). The precise nature of the stones at Barton (tN) is concealed by later blocking.

TABLE 7. *Gabled doorways*

<i>Ground level</i>					
Barton	TS	Colchester	Rb	Dunham	?
Brigstock	TS	Deerhurst M	Rb		
<i>Upper levels</i>					
Barnack	Rb	Earl's Barton (4)	4M	Jarrow	M
Bedford	Rb	Gayton	Rb	Lincoln P	M
Bessingham	?	Green's N	M	Nassington	?
Bosham	St	Hales	Rb	Newton (2)	2Rb
		Hart	M	Norton (4)	4M
Clapham	?	Hough (t2E)	St	Singleton	?
Deerhurst M	M	Hough (t2W)	M	Thurlby	TS

regarded as being less strong than arched heads; and it could be argued that the lintelled doorways surmounted by tympana under arched heads were deliberately designed to give the advantage of a flat head for a door as well as the security of a stone arch. But this cannot be the whole story for, as we have seen, there are thirteen round-headed doorways whose heads are covered by lintels rather than arched voussoirs; and if there had been any general doubt about the security of lintels it could hardly be believed that builders who used a lintel would deliberately weaken it by cutting away the lower face to form a round head. Thus it would seem that the general preference for a round head must have been based on a stylistic rather than a structural argument.

The full list of flat-headed doorways is given in Table 8, where it will be seen that whereas doorways with tympana occur only on the ground floor, simple lintelled heads are used also, and indeed more often, on upper floors. Two interesting flat-headed doorways with simple lintels at

Hough-on-the-Hill are illustrated in Fig. 660. Two further points should be noted about tympana before leaving flat-headed doorways. First, the arrangement of the head at Billingham is unique and is illustrated in Fig. 661; it was described in Vol. I: 67-8, and reasons were there given for believing that it was originally an external west doorway. Secondly, while the jambs of the west doorways at Branston and Lincoln St Peter give every indication of being original, the tympana appear to be of Victorian workmanship; there is contemporary written evidence for this at the latter place (Vol. I: 397), and there is also the evidence of two pre-restoration drawings (Fig. 661) to show that the south jamb was not changed at that time. These drawings from the Willson collection at the Society of Antiquaries not only confirm the de Wint painting (Vol. I: 397) but also indicate in fo. 31 that the original form of the doorway had a flat head and a tympanum outlined with a hoodmoulding.

TABLE 8. *Flat-headed doorways*

<i>Flat heads with tympana (all on ground floor)</i>					
Billingham	M	Lincoln P	M	Winstone (2)	2M
Branston	M	Reed	St	Winterborne (2)	2M
Hornby	St	Rothwell	M		
<i>Flat heads with simple lintels</i>					
<i>(a) ground floor</i>					
Appleton	M	Deerhurst M (4)	4M	Seaham (2)	2M
Bywell P	M	Escomb (2)	2TS	Stowe-nC	St
Canterbury M	Rb	Hough	M		
<i>(b) upper floors</i>					
Appleton (3)	3M	Glentworth	M	Marton	Rb
Barnack	TS	Hough	TS	Mwearmouth	M
Brigstock (2)	2Rb	Hovingham	M	Norton	M
Broughton (2)	2M	Howe	Rb	Scarcho	St
Deerhurst M	Rb	Langford (t1E)	Rb	Stoke	St
		Langford (t1W)	M	Winterton	?

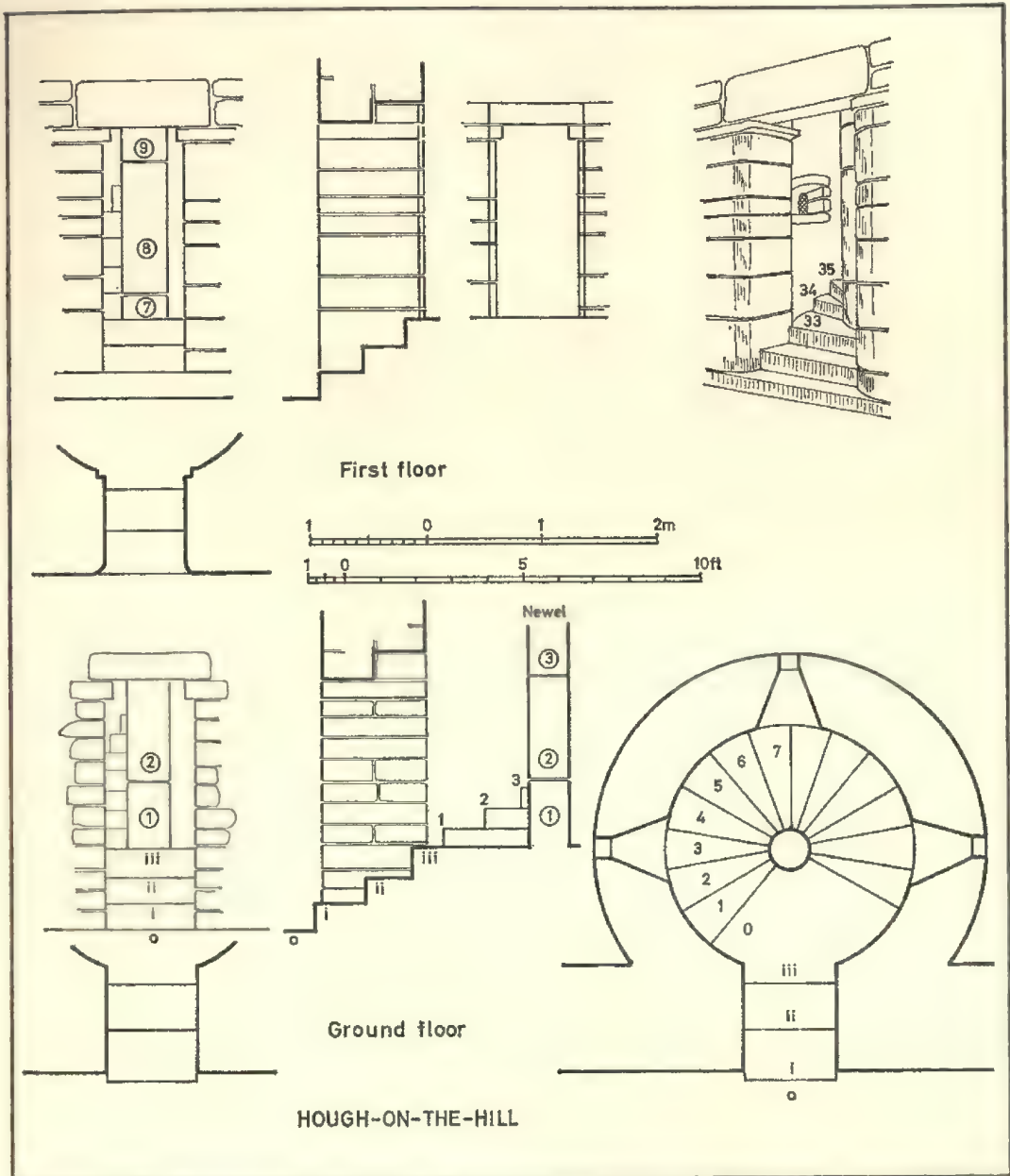


FIG. 660. FLAT-HEADED MEGALITHIC DOORWAYS

This figure also illustrates some special characteristics of Anglo-Saxon stairways to which reference is made in Chapter 9, Section 2. It should also be noted how the lintelled heads are stepped up in the thickness of the wall in sympathy with the steps below.

CROSS-SECTION OF JAMBS AND HEADS

As with major arches, by far the most usual cross-section for the jambs and heads of doorways is the simple square shape cut straight through the wall. But it will be seen from the figures in Table 9 that this preference is even more marked for upper

doorways than for those on the ground floor (87 per cent by contrast with 63 per cent). On the other hand rebating as if for the hanging of a door appears less frequently at upper levels than at the ground (5 per cent by contrast with 22 per cent). Decorative elaborations such as moulding or recessing of the jambs or heads are used very little

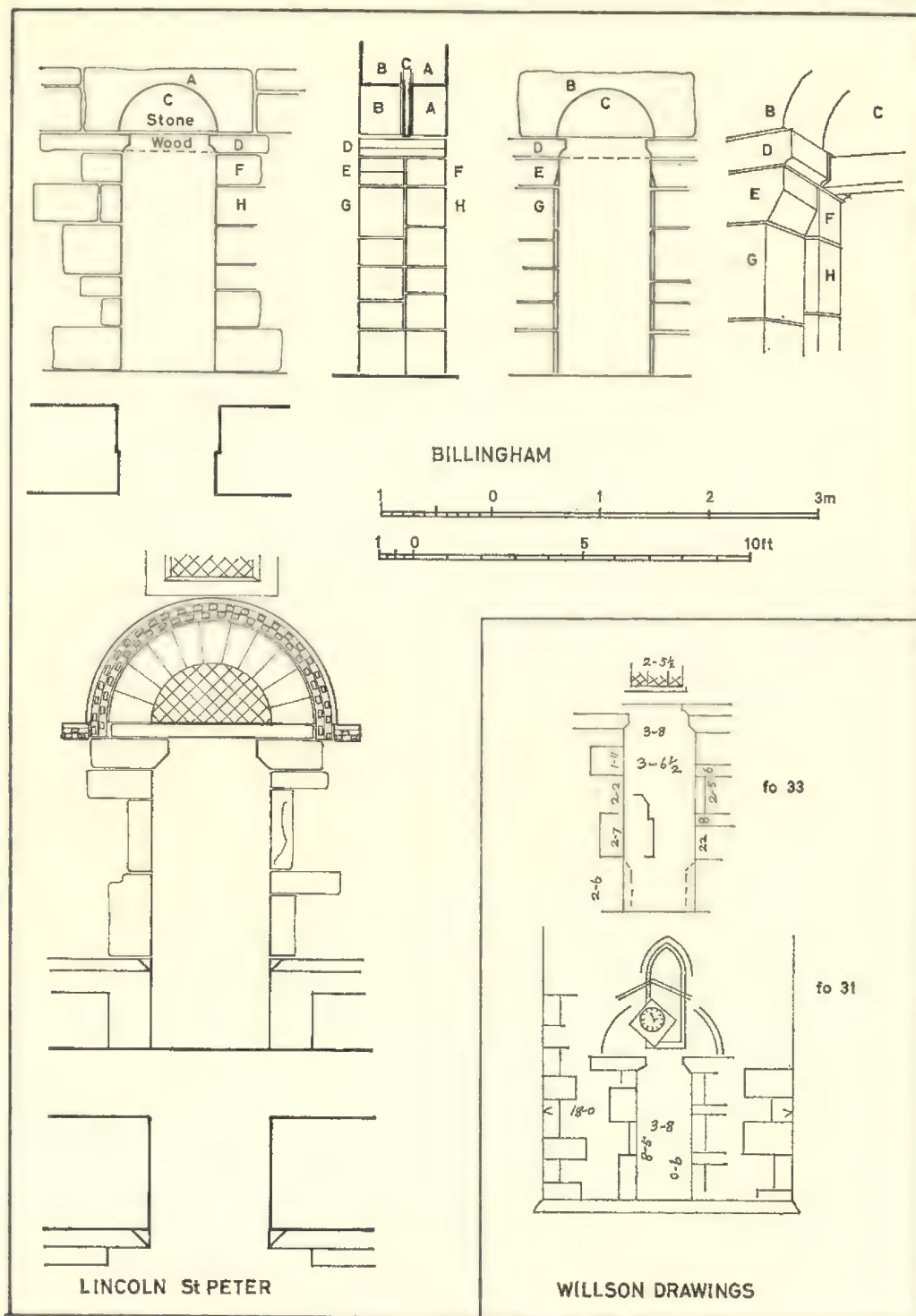


FIG. 661. FLAT-HEADED DOORWAYS WITH TYMPANA

The thin tympanum at Billingham is unique, and the curious external rebate of the jambs is illustrated in detail in the larger scale perspective inset. The inset Willson drawings of the west doorway at Lincoln St Peter indicate that the south jamb may survive more or less intact from before the Victorian restoration and that there was probably an original hoodmoulding.

TABLE 9. *Cross-sections of jambs and heads*

	Ground-floor		Upper floors	
	Number	per cent	Number	per cent
Plain square (A)	74	63	76	87
Rebated (A*)	25	22	4	5
Moulded or recessed (B)	12	10	2	2
Uncertain (?)	6	5	5	6
	117	100	87	100

at any level, and again their use is much less frequent at upper levels (2 per cent by contrast with 10 per cent). A summary account of numbers and percentages of the shapes is given in Table 9, and further details are discussed below.

Plain square section. The figures of Table 9 show clearly that it is true to say, as did both Baldwin Brown and Clapham, that most of the surviving Anglo-Saxon doorways are cut straight through the wall as if for the simple method of hanging a door against the inner wall-face. Moreover doors hung in this fashion survive at a number of these churches, of which Hadstock is perhaps the most important example in that the door itself may well be original.

Rebated section. On the other hand it should not be overlooked that about one-quarter of the ground-floor doorways have rebated jambs, and the list given below shows that these are found not only at early churches such as Escomb and Monkwearmouth but also at churches that would generally be accepted as late such as Headbourne, Winstone and Winterborne. Baldwin Brown (1925: 30) suggested that in certain late examples the rebates had been cut in modern times; but there is good evidence that in most if not all of the twenty-nine doorways listed below the rebates are original. By contrast, the rebates at Limpley Stoke are shown by the tooling to be later and therefore that doorway is shown in Table 23 as unrebated.

It should further be noted that though we speak of doorways as being rebated as if for the hanging of a door it is by no means certain that all of these rebates were indeed intended for this purpose. We have advanced reasons (Vol. I: 67-8) for believing that at Billingham the rebates were originally a

decorative feature on the outer face of the west doorway of the nave before it was enclosed by the later Anglo-Saxon tower; and there seems good reason for believing that this was also true for the gabled doorway at Brigstock and that much the same general story applies to two of the doorways in the nave at Deerhurst St Mary (nNb and nSb). It is possible that the rebated west face of the first-floor doorway at Hough was also originally a decorative feature.

TABLE 10. *Rebated doorways*

	Ground level	
Billingham	Escomb (2)	Mwearmouth (3)
Brigstock	Headbourne	Pentlow
Corbridge	Heysham Pa	Winstone
Daglingworth	Heysham Pe (2)	Winterborne (2)
Deerhurst M (4)	Ledsham (2)	Worth (2)
(nNb, nSa, nSb, SpS)		
	Upper levels	
Deerhurst M (2)	Hough	Stoke
(t1E, t2W)	(t1W)	

The simplest evidence for accepting the rebates as original is provided for most of these doorways by the tooling. But there are other even more conclusive arguments; for Billingham see Vol. I: 67-8; for Deerhurst and Ledsham the round external heads and square internal heads show every indication of being an original part of the design; and for Deerhurst and Heysham it is hard to believe that later modification would have been carried out so uniformly over several doorways in each place.

Moulding or recessing. There is very little use of either moulding or recessing in Anglo-Saxon doorways, but the few places of occurrence are as follows:

TABLE II. *Moulded or recessed doorways*

<i>Ground floor</i>			
Barholm	Hadstock	Kirkdale	Reed
Branston	Hovingham	K Hammerton	Wharram S
Broughton	Kirby Hill	Lincoln M	Winstone
<i>Upper floor</i>			
Tredington (2)			

Whereas mouldings can scarcely be anything other than a decorative feature, recessing may well have been developed for purely constructional reasons to enable the use of light wooden centring to support a narrow inner order of stone voussoirs rather than the much heavier and wider centring that would have been needed for the single order that would have supported the full width of the wall. But while recessing was widely used for this constructional purpose as well as for decorative reasons in Norman and later times, the remarkable fact which emerges from a study of Anglo-Saxon recessed arches is that almost all of them fail to make any use of this constructional advantage of recessing. This can best be seen by considering the detailed treatment of recessing in the few places where it is used.

(a) *Recessed jambs and arches.* There are only six Anglo-Saxon doorways in which both the arch and the jambs appear to have been recessed, namely Broughton, Kirby Hill, Kirkdale, Kirk Hammerton, Wharram, and the south doorway at Winstone, but it is only at Broughton, Kirby Hill and Winstone that the inner order is recessed deeply behind the outer order and also serves to support it. At Kirkdale (Vol. I: 359) and Kirk Hammerton the inner order is recessed only very slightly behind the outer, so that almost the full width of the wall needed to be covered by the centring; and at Wharram (Vol. II: 650), although the inner order is appreciably recessed, it does not support the outer order, which is laid independently and would have needed its own centring.

(b) *Recessed jambs and moulded arches.* In a further group

of doorways with recessed jambs the arches are not recessed but are moulded on the wall-face and arris, with no appreciable reduction in the thickness of the wall, which therefore needed wide support during construction. To this group there belong Branston, Hadstock, Hovingham and Reed, all of which are illustrated in the plates at the end of Volume II (Figs. 404, 480, 494 and 553).

(c) *Mouldings alone.* Simple hollow mouldings are used on the doorways at Tredington (Vol. II: 626) and Lincoln St Mary; and at Barholm (Vol. I: 42) a roll-moulding is carried on the arrises of the jambs and head.

COMPARATIVE USE OF MATERIALS

It will be seen from Table 12 that megalithic fabric is used in over half of the surviving Anglo-Saxon doorways, and that this is true both for ground-floor doorways and also for those at upper levels; but, as might be expected, the use of through-stones is markedly less frequent in the upper openings. It will also be seen that rubble follows next after megalithic fabric and that it is used appreciably more often than quasi-ashlar, especially at upper levels.

A distribution map showing the use of megalithic and rubble fabric is given in Fig. 663; for the sake of economy the place-names are not separately listed here in the text especially because they can be read from Tables 23 and 25 by noting the places where the code-symbols M, TS and Rb occur. From the distribution map it will be noted that whereas megalithic fabric (including through-

TABLE 12. *Comparative use of materials*

	<i>Ground floor</i>		<i>Upper floors</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Megalithic fabric:				
Through-stones (TS)	21	18	7	8
Other megalithic (M)	51	43	37	43
Quasi-ashlar (St)	14	12	9	10
Rubble (Rb)	24	21	23	26
Uncertain (?)	7	6	11	13
	—	—	—	—
	117	100	87	100
	—	—	—	—

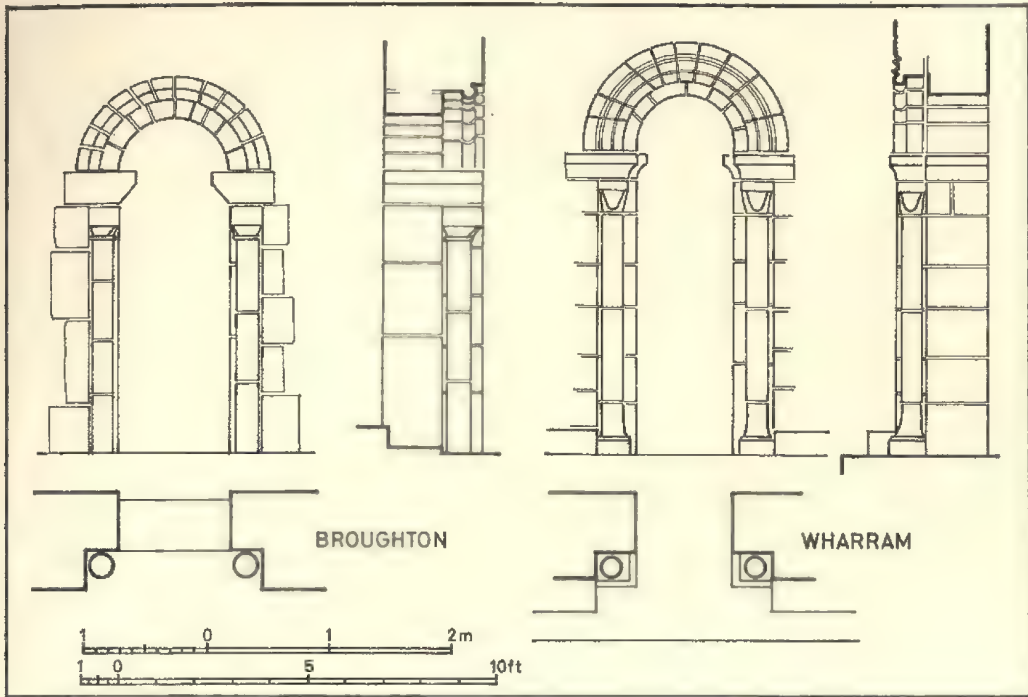


FIG. 662. MOULDED AND RECESSED DOOR-HEADS
Superimposed orders are used at Broughton and parallel orders at Wharram-le-Street.

stone) is used fairly uniformly throughout the country, the use of rubble is confined to the south and east in much the same way as is the case with double-splayed windows (see Fig. 673 of Chapter 7). It is therefore perhaps not unreasonable to suggest that an increased local popularity of rubble fabric was primarily due to an absence of good building stone in the area concerned. It will, however, be noted that a few churches in those areas (notably Cambridge, Dover, and Hadstock) make use of megalithic fabric, and that at Dover large stones are used in one doorway and rubble in others.

Partial through-stone fabric. The twenty-eight doorways listed in Table 12 as being of through-stone fabric are those in which through-stones are used throughout the whole of the jambs and heads. There are many others in which some through-stones are used, but these have all been classed as megalithic, even if the numbers of through-stones have been in a majority. There are also several doorways in which half- or three-quarter-through-stones are used even in openings which

are cut straight through the wall; and there are also examples of the logical use of three-quarter-through-stones in doorways such as those at Hovingham, Kirkdale, and Kirk Hammerton (tW), where the comparatively shallow recessing makes this technique especially convenient.

Logical purpose of through-stone technique. It may well be that through-stone technique was regarded as being specially desirable for doorways as a means of giving a facing to the opening in a manner which would be secure against structural failure or minor breakage by the wear and tear that is associated with constant passage through these openings. Moreover if doors were hinged in rebated doorways, they could be held shut by cross-bars that could be slotted into the jambs without fear of breakage if through-stones were used.

Different types of through-stone technique. At Monkwearmouth the jambs of the doorways represent perhaps the acme of through-stone technique in that each jamb is formed from a single upright



FIG. 663. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF MEGALITHIC AND RUBBLE FABRIC IN DOORWAYS
The map includes both ground-floor and upper doorways, and megalithic fabric whether or not of through-stones.

stone which is held securely in place by a through-stone impost that bonds deeply into the body of the wall. In the more usual Escomb-fashion, each jamb is constructed of several upright through-stones placed alternately with deeply bonding flat stones, as at Escomb itself and Barton (Fig. 659). Yet another type is to be seen at Hough (Fig. 660)

where the stones of the jambs are laid on their faces and thus need no special bonding into the body of the wall. Finally, as at Deerhurst (Fig. 658), the several stones of the jambs may all be laid on edge, without any flat stones to bond them back into the wall.

DECORATION

On the whole doorways received much less decorative enrichment than major arches. In particular even imposts were used more sparingly, perhaps because they were regarded as being superfluous for the many doorways whose heads were not arched with voussoirs. The use of imposts and sculpture is treated fully in Chapter 17 and reference should be made also to Chapter 12 for the use of stripwork and hoodmouldings.

SIZE AND PROPORTIONS OF
ANGLO-SAXON DOORWAYS

It has long been appreciated that among Anglo-Saxon doorways there are several that are both tall in an absolute sense and also exceptionally tall in proportion to their width. A similar liking for openings that are tall in relation to their width was noted in Chapter 5 in considering major arches, and it now remains to consider the evidence for doorways. Measurements are available only for seventy-nine ground-floor doorways and only nineteen on upper floors, but these may serve to give a reasonably true picture of the whole. As in Chapter 5 it will be convenient to rely on a figure as the simplest way of presenting the main body of this evidence, but it will be desirable to list the actual dimensions of a few of the tallest, shortest, widest and narrowest openings. These dimensions are as shown in Table 13.

The largest H/W ratio is 7.0, for Ledsham; the smallest is 1.4 for the rebuilt doorway tC at Deerhurst; and the average for the ground floor doorways is 2.7. The average for the nineteen upper doorways is 2.1.

Visual presentation of size and proportion of doorways. In Fig. 664 the doorways are drawn to scale in groups according to shape and size. For simplicity of presentation the sizes are taken to the nearest foot.

Summary. It will be fair to summarise the numerical and visual evidence by saying that ground-floor doorways do indeed include several which are exceptionally tall for their width and that this tendency is much less pronounced for those on upper floors. On the evidence available it would be rash to propose any firm reason for these very tall proportions; but it would be foolish not to draw attention to one possible reason, namely the desire to allow a cross or lighted candles on staves to be carried in procession through certain doorways.

SECTION 4.
DOORWAYS OF MAIN ACCESS

In this and in subsequent sections dealing with the purpose of doorways we shall consider the evidence that is provided not only by the fully preserved doorways but also by those that have

TABLE 13. *Size and proportion of doorways*

	Height (ft)	Width (ft)	H/W
Tallest doorways:			
Worth (nN, nS)	14.0	3.3	4.2
Ledsham (nS)	14.0	2.0	7.0
Lincoln M (tW)	13.5	4.2	3.2
Dover (nS)	11.5	3.5	3.2
Laughton (NpN)	10.2	3.3	3.1
Shortest doorways:			
Escomb (nM)	5.6	3.0	1.9
Brixworth (nEa)	5.5	2.7	2.0
Bardsey (tS)	5.1	2.6	2.0
Wing (NpE)	5.0	2.5	2.0
Widest doorways:			
Deerhurst M (nW)	10.0	5.8	1.7
Brixworth (nW)	8.5	4.8	1.8
Narrowest doorways:			
Somerford (nM)	8.3	2.5	3.3
Bradford (NpN)	8.5	2.1	4.0
Ledsham (nS)	14.0	2.0	7.0

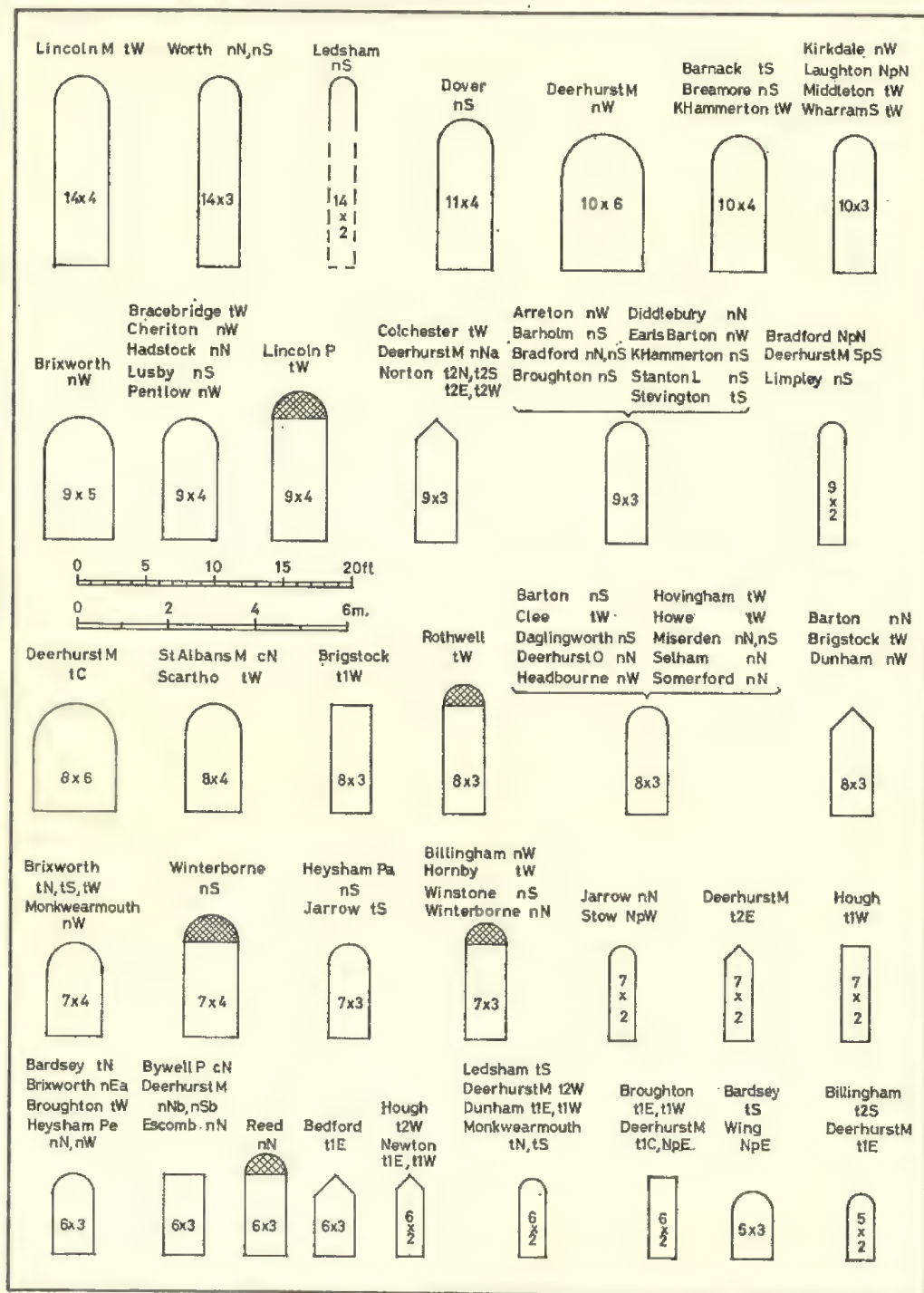


FIG. 664. CHART SHOWING SIZES AND SHAPES OF DOORWAYS

About one hundred doorways are listed in this figure, each to the nearest foot in height and width. Flat-headed doorways with tympana are grouped in relation to their clear height, and the tympana are shown cross-hatched.

survived in a fragmentary state, since they also give reliable evidence about routes for movement into and within the churches. In considering the evidence which doorways give about the design and development of churches it seems natural to begin with those which provided the main routes of access to the church and then later to turn to those which provided for movement from place to place inside. Moreover it will be convenient to study access itself under two headings: first in terms of its direction, whether along the main axis of the church or from the sides; and secondly by whether it was directly into the church or through a subsidiary compartment such as a porch or a tower. Fig. 665 shows sketch plans to illustrate the arrangements which arise when axial and lateral entry are each considered with or without porches of entry: moreover it also shows a fifth variant in which an axial west doorway in the nave is approached by way of a side doorway in a west porch. We shall now consider in turn the surviving examples of these various arrangements, where we shall see that some churches which were originally entered directly through a door with no protection were later given entrance porches or towers, while in others the direction of entry was changed from axial to lateral or vice versa.

DIRECT AXIAL ENTRY THROUGH A WEST DOORWAY

From among the churches under consideration in this volume, the evidence of the buildings themselves shows that those listed in Table 14 were

originally entered directly through a west doorway without a west porch. The notes to the table show that for a majority of the churches this is no longer so, because of subsequent modifications, some of which took place in Anglo-Saxon times but others much later.

ENTRY THROUGH A WEST PORCH OR TOWER

We turn now to the consideration of entry to the nave through a west porch or tower, which may itself be entered either from the west (Table 15) or, much less often, from one or both sides (Table 16). We shall see that in the majority of churches listed in these two tables entry was through a tower rather than a porch; and therefore it cannot be claimed that the western annexe was added to the church solely to provide shelter for an otherwise unprotected doorway, although this may have been an important consideration. Indeed the well established instances of later conversion of porches into towers can itself be advanced to show that there were important purposes which only a tower could serve. There is both literary and structural evidence (which will be considered in a later chapter) to show that one of these purposes was to carry bells; but the elaborate provision of doorways at upper levels in towers (to which we shall direct attention later in this chapter) can be taken as evidence that towers were used for other important purposes, including access between different levels of the church. At this stage it is necessary only to bear in mind that west towers were being used for these purposes and therefore

TABLE 14. *Churches with direct axial entry*

Arreton ≠	Canterbury P ⁺	Exeter	Kirkdale ≠
Billingham ≠	Cheriton ≠	Headbourne ≠	Mwearmouth ⁺
Bradwell		Heysham Pe	Pentlow ≠
Brixworth ⁺	Dunham	Hough ≠	Reculver ⁺
Canterbury M ⁺	Earl's Barton	Jarrow ⁺	Whitfield

Notes to Table 14

≠ At these churches western access was blocked in later times by the building of a tower or other annexe with no entry from outside. At Billingham and Hough this took place in the Anglo-Saxon period.

+ At these churches a western porch or tower was later provided but axial entry was maintained through it. At Canterbury St Martin the tower is later medieval, the others are Anglo-Saxon. At Brixworth a later Anglo-Saxon alteration blocked the western access to the tower.

It should be noted that Earl's Barton has been included in this list because the tower into which the west doorway leads is commonly accepted as having been a tower-nave.

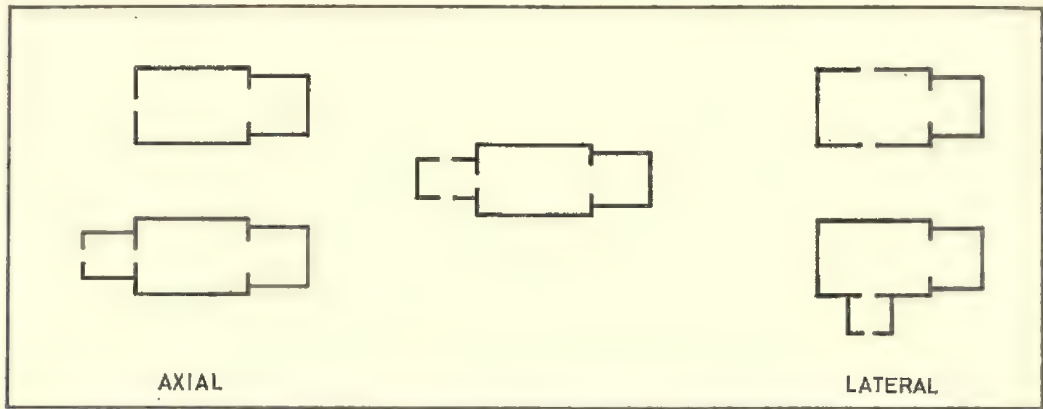


FIG. 665. ROUTES OF MAIN ACCESS TO A CHURCH

Axial entry is shown in the diagrams to the left, and lateral entry in those to the right, in each case both with and without a porch. The single central diagram shows western entry to the nave in conjunction with lateral entry to a west porch.

that their ground-floor chambers had to provide not only for the main route of entry to the church but also for the appropriate means of access to the upper floors. We now consider first the numerous cases of axial entry through a west porch or tower to the church, and then discuss the much less popular arrangement in which the west porch or tower was entered from one or both sides. There does not seem to be any evidence to justify a positive claim for the reason behind the preference for axial entry, but it seems possible that it arose from the obvious attractions of a route which would provide for a continuous view through the church to the altar.

Axial entry through a western annexe. Table 15 lists the thirty-two churches where the surviving fabric shows axial entry through a western annexe; in twenty-three of these the annexe seems from the first to have been a tower, while for the remaining nine (distinguished by asterisks) it is, or was at first, a porch. At Brigstock, Brixworth, Corbridge and Monkwearmouth the porches were later raised to

their present status as towers; and we have already seen that there was an earlier period at Brixworth and Monkwearmouth during which the nave was entered directly from outside, without even a porch. The table also distinguishes by symbols those churches in which the means of access from the annexe to the church is clearly defined by a completely or partially surviving Anglo-Saxon tower-arch (TA) or doorway (d); at South Elmham the symbol 2d is used to emphasise that access to the nave was by two doorways side-by-side, as if to provide space for an altar in the porch or the nave against the wall between the two doorways. It should also be specially mentioned that the surviving doorway at Sherborne led from a north-west porticus into the north aisle and that the form of the opening between the west tower and the nave is not known.

Four of the churches in Table 15 were also listed in Table 14 as having earlier had direct western entry without any porch or tower. We shall return later to the consideration of evidence which shows, perhaps less directly, that the porches or towers of

TABLE 15. *Axial entry through a west porch (*) or tower*

Alkborough	TA	Clee	TA	Hornby		Oxford	
Bracebridge	TA	Colchester	TA	Hovingham	TA	Reculver*	
Branston		Corbridge*	TA	Howe	TA	Rothwell	TA
Brigstock*	TA	Deerhurst M*	d	K Hammerton	TA	Scartho	TA
Brixworth*	d	Elmham S*	2d	Lincoln M	TA	Sherborne	d
Canterbury A*		Fornsett	TA	Lincoln P	TA	Sompting	TA
Canterbury P*	d	Heapham		Middleton		Stowe-nC	TA
Clapham	TA	Holton	TA	Mwearmouth*	d	Wharram S	TA

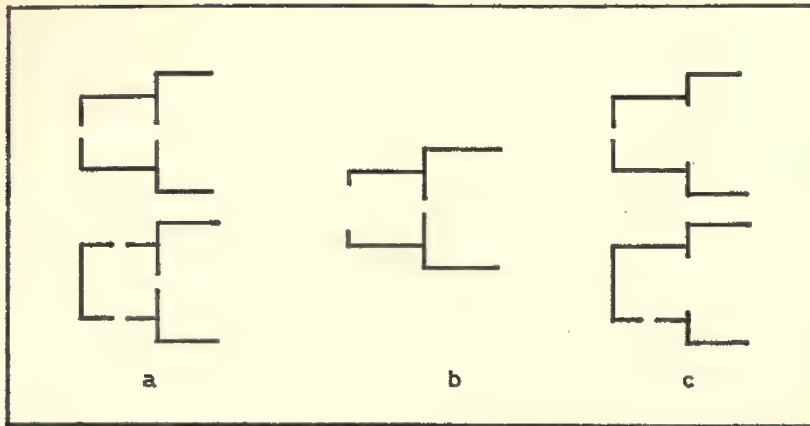


FIG. 666. DOORWAYS OR ARCHES FOR WESTERN ENTRY TO NAVES

This figure shows the three patterns: doorway followed by doorway, arch followed by doorway, doorway followed by arch.

some of the other churches in Table 15 were also later additions.

Side entry to a west annexe. By comparison with the axial entry just described, side entry to a west porch or tower seems to have been much less popular, because only five examples have survived, as shown in Table 16. All of these have south entries and Bardsey has one from the north as well. In three of these churches the annexe is a tower, while for the other two (distinguished by asterisks) it was at first a porch; at Bardsey the porch was raised to form a tower in later Anglo-Saxon times while at Ledsham it remained a porch until raised to a tower by the Normans (Vol. I: 379). Only at Barnack has the original Anglo-Saxon tower-arch survived. The Norman tower-arches at Bardsey and Ledsham can be seen to be later insertions and it seems likely that they represent a later liturgical need to replace a small doorway by a larger and more impressive opening; this is particularly clear at Ledsham where the head of the Norman arch partially destroys an Anglo-Saxon window above it.

TABLE 16. *Side entry to a west porch (*) or tower*

Appleton	Barnack TA	Stevington
Bardsey*	Ledsham*	

Doorways or arches at the west of naves. It is interesting to notice in Tables 15 and 16 the evidence which has survived to show that in twenty cases

the western annexe which provided the main route of access to the nave was very fully integrated into the nave by a tower-arch, while in at least five other cases it was sharply distinguished from the nave by a wall that was pierced only by a doorway. Indeed there seem to have been three different patterns (as illustrated in Fig. 666):

(a) A western annexe with doorways both to the outside and to the nave so as to yield a well defined chamber, more or less cut off from the outside and from the nave, as at Canterbury St Pancras and Deerhurst St Mary.

(b) A western annexe, cut off from the nave but standing wide open to the outside through a great west portal, as at Brixworth and Monkwearmouth.

(c) A western annexe entered by a doorway from outside, but standing wide open to the nave as at the nineteen places marked TA in Table 15 where entry from outside was from the west and at Barnack in Table 16 where entry from outside was from the south.

It seems obvious that the integration of the annexe into the space of the nave, as in (c) above, was to serve some definite liturgical purpose. At Barnack the aumbries in the side walls and the provision of seating in the west wall on either side of a recess as for an abbot's chair may be taken as strong evidence that the ground floor of the tower served as a western sanctuary. At both Barnack and Brigstock the ample provision of light through large windows might also be taken to indicate that the western chambers were part of the main body of the church. Somewhat similarly, at Sompting the

TABLE 17. *Direct lateral entry*

Barholm		Dover		K Hammerton		Shoreham	
Barton	NS	Elmham N		Limpley		Somerford	
Broughton		Escomb		Lusby		Stanley	
Chickney	NS	Framingham	NS	Melton		Stanton L	
Coln R	NS	Hadstock		Miserden	NS	Tedstone	
Corhampton		Heysham Pa		Reculver	NS	Walkern	
Daglingworth		Heysham Pe		Reed		Wareham M	
Deerhurst M	NS	Inglesham		Rivenhall	NS	Winstone	NS
Deerhurst O	NS	Jarrow		Seaham	NS	Winterborne	NS
Diddlebury		Kirkby Hill		Selham		Worth	NS

southward displacement of the tower-arch indicates that an altar was placed against the wall to the north; and we have already referred (p. 820) to the two doorways at South Elmham as indicating the presence of an altar between them in the porch.

There is no simple surviving evidence for the liturgical use of the western annexes of the other churches marked TA in Table 15, but it is possible that some of them may have been used as baptisteries, and that the post-Saxon adaptation of doorways into tower-arches in churches such as Bardsey and Ledsham may have been inspired by a desire to provide similar facilities.

DIRECT LATERAL ENTRY THROUGH THE SIDE WALLS OF THE NAVE

Direct lateral entry seems to have been the most popular means of principal entry to Anglo-Saxon churches because there are forty churches with surviving lateral doorways, as listed in Table 17; where it will be seen that (if account be taken of vestigial doorways) there is evidence for Anglo-Saxon doorways on both sides of the naves in thirteen churches, marked by the symbols NS. In the other churches the evidence for lateral doorways is confined to one side; but there are few, if any, except Broughton, for which we can assert with confidence that the opposite wall never contained an Anglo-Saxon doorway. It will be noticed that three of the churches in Table 17 (Deerhurst M, Jarrow, and Reculver) also appear in Table 14 or Table 15 as having western entry; for Deerhurst and Reculver the lateral entries were subsequently rendered inoperative by the extension of porticus to flank the whole lengths of both sides of the church.

ENTRY THROUGH A LATERAL ANNEXE

There is only one church for which there is clearly surviving structural evidence for main access to the church through a lateral annexe, namely Bradford-on-Avon, where the evidence is clear for access from the north but is uncertain on the other side because of the destruction of the south porticus. There is, however, good literary evidence to show that at Canterbury cathedral the principal entry was by the south doorway in a south tower beside the nave; it is not explicitly stated by Eadmer that there was also access through the north tower, but this can be regarded as being probable, particularly because he names the south doorway as being the principal entry (Taylor 1969c:106). There are also subsidiary entries to churches through lateral porticus as at Deerhurst St Mary through the doorway SpS, and at Reculver through the doorways NpE and SpE. The evidence can be summarised as shown in Table 18.

TABLE 18. *Lateral entry through porches or towers*

Principal entries:	Bradford-on-Avon, Canterbury Cathedral
Subsidiary entries:	Deerhurst St Mary, Reculver

EVIDENCE FOR CHANGES IN PRINCIPAL ROUTES OF ACCESS

We have already seen a considerable body of evidence for changes in the means of access to churches during the Anglo-Saxon era. It is desirable now to bring all the evidence together even though the results do not indicate any simple pattern except the rather obvious changes of providing a porch or tower where previously the entry was through an unprotected doorway. Apart from this utilitarian change, the patterns are

difficult to understand and somewhat contradictory. The several types of change for which evidence is provided by the buildings themselves can be summarised as follows:

(a) *Addition of porches to protect western doorways.* At Ledsham and Monkwearmouth there is clear evidence that a west porch was built without any bonding against the west wall of the church, and at the last of these places entry from the porch to the nave is still by an Anglo-Saxon doorway. There seems no reason to doubt that at both places the porch was added later to protect the doorway, but there is no structural evidence to show how much later. At both places the porches were still later raised to form towers, but these changes are not relevant to the present discussion, and at Ledsham the change to a tower did not happen until after the Norman Conquest.

(b) *Addition of west towers and probable enlargement of west doorways into tower-arches.* There are four Lincolnshire towers (at Bracebridge, Branstion, Lincoln St Peter and Rothwell) all of which are clearly shown by the fabric to be later additions to their naves. The evidence in each case includes not only the existence of straight vertical joints between the walls of the towers and the naves but also a sharp contrast between the long-and-short quoining of the naves and the side-alternate quoining of the towers. In each church the entry is through a west doorway and then through a tower-arch; at Branstion the arch is post-Conquest, but the others are good examples of Anglo-Saxon workmanship. These large arches would have been most unsuitable western entries without the shelter which is provided by the towers, and it therefore seems to follow either that they replace western doorways or that the churches originally had lateral doorways. Unfortunately no visible evidence survives to differentiate between these alternatives, but the first seems the more probable.

(c) *Addition of a west tower and probable provision of fresh axial entry.* At Kirk Hammerton the present lateral entry to the nave is through a south doorway which seems certainly to be an integral part of the wall, although much restored. By contrast the axial entry, although now disused, is through a tower which is certainly a later addition because it seals in place early plaster on the west wall of the nave; and the tower-arch has been very roughly cut through the west wall. The evidence is insufficient to prove with certainty that the west wall was without a doorway, but this seems probable.

(d) *Blocking of western access by addition of towers or stair-turrets.* At Billingham the doorway which originally gave direct western access to the nave was rendered useless for this purpose by the later addition of an Anglo-Saxon west tower which has no external entries (Vol. I: 67). At Brigstock and Brixworth axial entries through west porches were blocked by stone stair-turrets erected to provide access to upper floors of Anglo-Saxon towers newly built above the porches. Unfortunately there is no visible evidence at any of these churches to show what was the nature of the alternative lateral entry, and whether this had to be provided at the time or was already in existence.

(e) *Blocking of lateral access by provision of additional lateral chambers.* Earlier in this chapter we have noted that at Deerhurst St Mary and Reculver there was lateral access to the naves from both sides until early side-chambers near the east were extended westward to flank the nave.

(f) *Summary of evidence for changes in access.* It will be clear from what has been recorded above that the evidence does not at present lead to any very simple conclusions. It is perhaps fair to deduce from paragraphs (a) and (b) that throughout the Anglo-Saxon era (from Monkwearmouth near its beginning to the Lincolnshire towers near its end) there was a continuing desire to provide fresh shelter for previously unprotected western doorways. But apart from this obviously practical development the other evidence is rather conflicting, for paragraph (c) indicates a desire to provide new axial entry for a church formerly entered from the side, while paragraph (d) shows that it was considered acceptable to abandon an axial entry in order to provide stairways to upper floors. Moreover paragraph (e) shows that in two churches which had both axial and lateral entries it was later considered acceptable to abandon the lateral access in order to allow the addition of new chambers along the sides of the naves.

DIRECTION OF ACCESS AS AN INDICATION OF DATE

It has been claimed that 'absence of a west door is nearly fatal to the claim of any Saxon church to be early' (Mercer 1966: 68), but it seems difficult to maintain so rigorous a rule in view of the absence of an established west doorway at Escomb whose claims to an early date are generally accepted. Moreover there is a well established lateral doorway at Jarrow and the vestigial remains of a western doorway could well belong to the later period when a west porch had been added. Inspection of Tables 14 to 18 does not yield any obvious correlation between routes of access and securely dated churches, and it therefore seems best at present to leave this question open, particularly in view of the conflicting nature of the evidence just noted for changes in access to churches.

SECTION 5. GROUND-FLOOR SUBSIDIARY DOORWAYS

In Section 4 we have been concerned with doorways which formed part of the routes of main access to the naves, whether in the walls of the naves themselves or in the walls of porches or towers. In this Section, on the other hand, we shall consider the much smaller remaining class of

doorways which gave access between separate parts of the churches, without serving as a main route of entry. We shall see that most of these doorways led from naves to lateral chambers, provided that we use the word nave in its wider sense as we have done elsewhere to include also more or less separate eastern areas which served as monks' choirs between the main body of the nave and the chancel as at Breamore, Brixworth, Deerhurst and Repton.

These doorways can be grouped into four main classes, plus a rather mixed residual class: namely (a) those from naves to porticus; (b) those from chancels to porticus; (c) those from west porch or tower to lateral chambers; (d) those from lateral porticus to outside; and the mixed residual class. Before proceeding to study these classes in detail it is perhaps worth saying that comparison of classes (a) and (b) does not yield any simple or systematic pattern of entries from the nave or chancel such as applied in the Eastern Church, where the diaconicon for use by the clergy was usually entered from the chancel while the prothesis for reception of offerings of bread and wine was usually entered from the nave. This is scarcely surprising because, while this usage is well represented in surviving monuments in Africa and East Mediterranean countries, it seems not to have been followed in the Roman church, from which the principal influence came to England (compare Clapham 1930: 26-8). It is perhaps also worth while to anticipate the study of church plans by saying here that lateral porticus themselves can be divided into two groups depending on whether they flank only one compartment of the main church (usually the nave) or whether they overlap both the chancel and the nave. We shall see that in the three assured examples of the latter class Bradwell and Bywell St Peter provide one sure and one

possible example of the Eastern custom of a northern porticus entered from the chancel and a southern porticus entered from the nave, while at Reculver both were entered from the chancel.

It should also be said that the transverse walls discovered across the aisles at Brixworth (Jackson and Fletcher 1961) indicate, but perhaps do not prove, that the nave was flanked by rows of porticus rather than by continuous aisles, and that the major arches opening to these porticus are directly to be compared to the doorways at the churches to be considered below.

DOORWAYS FROM NAVES (INCLUDING MONKS' CHOIRS) TO PORTICUS

Surviving and vestigial doorways from naves to porticus are to be seen in the nine churches listed in Table 19. In addition, the doorways which must have led from the nave to the north and south porticus of the church of St Peter and St Paul at Canterbury were completely destroyed by the sleeper walls for the arcades of the later Norman nave (Vol. I: 139).

The plans shown in Fig. 667 indicate a division of the routes of access to porticus into a number of distinctive types, and they also show the extent to which the doorways of this paragraph complement those of the next.

DOORWAYS FROM CHANCELS TO PORTICUS

Doorways from chancels are to be seen in the seven churches listed in Table 20. The evidence for the porticus to which they led is either visible or has been found by excavation for all except Prittlewell and St Albans St Michael.

TABLE 19. *Doorways from naves to porticus*

Bradwell	nS	Compare Table 20 for north doorway from chancel
Breamore	nN, nS	
Brixworth	nN	Also main arches from nave to lines of porticus flanking nave
Canterbury P	nN, nS	
Deerhurst M	nNa, nSa	Later, nNb and nSb also led to porticus
K Hammerton	nSa	Existence of porticus not yet established (Vol. I: 363)
Ledsham	nS	
Reculver (ii)	nN, nS	Formerly opening to outside in Reculver (i)
Repton	nN, nS	

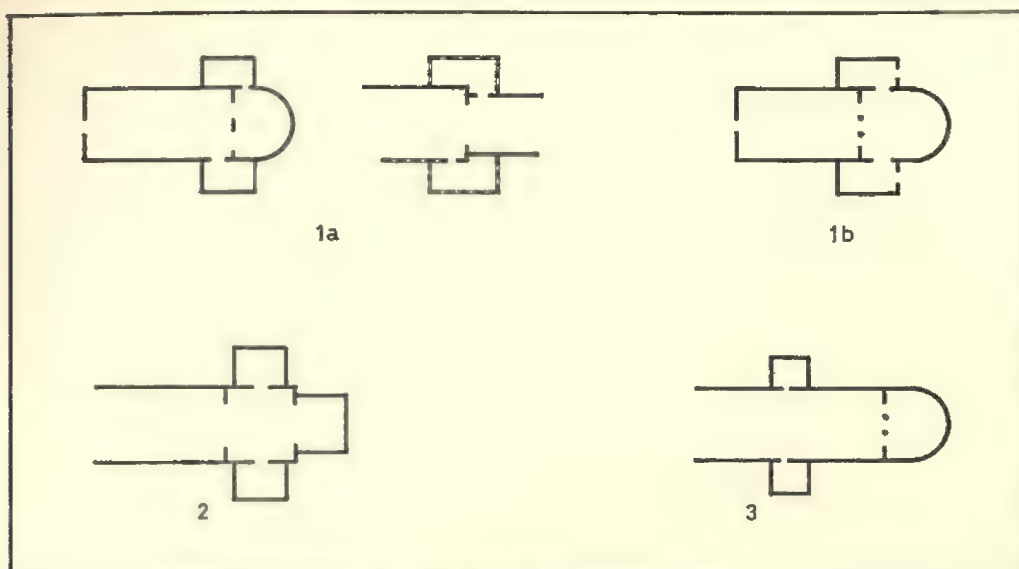


FIG. 667. DOORWAYS TO LATERAL PORTICUS

These diagrams are not drawn to scale but are based on the following examples: 1a, Bradwell and Bywell P; 1b, Reculver; 2, Repton; 3, Canterbury P.

TABLE 20. *Doorways from chancels to porticus*

Bradwell	cN	Compare Table 19 for south doorway from nave
Bywell P	cN	See Vol. I: 123 for possible position of south doorway from nave
Canterbury M	cSb	Possibly also cSa
Escomb	cN	For evidence of porticus see Pocock and Wheeler 1971
Prittlewell	cN	Vol. II: 500
Reculver	cN, cS	Vol. II: 506
St Albans M	cN	Vol. II: 529

DOORWAYS FROM WEST PORCHES TO LATERAL CHAMBERS

Doorways of this type survive at Brixworth and Monkwearmouth, at both of which places the porches have later been raised to form towers and the lateral chambers have vanished. It is not now possible to be sure what was the purpose of the lateral chambers, but the existence of a blocked north doorway in the first floor at Monkwearmouth suggests that access to the upper floor may have been one reason.

DOORWAYS FROM LATERAL PORTICUS TO OUTSIDE

External doorways from porticus (including transepts and aisles) are to be seen at Deerhurst St Mary, Dover, Laughton, Reculver, and Wing. They do not fall into any simple groups or patterns.

OTHER SUBSIDIARY GROUND-FLOOR DOORWAYS

At Brixworth two blocked doorways partially below ground in the east wall of the nave (nEa and nEb) formerly led down into the ring crypt; and at Repton there are much rougher openings in the north and south porticus through which entry is secured to the stairs that lead down to the crypt.

At Deerhurst the blocked doorway NpE originally provided access between the north and the north-east porticus, and at Stow the doorway NpW no doubt originally led from the north transept to an aisle or porticus on the north of the nave. These surviving doorways of communication between separate porticus are important evidence that lines of porticus flanking churches as at Brixworth, Deerhurst St Mary, Reculver and elsewhere may well have had direct intercommunication of this type as well as openings to the nave or chancel. It is necessary to bear in mind how

CHAPTER 6 DOORWAYS

fragmentary the surviving evidence still is on a number of similar points; for example we can never expect to know with certainty whether the north-east porticus at Deerhurst had direct access to the chancel.

SECTION 6. UPPER DOORWAYS

In Tables 25 and 26 of Section 9 details of position

and construction are given for ninety-one surviving doorways of which four (all at Deerhurst) are in rather fragmentary condition. For studying the significance of these doorways as indicating the use of upper levels of the churches it is desirable to consider their grouping according to position in the buildings as shown in Tables 21 and 22 which show respectively the numbers in each group and the churches concerned.

TABLE 21. ¹Numbers of upper doorways by groups

	<i>First floor</i>	<i>Higher floors</i>	<i>Total</i>
West towers:			
to naves	30	4	34
to outside	11	9	20
to stair-turrets	4	1	5
internal	1	0	1
Central or axial towers:			
to other arms of church	11	6	17
Naves:			
to chancels	3	0	3
to outside	8	1	9
Porticus	2	0	2
	—	—	—
	70	21	91
	—	—	—

TABLE 22. *Location of upper doorways*

<i>West tower to nave (31 churches, 34 doorways)</i>			
Barnack	Clapham	Hough	Scartho
Bedford	Colchester	Hovingham	Singleton
Bessingham	Deerhurst M (3)	Howe	Skipwith
Bosham (2)	Earl's Barton	Lavendon	Stowe-nC.
Brigstock	Gayton	Lincoln M	Thurlby
Brixworth	Glentworth	Lincoln P	Wharrah S
Broughton	Haddiscoe	Marton	Winterton
Cambridge	Hales	Roughton	
<i>West tower to outside (11 churches, 20 doorways)</i>			
Appleton (3)	Bywell A	Earl's Barton (6)	Oxford
Barnack	Colchester	Mwearmouth	Wickham
Billingham	Deerhurst M (1+2v)	Ovingham	
<i>West tower to stair-turret (4 churches, 5 doorways)</i>			
Brigstock	Brixworth	Broughton	Hough (2)
<i>West tower internal (1 church, 1 doorway)</i>			
Deerhurst M			
<i>Central or axial tower to other arms (7 churches, 17 doorways)</i>			
Barton (2)	Dunham (2)	Langford (2)	Norton (5)
Dover (2)	Jarrow (2)	Newton (2)	
<i>Nave to chancel (3 churches, 3 doorways)</i>			
	Green's N	Hart	Repton
<i>Nave to outside (6 churches, 9 doorways)</i>			
Dover	Jarrow	Stoke	Wing (2)
	Nassington (2)	Tredington (2)	
<i>Porticus (1 church, 2 doorways)</i>			
Deerhurst M (2v)			

EVIDENCE FOR USE OF UPPER ROOMS
IN CHURCHES

This multiplicity of upper doorways might in itself be regarded as evidence not only that upper rooms were to be found in towers and above the main body of churches but also that regular access was needed to these rooms, for example in connection with the liturgy or for use as library, scriptorium, or dormitory. But even more direct evidence for regular use of upper rooms in towers can be seen from the survival of broad circular stone stairways at Brixworth, Broughton and Hough to lead up to them. Moreover the regular use of a third-floor chamber extending at least over the western part of the nave at Deerhurst St Mary is clearly shown by the very worn treads of the third-floor doorway leading up to this area.

Upper rooms in towers. There is contemporary literary evidence to show that Anglo-Saxon towers were on occasion used for storage of the valuables of the church; for example under the year 1070 the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the theft of a gold and silver altar frontal and many other treasures from the steeple of the church at Peterborough. There is also continental evidence for using towers as treasuries, and also for periodically displaying relics from galleries both outside and inside the churches; and at Aachen and Kornelimünster this practice of displaying relics still continues (Hugot 1968: 18–20).

The elaborate aumbries in the second-floor chamber at Deerhurst suggest that this room was used as a chapel and perhaps also for the storage of relics; and in either case the doorway opening west from this room at a height of about 24 ft above the ground might well be associated with the display of relics. A similar purpose might also explain the high outer doorways in the towers at Barnack, Billingham, Bywell St Andrew, Earl's Barton and Ovingham.

ACCESS TO UPPER FLOORS

West towers. Mention has been made above of the clear evidence that is provided by three stone stairways as means of access to upper floors in west towers, and it should specially be borne in mind

that each of these continues beyond the first-floor level, and that at Hough there are two megalithic doorways in the second-floor chamber. In addition to those towers for which special access was provided by separate stair-turrets, the multiplicity of doorways leading from towers towards naves at upper levels should be regarded as giving a strong indication that the towers themselves were often used to house stairways for access to galleries or upper rooms above the naves. It is too often assumed that ladders were used for this purpose, for the simple reason that ladders are so commonly used in towers at present. But the Anglo-Saxons were accomplished builders in wood, and a wooden stairway could easily be housed in most western towers. The upper stages of the west tower at Deerhurst contain a modern wooden stair in their western half; and the ground storey of the west tower at Lincoln St Peter also contains a modern stairway as well as providing the main access to the church.

Axial towers. In each of the axial towers at Barton, Dover, Dunham, Jarrow, Langford, and Newton there are upper doorways opening east and west over the main arms. There is no surviving evidence to show where access was gained to the upper floor or whether all three compartments were covered by upper floors. The elaboration of the western doorway at Langford by comparison with the very simple rubble eastern doorway has been used as an argument for believing that the western doorway was visible from the nave across a narrow gallery while the tower and the chancel were both covered by upper floors (Vol. I: 371). The simple rubble doorways at Dunham and Newton suggest that all three compartments were there covered by upper floors, but this still leaves unsettled what was the means of access. At Barton there is good reason (Vol. I: 55) for believing that the tower served as the nave, with the first-floor double windows lighting the nave, and the first-floor doorways leading to chambers over the chancel and the western annexe, in the last of which there are still circular windows at two levels.

Central towers. A very striking example of the use of upper floors and access to them is provided by the central tower at Norton where a second-floor

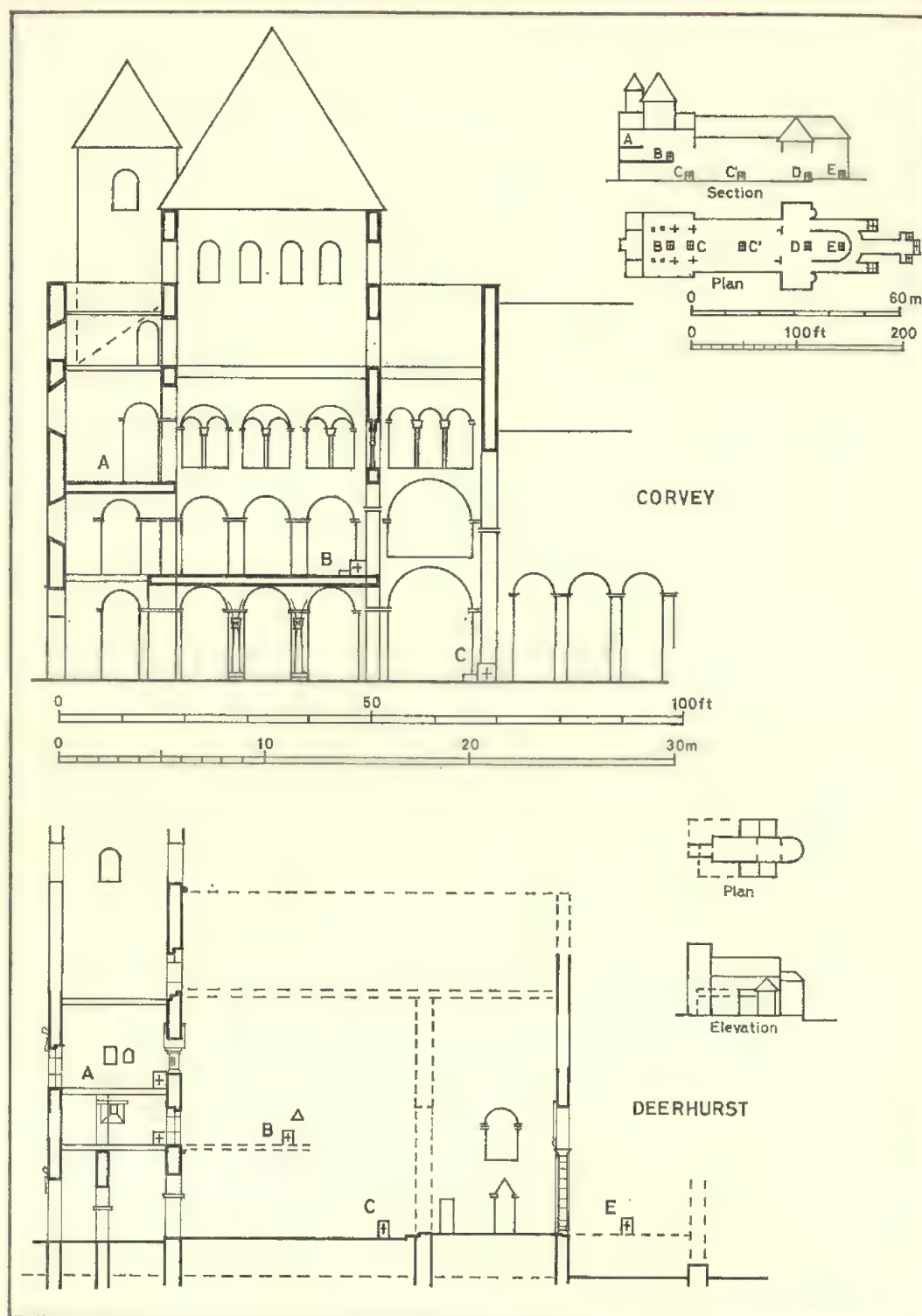


FIG. 668. WESTERN GALLERIES AT CORVEY AND DEERHURST

The evidence for the positions of altars at Corvey is derived in part from documents and in part from the fabric; at Deerhurst from the fabric and by analogy. The smaller inset diagrams show more clearly the contrast in scale between the two churches, and also the cruciform pattern which each would show from outside.

gallery giving access to all four arms of the church through gabled doorways was reached by a stair from the south transept (Vol. I: 468).

WESTERN GALLERIES IN NAVES

It has long been appreciated that at least some of the doorways at first-floor level between west towers and naves are to be understood as representing means of communication between rooms in the towers and western galleries in the naves. This seems particularly clear at Deerhurst St Mary where there are corbels in the nave at the appropriate position to support the gallery (Vol. I: 196) and at Jarrow where another doorway in the south wall of the nave is also at the appropriate level to lead to the gallery from outside (Vol. I: 341-2). It would be rash to assert that all the churches with upper doorways from west towers to naves had western galleries, but this may have been true of many of them, and it is interesting to note that at Bosham and Deerhurst there were also second-floor doorways, and that at Deerhurst this was clearly made at a later date by modifying the elaborate double-gabled window. These doorways by themselves do not allow us to form a precise mental picture of floors or stairs to which they led; and the small traces that have been left in churches such as Repton after comparatively recent removal of late medieval galleries may serve to indicate how difficult is the task of trying to reconstruct the exact extent of these Anglo-Saxon upper floors. The task is rendered impossible at Deerhurst by a thick coat of Victorian plaster.

Uses of west galleries. It has long been appreciated that Anglo-Saxon western galleries may have been used for the housing of altars, as is known on the Continent from contemporary documentary evidence. Until recently, however, the extent and significance of the structural remains in England do not seem to have been adequately appreciated. In particular, the remains at Deerhurst suggest arrangements comparable in elaboration (even if markedly smaller in scale) to those laid down for the great abbey church of St Riquier which Charlemagne's friend Angilbert built near Amiens in 799. Unfortunately that church has vanished, but very similar arrangements can still be seen in

the western extension built about 885 at the church of St Stephen at Corvey on the Weser. Fig. 668 shows the surviving western fabric at Deerhurst and Corvey, both drawn to the same scale; it thus serves to emphasise that while the church of St Riquier catered for hundreds to take part in services on the upper floor, the church at Corvey provided for dozens, and the church at Deerhurst only for a few. For further details of these comparisons see Taylor 1975: 142-55 and 160-8.

SECTION 7. DOORWAYS BELOW GROUND

Two doorways which serve as entrances to the ring-crypt at Brixworth have been treated as ground-floor doorways and mentioned in Section 5 because their western faces, with monolithic round heads, form part of the east wall of the nave or monks' choir. Their eastern faces, apparently much restored, have quasi-ashlar jambs and round arched heads, now visible outside the church in the sunken and unroofed area that was formerly vaulted to constitute the crypt-passage. The entrances to the crypt at Repton have also been mentioned above, although they are more properly to be considered as openings cut through solid masonry than as architecturally constructed doorways. The entrances to the crypt-passages at Wing have been blocked below ground and are not visible within the church; and in the areas of the crypts at Wing and Repton there are no formed doorways of stone although at Repton there are disused seatings for wooden door-frames a little to the east of the frames which carry the modern wooden doors. Thus the only crypts in which properly constructed Anglo-Saxon doorways of stone have survived are St Wilfrid's two crypts at Hexham and Ripon.

Hexham. The crypt at Hexham has six doorways as shown in Fig. 669, all with round heads, although E, the south entrance to the main chamber, is of segmental rather than semicircular shape. The heads of A, E and F are all of single stones, set directly on the stones of the jambs, without any imposts. The heads of B, C and D are also formed without imposts, but each consists of three stones, of which the lower two in each case could be con-

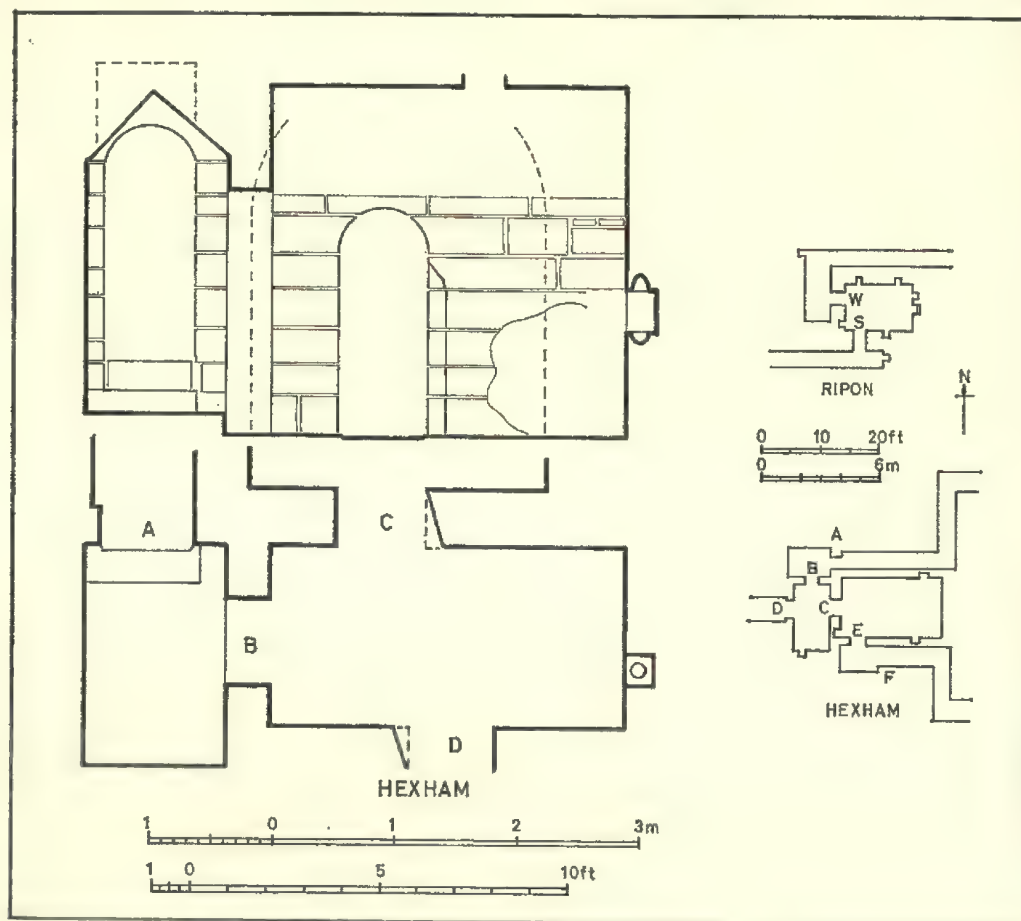


FIG. 669. DOORWAYS IN CRYPTS

The main drawing shows a plan of the crypt at Hexham and elevations of two doorways, A and C, in walls which appear to be of through-stones. The smaller insets give a comparison between Wilfrid's two crypts, at Hexham and Ripon.

sidered as forming inward-curving extensions of the jambs, while the third stone is of the nature of a lintel only slightly hollowed below to form the uppermost half of the round head. Almost without exception the stones of the jambs and heads pass through the full thickness of the wall, and most of them bear well defined marks of Roman tooling. For the details of doorways A and C as shown in Fig. 669 I am indebted to Mr D. Sturdy who kindly measured and drew them for me.

Ripon. The crypt at Ripon is less liberally provided with doorways, but the main entries at S (south) and W (West) are remarkably similar in workmanship and design to the two main Hexham types. Doorway S has its round head of the three-

stone type, and doorway W of the monolithic lintelled type.

SECTION 8. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

For a variety of reasons this section must be regarded as less firmly based than the corresponding sections in other Chapters; in the first place, the continental literature seems to devote less attention to doorways than to other features and it was consequently less easy to be clear in advance about the extent to which original features had been preserved; and during comparatively short visits to individual churches there always seemed to be other matters that required more attention.

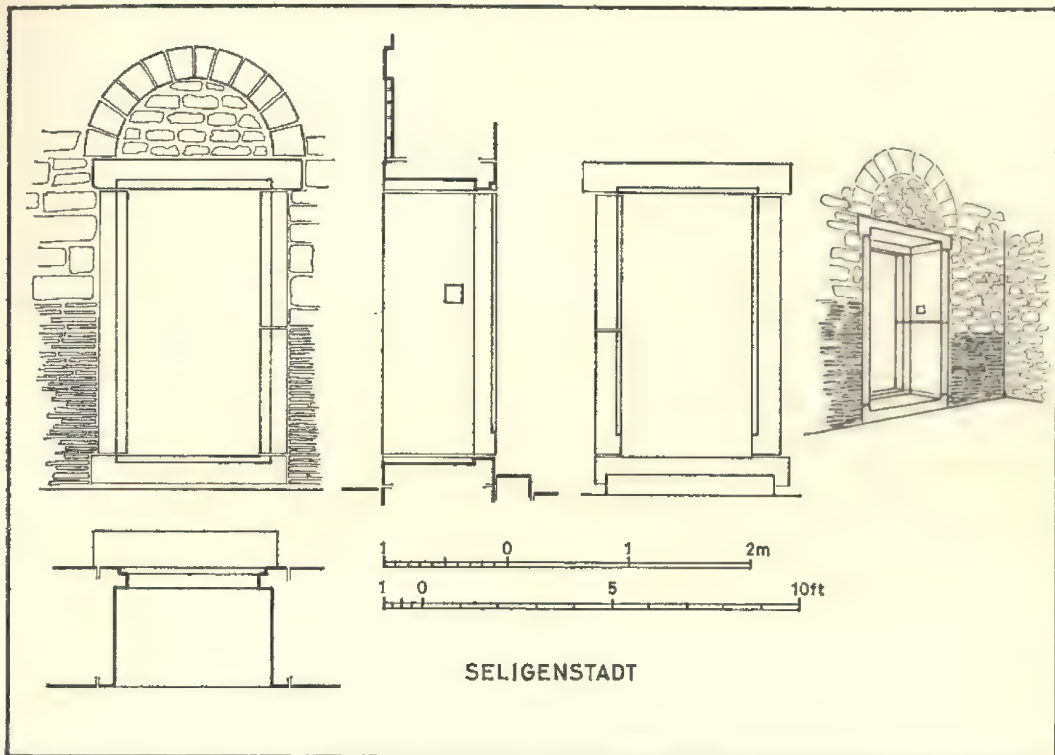


FIG. 670. THE NORTH DOORWAY AT SELIGENSTADT

Routes of entry. In the great churches there is no doubt that the western entry predominates, and it is easy to understand this preference in terms of the splendid vista which greets the visitor as he enters from the west. The great churches also have a variety of lateral entries but these can usually be seen to serve subsidiary purposes, however important they may have been in the daily routine of those using the church. The smaller churches of one or two compartments are less well preserved than their English counterparts; indeed many are only known in terms of foundations discovered recently by excavation, and with no knowledge of the position of their doorways. But early standing fabric at Büraberg by Fritzlar defines a lateral (north) doorway, while the small well preserved alpine Carolingian churches define western doorways, as at Münster in the Grisons or Mals nearby in Italy. Rather larger Carolingian churches of intermediate size such as St Lioba on the Petersberg at Fulda or Einhard's church at Steinbach show clear evidence of principal entry from the west in spite of much reconstruction at later dates.

Constructional details. Continental doorways give many impressive analogues for the Anglo-Saxon use of through-stones in the lining of doorways. It would be difficult to imagine a more impressive example than the north doorway at Seligenstadt, built by Einhard about 834 and illustrated in Fig. 670. Only five stones were used to line the whole opening, two great stones for one jamb, and single stones for the other jamb, the head, and the sill, all specially worked to provide the rebate for housing the door and the slots for its fastenings. Very impressive and even earlier rebated through-stone monolithic jambs with sculpture and inscriptions are to be seen at the so-called Hypogée des Dunes near Poitiers; and, for comparison with the north doorway of the nave at Escomb, it is interesting to note that massive lintels were notched into the jambs of doorways of Charlemagne's palace-chapel at Aachen and also in the Abbey of St Médard at Soissons (Hubert, Porcher and Volbach 1967: 56-63 for Poitiers; and 1968: 272 for Aachen and Soissons).

CHAPTER 6 DOORWAYS

Upper doorways. The importance of these for the interpretation of standing fabric has already been illustrated both in England and on the Continent in Section 6.

SECTION 9. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF DOORWAYS

The two main tables of this section set out, for ground-floor and upper doorways, the basic evidence which has been used for all the general considerations of this chapter, and which has in the main been derived from the detailed descriptions of churches in Volumes I and II. The two subsidiary tables list the vestigial doorways at ground and upper levels. The purpose of collecting all this evidence into tables is to provide conveniently in one accessible place the authority for all the statements made in the earlier sections of this chapter; similarly the purpose of this introductory statement is to describe briefly the principles that have been followed in constructing the tables and their summaries. The vestigial doorways are listed in separate tables because as a rule they provide no architectural details but are important only for the evidence which they give about the provision for movement.

Layout of the tables and use of code-symbols

Apart from the vestigial doorways, which are grouped in their own two separate tables, information is given in a uniform fashion for all the doorways listed in this section. By grouping ground-floor and upper doorways separately in Tables 23 and 25, it is unnecessary to specify levels in Table 23; in Table 25 the level is specified for each upper doorway in the code-symbol which also specifies its position as described in Section 2 and also mentioned below.

Position of doorways. In each table the churches are listed

alphabetically by their abbreviated names, and the position of each doorway is then specified as described in Section 2 by code-symbols which name the compartment and the wall in which the doorway is situated and, where necessary, its level: thus, in the tables for ground-floor doorways nN and cS denote nave north and chancel south, while for upper doorways t1E and Np2W denote tower first floor east and north porticus second floor west.

Access. In Tables 23 and 24 the doorways of main access to the church are distinguished by printing their position-symbols in bold type. Similarly in Table 25 bold type is used for the position-symbols of upper doorways opening outward from towers.

Detailed construction of doorways. The main body of Tables 23 and 25 then records the detailed construction of each doorway by code-symbols set out in four columns as specified below:

1. *Cross-section of jambs and head* A, plain square section, A*, as A, but rebated as for hanging a door; B, moulded or recessed.

2. *Main fabric of doorway* TS, through-stones throughout the head and jambs; M, other types of megalithic masonry; St, small dressed stones; Rb, rubble, including tile and flint as well as stone.

3. *Shape of head* F, flat lintel; G, gable; Q, flat-headed opening below a semicircular tympanum; RV, round head constructed of voussoirs; RL, round head cut in a lintel. In these tables only the exterior head is specified although in the body of the chapter reference is made to a few doorways, for example at Deerhurst and Ledsham, in which the exterior is round-headed and the interior has a flat lintel.

4. *Decoration* HM, hoodmoulding over the head only; SW, stripwork round head and jambs; I, imposts of plain square section; J, imposts of more elaborate character, whether chamfered, moulded, stepped, or sculptured.

TABLE 23. *Ground-floor doorways*

(Doorways of main access to naves are marked by bold type: e.g. nS)

Alkborough tW	A	St	RV	HMI	Brigstock tW	A*	TS	G	I
Appleton tS	A	M	F		Brixworth (7)				
Arreton nW	A	M	RV	J	tN, tW, tS	3A	3Rb	3RV	
Bardsey (2)					nW	A	Rb	RV	
tN, tS	2A	2M	2RL		nN, nEa, nEb	3A	3Rb	3RV	
Barholm nS	B	M	RV	J	Broughton (2)				
Barnack tS	A	TS	RV	SWI	nS	B	St	RV	J
Barton (2)					nW	A	St	RV	
nS	A	TS	G	SWI	Bywell P cN	A	M	F	
nN	A	TS	RV	SWI	Canterbury M (3)				
Billingham nW	A*	M	Q	J	nW, cSa	2A	2Rb	2RV	
Bracebridge tW	A	St	RV	HMI	cSb	A	Rb	F	
Bradford (3)					Canterbury P WpW	A	Rb	RV	
nN, nS, NpN	3A	3TS	3RV	3SWI	Cheriton nW	A	Rb	RV	
Branston tW	B	M	Q	HM	Clapham tW	A	St	RV	I
Breamore (2)					Clee tW	A	St	RV	HMI
nN	A	M	?		Colchester tW	A	Rb	G	SWJ
nS	A	M	RV	J	Corbridge tW	A*	M	RV	HM

9. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF DOORWAYS

Corhampton nN	?	?	?	SWJ	K Hammerton (2)				
Daglingworth nS	A*	M	RV	J	tW	B	M	RV	I
Deerhurst M (9)					nS	A	M	RV	SWI
tW	?	?	RV	HMI	Laughton NpN	A	M	RV	SWI
tC	A	TS	RV	HMI	Ledsham (2)				
nW	A	TS	RV	HMJ	tS	A*	M	RV	SWJ
nNa	A	Rb	G	J	nS	A*	M	RV	
nNb, nSa, nSb	3A*	3M	3F		Limpley nS	A	TS	RV	HMJ
NpE	A	M	F		Lincoln M tW	B	M	RV	HMJ
SpS	A*	M	RV	HM	Lincoln P tW	A	M	Q	HMJ
Deerhurst O nN	A	TS	RV	HMI	Lusby nS	A	M	RV	I
Diddlebury nN	A	TS	RV	SWJ	Melton nN	A	Rb	RV	
Dover (2)					Middleton tW	A	TS	RV	SWJ
nS	A	M	RV	SWJ	Miserden (2)				
NpN	A	M	RV	J	nN, nS	2?	2?	2RV	2HMJ
Dunham nW	A	?	G	SW	Mwearmouth (3)				
Earl's Barton nW	A	M	RL	SWJ	tN, tS, nW	3A*	3TS	3RV	3I
Elmhurst S (3)					Oxford tW	A	Rb	RV	
WpW	A	Rb	RV		Pentlow nW	A*	St	RV	J
nWa, nWb	2A	2Rb	2?		Reed nN	B	St	Q	J
Escomb (2)					Rothwell tW	A	M	Q	HMI
nN, cN	2A*	2TS	2F		St Albans M cN	A	Rb	RV	
Exeter nW	A	M	?		Scartho tW	A	St	RV	HMI
Fornsett tW	?	?	RV		Seaham (2)				
Framingham (2)					nN, nS	2A	2M	2F	
nN, nS	2A	2RB	2RV		Selham nN	A	M	RV	J
Hadstock nN	B	M	RV	HMJ	Sherborne NpW	A	M	RV	SWJ
Headbourne nW	A*	TS	RV	SWJ	Somerford nN	A	M	RL	J
Heysham Pa nS	A*	M	RL		Stanton L nN	A	TS	RV	SWJ
Heysham Pc (2)					Stevington tS	A	Rb	RV	I
nW, nN	2A*	2M	2RL		Stow NpW	A	TS	RV	J
Hornby tW	A	St	Q		Stowe-nC tW	A	St	F	
Hough tW	A	M	F	I	Wharram S tW	B	M	RV	J
Hovingham tW	B	M	RV	J	Wing NpE	A	St	RV	
Howe tW	A	Rb	RV	J	Winstone (2)				
Inglesham nS	?	?	?	SW	nN	A*	M	Q	
Jarrow (3)					nS	B	M	Q	
tN, tS, nN	3A	3M	3RV		Winterborne (2)				
Kirby Hill nS	B	M	RV	J	nN, nS	2A*	2St	2Q	2HM
Kirkdale nW	B	M	RV	I	Worth (2)				
					nN, nS	2A*	2M	2RV	2I

78 churches, 117 doorways

Frequency of occurrence of types

Main access	Cross-section	Main fabric	Shape of head	Decoration
W 16	A 74	TS 21	RV 76	HM 20
N 20	A* 25	M 51	RL 7	SW 20
S 17	B 12	St 14	G 5	
	? 6	Rb 24	F 13	I 28
		? 7	Q 10	J 34
			? 6	
	117			
		117		
			117	

TABLE 24. *Vestigial ground-floor doorways*

(Doorways of main access to naves are marked by bold type)

Appleton tW	Elmham N nN	Repton (2)
Bradwell (3)	Heapham tW	nN, nS
nW , nS, cN	Holton tW	Rivenhall (2)
Canterbury A (2)	Hough nW	nN , nS
nW , WpW	Jarrow nW	Shoreham nN
Canterbury P (3)	K Hammerton nSa	Sompting tW
nW , nN, nS	Prittlewell cN	Stanley nN
Chickney (2)	Reculver (8)	Tedstone nN
nN , nS	nW , nN, nS	Walkern nS
Coln Rogers (2)	cN, cS	Wareham M nN
nN , nS	NpE, SpE	Whitfield nW
Deerhurst O nS	WpW	

24 churches, 40 doorways

Main access: West 7; North 9; South 6

TABLE 25. *Upper doorways*(Doorways opening out into space are marked by bold type: e.g. **t2W**)

Appleton (3)					Dunham (2)				
t1N , t1S , t1W	3?	3M	3F		t1E, t1W	2A	2Rb	2RV	
Barnack (2)					Earl's Barton (7)				
t1E	A	TS	F		t1S , t1W	2A	2M	2RV	2SWI
t1W	A	Rb	G		t1E	A	M	RV	
Barton (2)					t2N , t2S , t2W	3A	3M	3G	3SWI
t1E, t1W	2A	2M	2RV	2I	t2E	A	M	G	
Bedford t1E	A	Rb	G	I	Gayton t1E	A	Rb	G	
Bessingham t1E	A	?	G		Glentworth t1E	A	M	F	
Billingham t2S	A	TS	RL	SWI	Green's N n1E	A	M	G	I
Bosham (2)					Haddiscoe t1E	A	St	RV	
t1E	A	St	G		Hales t1E	A	Rb	G	
t2E	A	Rb	RV		Hart n1E	A	M	G	
Brigstock (2)					Hough (3)				
t1E, t1W	2A	2Rb	2F		t1W	A*	TS	F	I
Brixworth (2)					t2W	A	M	G	
t1E, t1W	2A	2Rb	2RV		t2E	A	St	G	
Broughton (2)					Hovingham t1E	A	M	F	
t1E, t1W	2A	2M	2F		Howe t1E	A	?	F	
Bywell A t2S	A	M	RL	SWI	Jarrow (3)				
Cambridge t1E	A	TS	RV	J	n1S	A	M	RV	I
Clapham t1E	A	?	G		t1E	A	M	RV	
Colchester (2)					t1W	?	M	G	
t1E	A	Rb	RV		Langford (2)				
t1W	A	Rb	RV	I	t1E	A	Rb	F	
Deerhurst (5)					t1W	A	M	F	
t1E	A*	M	RL		Lavendon t1E	A	?	?	
t1C	A	Rb	F		Lincoln M t1E	A	M	RV	
t2E	A	M	G	HMJ	Lincoln P t1E	A	M	G	I
t2W	A*	TS	RL	HM	Marton t1E	A	Rb	F	
t3E	A	M	RL		Mwearmouth t1N	A	M	F	
Dover (3)					Nassington (2)				
n1W	A	M	RV	J	n1W	A	?	?	
t2E, t2W	2A	2Rb	2RV		n2W	A	?	G	

9. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF DOORWAYS

Newton (2)					Skipwith t1E	A	St	RV	J
t1E, t1W	2A	2Rb	2G		Stoke n1S	A*	St	F	
Norton (5)					Stowe-nC t1E	A	?	?	I
t1S	A	M	F		Thurlby t1E	A	TS	G	
t2N, t2S	2A	2M	2G	2I	Tredington (2)				
t2E, t2W	2A	2M	2G	2I	n1N, n1S	2B	2St	2RV	2I
Ovingham t2S	A	M	RL		Wharram S t1E	A	St	RV	
Oxford t2N	A	Rb	RV		Wickham t1S	?	?	?	
Repton n1E	A	TS	?		Wing (2)				
Roughton t1E	A	?	?		n1N, n1S	2A	2Rb	2RV	
Scartho t1E	A	St	F		Winterton t1E	A	?	F	
Singleton t1E	A	?	G						

52 churches, 87 doorways

Frequency of occurrence of types

Cross-section	Main fabric	Shape of head	Decoration
A 76	TS 7	RV 27	SW 7
A* 4	M 37	RL 6	HM 2
B 2	St 9	G 27	
? 5	Rb 23	F 21	I 22
	? 11	? 6	J 4
—	—	—	—
87	87	87	
—	—	—	—

TABLE 26. *Vestigial upper doorways*

Deerhurst M (4)

t1N, t1S These are two blocked doorways, marked by straight joints beside their jambs, and by a change of fabric.

Sp1W One jamb and the flat head of this doorway are visible in the present south aisle.

Sp1E Vestiges of this doorway can be seen in the organ loft and in the priory buildings.

CHAPTER 7

WINDOWS

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

Windows constitute one of the most numerous groups of features in Anglo-Saxon churches, and one of the most important for classifying churches into types. In all, close on 500 windows have survived in the main bodies of the churches under consideration in this volume, quite apart from the belfry openings which are considered separately in Chapter 8. Almost all of these windows are splayed; and they can accordingly be grouped into two main types depending on whether the splaying is single or double. In the first of these types the aperture is at or close to the outer face of the wall, and the window is splayed to widen towards the interior of the church. By contrast in the second type the aperture is at or close to the centre of the wall, and the window is splayed to widen both outward and inward.

Indications of date. It has long been a matter of common observation that double-splayed windows are almost wholly unknown in Norman or later churches in England, and that therefore the possession of one of these windows is *prima facie* evidence of the Anglo-Saxon character of a church. It has also been recognised that double-splayed windows are not found in churches that have been reliably established as belonging to the early (pre-Viking) part of the Anglo-Saxon era but are common in churches that have been established as being late. Therefore double-splayed windows have become accepted as a reliable indication of lateness in the era. The full justification of this claim needs more careful discussion, but the claim is stated briefly here as evidence of the importance of study of windows. It has sometimes been claimed as a somewhat general converse principle that single-splayed windows give a reliable indication of the

early part of the Anglo-Saxon period; but it will be shown below that this is not a claim that can be substantiated. Single-splayed windows were used throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and also by Norman and later builders. Therefore it is only by studying finer details of construction that any use could be made of single-splayed windows for distinguishing between Anglo-Saxon and Norman buildings or between early or late Anglo-Saxon ones. Both these questions of dating are considered further in Section 3.

Distinctive types of fabric. From the Norman period onward, whether a church is built of rubble or of dressed stone, it is usual for all its important openings to be faced at the angles and even lined throughout the wall with carefully dressed ashlar in blocks of fairly uniform shape and size. By contrast, Anglo-Saxon windows, like the other openings we have already considered, seldom use regular ashlar masonry and are sometimes of the same rough rubble construction as the walls in which they stand. We shall see that this is particularly true of double-splayed windows. Moreover when Anglo-Saxon windows are faced with large stones, these are seldom cut to regular sizes like ashlar, nor are they so carefully dressed; but they are often carefully and closely jointed, and they can be very impressive because of their large size. Particularly in single-splayed windows many of these large stones have been chosen and worked so as to cover the whole thickness of the wall; and in some windows both the jambs and the heads are built in this characteristically Anglo-Saxon manner. But by no means all Anglo-Saxon windows use either megalithic or through-stone techniques; and even some of the largest single-splayed windows such as those in the nave at Brixworth have jambs of the same rubble as that of the walls, and heads

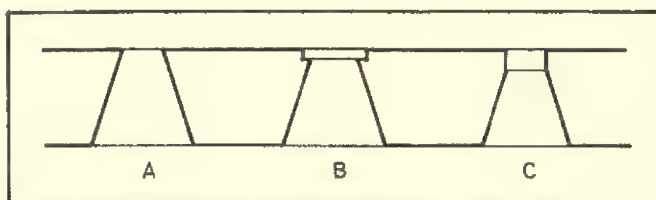


FIG. 671. COMPARATIVE PLANS FOR SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

A, splays continued right through the wall; B, splays interrupted at the outer face by a rebate, as if for a shutter; C, splays cut short near the outer face by an unsplayed section of wall.

arched in tiles. Moreover many smaller windows are arched with rubble voussoirs, and we shall see that the round heads of many double-splayed windows are formed in the rubble fabric of the wall without any use of voussoirs.

Windows common to the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. It will be clear from what has already been said that there are large numbers of windows which can readily be claimed as Anglo-Saxon by reason of their shape or fabric. But there is a type of single-splayed window which seems to have been commonly used throughout the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods. This is a small single-splayed window, usually with rubble jambs and with its round exterior head cut in the lower face of a roughly square or rectangular lintel.

Glazing or other covering of windows. The literary and archaeological evidence for the glazing of windows in some Anglo-Saxon churches will be discussed in Chapter 18, but the masonry itself may give some evidence about the arrangements that were made for covering the window. For example in double-splayed windows there are many survivals of stone or wooden mid-wall slabs which seem to have been designed to carry glazing or to support sheets of horn or pieces of linen. Moreover some of the wooden slabs are pierced with holes that could have been used for string nets to exclude birds or for laces to secure horn or linen (Vol. I: 245); and in other wooden slabs there were nails to secure glass or horn (Vol. II: 677). Indications about the covering of the opening can also be seen in the three distinctive types of cross-section of single-splayed windows, as shown in Fig. 671. Type A, as in the large clear-storey windows at Brixworth, is cut on a continuous splay through the full thickness of the wall as if

no provision was made for any glazing or closure, unless perhaps by a shutter hung on the outer face of the wall. Type B, as in the lower windows at Avebury, is rebated round the whole of the exterior face as if to house a shutter about 1 in. thick. Type C is perhaps the most usual design both in medium-sized windows in the body of churches and also in the smaller windows in towers where it is used almost to the exclusion of other types. In this type the splay is stopped a few inches short of the outer face of the wall, so that the parallel-sided space beside the outer face could either be left open or could be used to house a wooden window-frame or a stone slab like those in two of the windows at Jarrow and in several staircase windows like those at Brixworth and Hough-on-the-Hill. It will be noted below that roughly three-quarters of the single-splayed windows have lintelled exterior heads, and that round heads are usually cut without any splay through these lintels which usually extend at least 6 in. into the thickness of the wall.

SECTION 2. WINDOWS OF SPECIAL TYPES

In this chapter we are concerned primarily with the windows which lighted the several parts of Anglo-Saxon churches, and we shall consider separately in Chapter 8 the openings that are commonly called belfry windows. But it is important to record that a few of the windows in the bodies of churches have the same construction as belfry openings and that they also will be considered in Chapter 8. For the sake of completeness they are listed below in the small class of windows of special types, all of which are then excluded from the further discussions of this chapter.

These special types of window are of considerable interest and can be placed in four groups, of which the first two are cut straight through the wall without any splay, while the third is single-splayed and the fourth double-splayed. Moreover these windows, fifteen in all, differ from the ordinary run of windows in that close on half of them are not used to light the church but to communicate between separate cells.

Multiple windows. The largest class of special windows is a group of eight analogous to double belfry openings but used either for lighting the church or for communicating between one cell and another. These windows are fully preserved and vestiges of what was probably a ninth (or else a wide doorway) are in the east wall at Repton, above the much later chancel-arch. Details of the eight surviving windows can be summarised in tabular form as shown at the foot of the page.

Triangular windows. The second class of special windows is the group of three triangular windows at Deerhurst, St Mary. Of these, the one which opens from the first-floor chamber of the west porch to the nave is easiest to understand since it seems convenient as a means of seeing the main altar from the chamber in the porch. The two lateral windows at the same height in the north and south walls of the nave are difficult to understand unless perhaps as a means of giving light to the eastern end of a long gallery (Taylor 1975: 162-3).

Unusual single-splayed windows. The normal single-splayed window is constructed with its narrowest

opening in the outer face of the wall and its splays widening towards the interior of the church. By contrast to this normal arrangement the window in the west wall of the nave at Ledsham widens towards the porch which itself is built with a straight joint against the west wall of the nave as if a later addition to it (Vol. I: 379). It seems hard to believe that when the nave stood alone this window could have been present in the west wall, splayed outward towards the west; and it therefore seems to follow that it was inserted here when the west porch was built. Presumably its purpose was to give a view into the church from the upper chamber of the porch in much the same way as was given by the multiple windows mentioned above at Brixworth and Deerhurst.

A somewhat similar window exists in a similar position in the west wall at Monkwearmouth (G in Figs 204 and 205 of Vol. I: 434-6) but in later times this window has been re-used as a door and is now splayed in both directions. It seems likely that its history is different from that of the Ledsham window, and that it was originally a normal single-splayed window, with no splay on its west face. Its east face into the nave has been largely rebuilt in modern times, and its slightly splayed western face into the porch has all the appearance of being a modification associated with adapting the window to its present use as a doorway.

Multiple double-splayed windows. To complete the story of windows of special types, mention should be made of the double-splayed window of two lights in the south wall of the tower-nave at Earl's Barton (Vol. I: 225), and of the vestiges of its companion in the west wall. These are the only known surviving multiple double-splayed windows.

Place	Position of window		Nature of window
Barton	Tower-nave; N, S	2	Double; with baluster, and round lintel heads
Brixworth	Nave to first floor of W porch	1	Triple; with balusters, and round heads arched with tiles
Deerhurst M	Nave to second floor of W porch	1	Double; with central pier, and gabled through-stone heads outlined with hoodmoulds
Wing	Nave, E gable	1	Double; with rough central shaft, broken through-stone slab, and rubble-arched round heads
Worth	Nave: N2 and S1	3	Double; with bulging shaft and through-stone voussoirs
		-	
	Total	8	
		-	

SECTION 3. GENERAL CONSIDERATION OF THE NORMAL TYPES OF WINDOWS

PLACES OF OCCURRENCE

Having disposed of the few windows of special types we now turn to the main body of evidence for what might be called the normal Anglo-

Saxon windows. In Table 1 there are listed the eighty-one churches in which single-splayed windows are to be found, and in Table 2 the eighty churches with double-splayed windows. In these tables it will be seen that the names of eight churches are printed in italics to emphasise that they contain windows of both types and so occur in both tables. From the much more detailed information in Tables 17 and 22 it will be seen that the total numbers of windows of the two types are:

TABLE 1. *Churches with single-splayed windows*
(Names in italics also occur in the list of double-splayed windows)

1. Alkborough	21. Clec	41. Hornby	61. <i>Reculver</i>
2. Arreton	22. Coln Rogers	42. Hough	62. Rivenhall
3. Atcham	23. Corbridge	43. <i>Jarrow</i>	63. Rothwell
4. Avebury	24. Debenham	44. K Hammerton	64. <i>Roughton</i>
5. Bardsey	25. <i>Deerhurst M</i>	45. Lavendon	65. St Albans M
6. Barnack	26. Elmham S	46. Ledsham	66. St Albans S
7. Bessingham	27. Escomb	47. Lincoln M	67. Scartho
8. Billingham	28. Fetcham	48. Lincoln P	68. Seaham
9. Bishopstone	29. <i>Fornsett</i>	49. Lusby	69. Springfield
10. Bolam	30. Geddington	50. Marton	70. Staindrop
11. Bracebridge	31. Glentworth	51. Middleton	71. Stanton L
12. Bradwell	32. Guestwick	52. Milborne	72. Stow
13. <i>Brigstock</i>	33. Hackness	53. Minster	73. Tasburgh
14. Brixworth	34. Haddiscoe	54. Missenden	74. Tedstone
15. Broughton	35. <i>Haddiscoe T</i>	55. Mwearmouth	75. Wareham M
16. Bywell A	36. Hale	56. Morland	76. Wharram S
17. Bywell P	37. Harpswell	57. N. Leigh	77. <i>Whitfield</i>
18. Canterbury M	38. Heapham	58. Norton	78. Wing
19. Carlton	39. Herringfleet	59. Ovingham	79. Winstone
20. Chithurst	40. Heysham Pa	60. Quarley	80. Winterton
			81. York

TABLE 2. *Churches with double-splayed windows*
(Names in italics also occur in the list of single-splayed windows)

1. Arlington	21. Darent	41. Iver	61. Skipwith
2. Bardfield	22. <i>Deerhurst M</i>	42. <i>Jarrow</i>	62. Sompting
3. Barrow	23. <i>Deerhurst O</i>	43. Langford	63. Stevington
4. Barsham	24. Diddlebury	44. Leeds	64. Stoughton
5. Barton	25. Dover	45. Leicester	65. Stourmouth
6. Bedford	26. Dunham	46. Lopham	66. Stowe-nC
7. Bibury	27. <i>Fornsett</i>	47. Lydd	67. Strethall
8. Birstall	28. Framingham	48. Mersea	68. Swanscombe
9. Boarhunt	29. Gayton	49. Morton	69. Thornage
10. Bradford	30. Gissing	50. Newton	70. Thursley
11. Breamore	31. Godalming	51. Norwich J	71. Tichborne
12. <i>Brigstock</i>	32. Guildford	52. Oxford	72. Tredington
13. Caversfield	33. <i>Haddiscoe T</i>	53. Paxton	73. Turvey
14. Cheriton	34. Hadstock	54. Poling	74. Weybourne
15. Chickney	35. Hales	55. <i>Reculver</i>	75. <i>Whitfield</i>
16. Clapham	36. Hardwick	56. <i>Roughton</i>	76. Wickham
17. Colchester	37. Houghton	57. Shelford	77. Witley
18. Colney	38. Hovingham	58. Shereford	78. Witton
19. Coltishall	39. Howe	59. Shorne	79. Woodston
20. Cringleford	40. Inworth	60. Singleton	80. Wouldham



FIG. 672. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

The names of churches with megalithic windows are underlined and those with rubble windows are doubly underlined.

single-splayed 272 and double-splayed 200. The maps of Figs 672 and 673 show how the windows are distributed in different parts of the country, and possible reasons for differences between the two distributions are discussed below. These tables and maps exclude the fifteen windows of special types discussed in Section 2.

ORIGINS OF THE TWO TYPES OF SPLAYED WINDOWS

There can be little doubt that the origin of the splaying of the sides and sills of windows is to be found in the desire to provide a higher intensity and a greater uniformity of illumination through-



FIG. 673. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS
The fabric is rubble except for the places whose names are underlined to indicate dressed stone.

out the church than would result if the openings were cut straight through the comparatively thick walls. Much the same objects could of course be achieved by greatly increasing the number of windows without providing any splays, but it is clear that this would involve more effort than

playing a smaller number of windows, and it would also reduce the strength of the walls.

Single-splayed windows. Once the decision has been taken to splay the sides and sill of a window in order to admit more light it is almost obvious

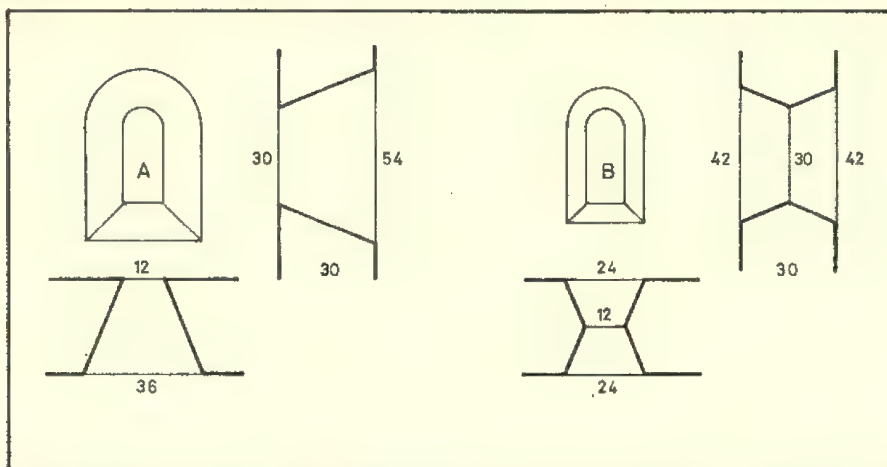


FIG. 674. CONSTRUCTIONAL CONTRAST BETWEEN THE TWO TYPES OF WINDOWS Both windows have the same aperture (30 by 12 in.); but the single-splayed window A requires a much larger opening in the face of the wall (54 by 36 in.) by contrast with the double-splayed window B (42 by 24 in.).

that the simplest way to give effect to this decision is to widen the opening towards the interior of the church and so to produce the simplest form of single-splayed window. Moreover when the jambs have been built in this splayed fashion it follows almost as a constructional necessity (except for flat-headed windows) that the head will also be splayed at much the same angle.

Double-splayed windows. It is perhaps less obvious what might have been the considerations which led to the development of double-splayed windows and to the complete and fairly rapid abandonment of this distinctive type after the Norman Conquest. It seems possible, however, that there were three quite important structural and practical considerations which led the late-Saxon builder to adopt or to invent the double-splayed window and then to use it in certain districts almost to the exclusion of the single-splayed window except for the small slit-like windows that were used in towers and stairways. The first of these considerations is the very practical question of the protection of the interior from rain, especially if the windows are not glazed. For this purpose it is obviously better to place the actual aperture near the middle of the wall rather than at the outer face as was done with single-splayed windows like those at Brixworth; and even when windows were protected

with sheets of linen or networks of cord, it would still help materially if the outer sill could be sloped downward to lead rainwater away. The second consideration springs from the practical difficulty of constructing wide arches, and the consequent simplification which results if the width of arch can be kept small without sacrifice to the width of the actual aperture which admits the light. It is obvious that any splaying of the sides of a window will make the opening in the wall-face wider than the actual aperture; but it will be seen from Fig. 674 that the increase in width is very much less for the double-splayed window than for its single-splayed counterpart. Therefore a change from single-splayed to double-splayed windows would reduce the span of the wooden centring needed for building the round heads. For example, both the windows shown in Fig. 674 have apertures of the same size, 12 in. wide and 30 in. tall, and both are shown with the same angle of splay; but the opening in the wall-face is seen to be 36 in. by 54 in. for the single-splayed window by comparison with only 24 in. by 42 in. for the double-splayed one. The third consideration is also concerned with the problems of construction, but in this case with the very practical question of holding the centring in place while building the wall around and above it. For a double-splayed window two equal wooden boxes can be made for the inner and outer splays; these can be lashed to-

gether and placed securely over the apex of the downward-splayed sill; and then, as the rubble wall is built up against the boxes, they become securely held in place for supporting the head as it is later built over the top. The head can in fact be formed either with voussoirs or with a rough concrete aggregate like that of the main body of the wall. By contrast, the mould or centring for a single-splayed window is not only much larger than that for its double-splayed counterpart but it is also much more difficult to hold in place.

It will readily be appreciated that the constructional considerations become of much greater importance when walls are of rubble than when good supplies of stone are available for constructing the heads either with lintels or with arches. It may therefore be that these considerations led to the popularity of double-splayed windows in southern England and East Anglia where good stone is relatively scarce, whereas in the midlands and the north double-splayed windows were hardly used at all because of the ready availability of stone.

After the Norman Conquest there is next to no evidence in England of the building of doorways or windows without the use of dressed stone for their facings, and there was probably little if any survival of unglazed windows in churches. Therefore two of the three arguments advanced above in favour of double-splayed windows would cease to apply. It is therefore tempting to suggest that these were the arguments which led to the widespread use of double-splayed windows in the late-Saxon era and to the abandonment of them almost immediately after the Conquest. It should, however, be pointed out that this cannot be regarded as a complete explanation because on the Continent the use of double-splayed windows continued well into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries even though the openings were built with dressed stone.

SPACE-DISTRIBUTION OF THE TWO TYPES OF WINDOWS

It will be seen from the distribution maps that whereas single-splayed windows have survived in a more or less uniform distribution over the whole

of Anglo-Saxon England, double-splayed windows are notably concentrated in the south. There are only three churches with double-splayed windows north of the Humber; and these are all in towers, at Hovingham, Jarrow, and Skipwith; and even the combined areas of Lincolnshire and Leicestershire (representing roughly the ancient Lindsey and South Mercia) add only a further three, at Barton-on-Humber, Birstall, and Leicester. Thus for the whole area north and west of the River Welland there are only six churches with double-splayed windows, by contrast with seventy-four in the remaining southern part of England. Moreover although single-splayed windows are more or less evenly distributed over the whole of Anglo-Saxon England yet it is also true to say that in East Anglia they are almost absent except for the small ones that occur in towers. In summary it might therefore be suggested that the surviving distribution of the two types of windows could be regarded as confirmation of what has been said above about the particular attractiveness of the double-splayed type for ease of construction when good building stone is not readily available.

It will be appreciated, however, that the position is scarcely so simple as this summary might suggest, particularly because some of the larger single-splayed windows are to be found in the districts that are short of good building stone, as at Minster-in-Sheppey. Since the Anglo-Saxons were therefore quite capable of building large single-splayed windows without the use of good stone, it therefore follows that the adoption or invention of double-splayed windows must have been at least to some extent a matter of fashion or taste rather than of necessity.

TWO TYPES OF WINDOWS IN A SINGLE BUILDING

There are eight churches in which both double-splayed and single-splayed windows are at present to be found, and from the survival of the two types side by side it is possible to make some tentative deductions about the ranges of dates within which the types were in use. The churches concerned, and the positions of the windows are as follows:

CHAPTER 7 WINDOWS

<i>Church</i>	<i>Position of single-splayed windows</i>	<i>Position of double-splayed windows</i>
Brigstock	Nave, and ground floor of west tower	Round-headed windows in first-floor chamber of tower, and flat-headed windows at two levels in stair-turret
Deerhurst M	First floor of tower	Second floor of tower
Forncett	West tower	West tower
Haddiscoe T	West tower	West gable of nave
Jarrow	South wall of church	First floor of tower
Reculver	Three north porticus	One north porticus
Roughton	West tower	West tower
Whitfield	West wall of nave	South wall of nave

If we take first the three East Anglian round towers at Forncett, Haddiscoe Thorpe and Roughton we may note that such towers are commonly regarded as belonging to the latest phase of Anglo-Saxon building. At Forncett round-headed single-splayed windows and circular double-splayed windows are arranged in four tiers so that a tier of one type alternates with a tier of the other up the whole height of the round tower. At Haddiscoe Thorpe the double-splayed window, of circular shape, is high up in the west gable of the nave, where it was blocked by the later addition of the round west tower; therefore here the small single-splayed windows of the round tower were built later than the double-splayed window of the nave. At Roughton, as at Forncett, both types of window occur in the round tower itself and are probably contemporary. Therefore from the three churches we deduce that small single-splayed windows such as occur in these round towers were being built both at the same time as double-splayed windows and also later.

At Deerhurst St Mary the second-floor chamber of the west porch, with its two flat-headed double-splayed windows and its elaborate double-gabled window towards the nave cannot be earlier than the first-floor chamber below, and indeed gives several indications of being a later addition. Moreover at Brigstock and Jarrow round-headed double-splayed windows occur in first-floor rooms

which can be shown to be later additions to parts of the buildings which contain single-splayed windows. Thus these three buildings indicate changes of fashion in which double-splayed windows replaced an earlier preference for the single-splayed type. At Reculver, too, the double-splayed window seems clearly to be a later addition, but at Whitfield the evidence is less clear.

From the limited evidence of eight churches it is difficult to enunciate a general principle and it is for this reason that emphasis was placed above on the tentative nature of the general deduction that double-splayed windows represent a later fashion and that, although single-splayed windows were used earlier, they also continued in use right through to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era.

COMPARATIVE FREQUENCY OF SHAPES

Like most other Anglo-Saxon openings, windows are predominantly round-headed, with vertical or slightly inclined jambs; but, while roughly three-quarters of either type are of this shape, there is a sharp contrast between the two types in the treatment of the residue. For double-splayed windows the remainder are mostly circular in shape whereas for single-splayed windows they are mostly flat-headed. The full story is told by the following table which gives percentage occurrence as well as the actual numbers extracted from Tables 17 and 22.

TABLE 3. *Shapes of windows*

<i>Shape</i>	<i>Single-splayed</i>		<i>Double-splayed</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Round-headed	201	74	139	70
Flat-headed	64	24	7	3
Circular	3	1	54	27
Gabled	4	1	0	0
	—	—	—	—
	272	100	200	100
	—	—	—	—

3. NORMAL TYPES OF WINDOWS

USAGE IN DIFFERENT PARTS OF THE CHURCH

Both types of splay were used in all parts of the church, and the figures in Table 4 show that there were no striking differences between the two types in their frequency of use except that in towers and stair turrets the single-splayed windows are appreciably more common both in number and in percentage. It should also be noted that most of the 161 single-splayed windows in towers or turrets are of comparatively small size.

COMPARATIVE USE OF MATERIALS

The main fabric of windows. We have already seen that carefully dressed ashlar of regular size and shape is almost absent from Anglo-Saxon windows but that there is some use of roughly dressed small stonework of a type approximating to ashlar. This is appreciably more frequently used in the single-splayed type than in the other; and while megalithic fabric occurs frequently in single-splayed windows it is not found except at Brigstock and Deerhurst M in the double-splayed ones. We have also seen that there is reason to believe that the double-splayed type was invented or adopted specially to simplify the construction of windows wholly with rubble (including small stone, flint, or tile); the predominance of rubble fabric in double-splayed windows is therefore to be expected.

The detailed figures given in Table 5 are derived from Tables 17 and 22, and the uncertainties arise in the main from windows in which the details are concealed behind plaster.

Window-heads. In addition to the main fabric of the window an important and distinctive feature is the treatment of the head. In double-splayed windows the heads are sometimes formed of the same aggregate as the walls themselves, but it is more common for the heads to be strengthened by the use of flat stones or tiles laid rather roughly as voussoirs. In single-splayed windows rough rubble voussoirs are also used, but less frequently; and by far the most common type of head for the single-splayed window, at least on the exterior face of the wall, is a simple lintel. The detailed figures given in Table 6 are derived from Tables 17 and 22.

DECORATION OF WINDOWS

By contrast with the decoration which was lavished on windows in the Gothic period, Anglo-Saxon windows are plain in the extreme; they show much less decoration even than Anglo-Saxon arches, doorways or belfry openings. In particular the double-splayed windows are entirely without sculpture, and the use of sculpture on single-splayed windows is limited to simple forms and very few occurrences. The major examples are at Barnack on the lintelled window-heads, and at Glentworth and Stow on hoodmouldings. In addition

TABLE 4. *Distribution of windows*

Position	Single-splayed		Double-splayed	
	Number	per cent	Number	per cent
Nave	86	31	80	40
Chancel	15	6	15	8
Annexe	10	4	10	5
Tower or turret	161	59	95	47
	272	100	200	100

TABLE 5. *Use of materials*

Material	Single-splayed		Double-splayed	
	Number	per cent	Number	per cent
Megalithic	100	37	2	1
Quasi-ashlar	75	28	23	11
Rubble	91	33	148	74
Uncertain	6	2	27	14
	272	100	200	100

TABLE 6. *Construction of window-heads*

<i>Heads</i>	<i>Single-splayed</i>		<i>Double-splayed</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>per cent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>per cent</i>
Rubble voussoirs	56	21	90	45
Dressed stone voussoirs	14	5	16	8
Lintels externally	193	71	15	8
Aggregate	4	1	49	24
Uncertain	5	2	30	15
	272	100	200	100

tion there are purely architectural enrichments of which one example is the mannered use of alternating upright and flat jamb-stones on the exterior at Monkwearmouth and the interior at Jarrow. A further example of purely architectural enrichment is seen at Glentworth in the inscribing of lines on the lintelled head of the window to simulate the jointing of voussoirs (see Fig. 679).

COMPARATIVE SIZES OF WINDOWS

By no means all the windows studied so far in this chapter have been measured in detail; but the figures at the foot of the page indicate that enough have been measured to present a representative picture of the whole.

If we consider the windows in relation to the widths of their apertures and if we exclude the small number of circular single-splayed windows we find that while the circular double-splayed windows and the double-splayed windows of other shapes each constitute a reasonably homogeneous group, the single-splayed windows seem to constitute two separate groups of which the relatively small and narrow windows in towers form the first while the appreciably larger windows in the main body of churches form the second.

Circular double-splayed windows. The aperture-widths of circular double-splayed windows vary

from 0.7 ft to 1.3 ft, with a concentration about a mean of 0.9 ft.

Double-splayed windows of other shapes. The aperture-widths of these windows vary from 0.4 to 3.7 ft, with a considerable concentration about the mean value of 1.0 ft. Much the same pattern is seen if the windows are analysed in two separate groups made up of those in towers and those in other parts of the church, and therefore there seems to be no fundamental distinction between the windows used in the churches and those used in the towers.

Single-splayed windows excluding those of circular shape. The aperture-widths of the 227 single-splayed windows vary from 0.4 ft to 3.7 ft but unlike the double-splayed windows they do not show a single concentration about their mean value of 1.2 ft. But if we divide the windows into two separate groups, putting into the first group all those in towers and stair turrets (118 in number) and into the second group all those in the main body of the churches (109 in number) then the aperture-widths of the first group lie between 0.4 ft and 3.1 ft, with a considerable concentration about the mean value of 0.9 ft, while the aperture widths of the second group lie between 0.4 ft and 3.7 ft with a concentration extending from 0.7 to 2.0 ft about the mean value of 1.6 ft. There is therefore an indication that the small single-splayed windows of towers represent a separately designed

	<i>Number of windows so far considered</i>	<i>Number of windows fully measured</i>
Single-splayed:		
Circular	4	0
Other shapes	266	227
Double-splayed:		
Circular	52	25
Other shapes	148	103

group from the rather larger single-splayed windows of naves and chancels. It should, however, be recorded that the latter group contains some windows as small as those in towers and that it is a very wide group without a very well defined central concentration.

SECTION 4. DETAILED STUDY OF SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

In attempting to group together buildings of similar origin or workmanship it is obviously convenient to have lists of the occurrence of distinctive features; and in single-splayed windows the most distinctive groups are those of megalithic construction and those which are built of rubble without any use of dressed stone. It is therefore desirable to consider these two groups, and particularly the first, in further detail.

MEGALITHIC SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

We have already seen that in the churches under consideration there are one hundred single-splayed windows of megalithic construction; but before passing on to consider them in detail it is important to clarify one matter of definition, namely that the use of a large stone lintel has not been accepted as reason for defining a window as of megalithic construction if the remainder of the opening is built of rubble or small dressed stone. We have already noted that throughout the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods and indeed even later it was a very common practice to build small windows with flat or round lintelled heads and with jambs of rubble or small dressed stones. In some of these windows the lintels are formed of quite large

stones; but all these small windows with rubble jambs have been classified under the heading of rubble construction; and the megalithic class has been restricted to include only those in which the main fabric of the opening is formed of large stones. As a particular and important sub-group within the megalithic class we shall notice those windows in which all or most of the stones forming the opening pass through the full thickness of the wall, and as other sub-groups we shall notice those in which the full thickness is lined by not more than two stones.

Places of occurrence of megalithic windows. The distribution of megalithic single-splayed windows is made up of forty-two in the main body of churches and fifty-eight in towers, as shown in Table 7.

Through-stone technique. There are not many windows of any shape that are wholly constructed of through-stones, no doubt largely because of the difficulty of finding and transporting single stones big enough to form the lintels. For this reason it is not surprising that the only surviving examples of appreciable size are flat-headed, namely the first-floor window of the tower at Middleton and the two north windows at Escomb as illustrated in Fig. 675. There are other examples in the smaller windows of the stair turret at Hough, but even there some have separate stones for the inner and outer parts of the lintel. But although there are so few examples of a complete through-stone technique there are many more in which the greater part of the opening is built of through-stones. Thus, at Brigstock the single-splayed windows are arched with through-stone voussoirs, and at the following

TABLE 7. *Places of occurrence and numbers of megalithic windows*

(a) In the body of the church (nave except where otherwise stated)

Arreton	1	Deerhurst M (porticus)	1	Lusby (chancel)	1	Stow (transepts)	2
Atcham	1	Escomb	5	Mwearmouth	2	Wareham M (chancel)	1
Avebury	2	Geddington	1	Seaham	4	Whitfield	1
Brigstock	1	Jarrow	3	Stanton L (transept)	1		
Bywell P	4	Ledsham	8				
Corbridge	3						

(b) In towers (including ten in the stair turret at Hough)

Bardsey	2	Glentworth	2	Hough (stair turret)	10	Lincoln P	2
Barnack	7	Hale	2	K Hammerton	6	Middleton	2
Brigstock	2	Hornby	1	Ledsham	2	Mwearmouth	2
Clee	2	Hough (tower)	5	Lincoln M	2	Rothwell	4
Corbridge	1					Wharrah S	4

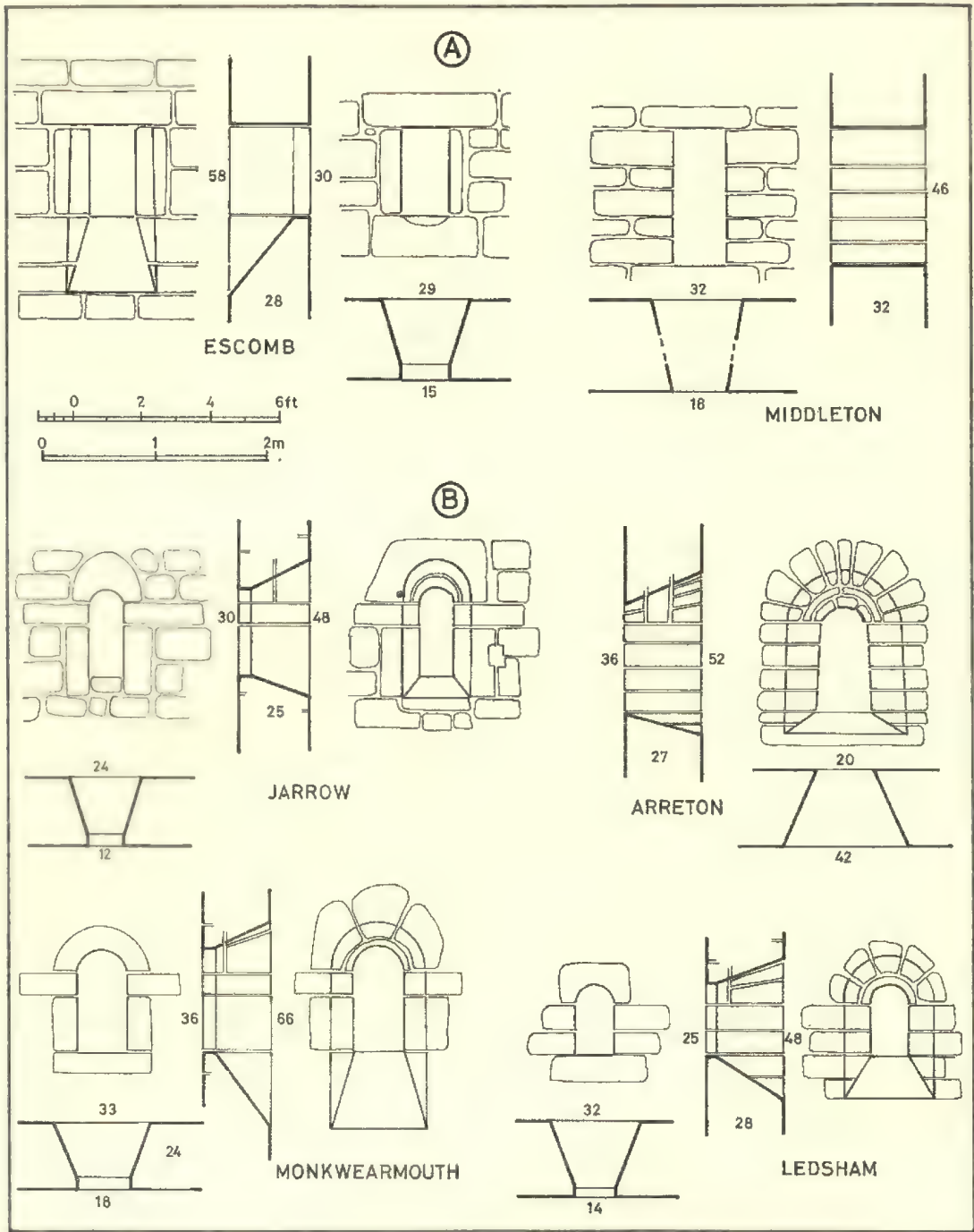


FIG. 675. THROUGH-STONE TECHNIQUE IN SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS
A, windows wholly of through-stones; B, windows with through-stones in the jambs but not in the heads. See Brigstock in Fig. 677 for an example of through-stones used in the head but not the jambs.

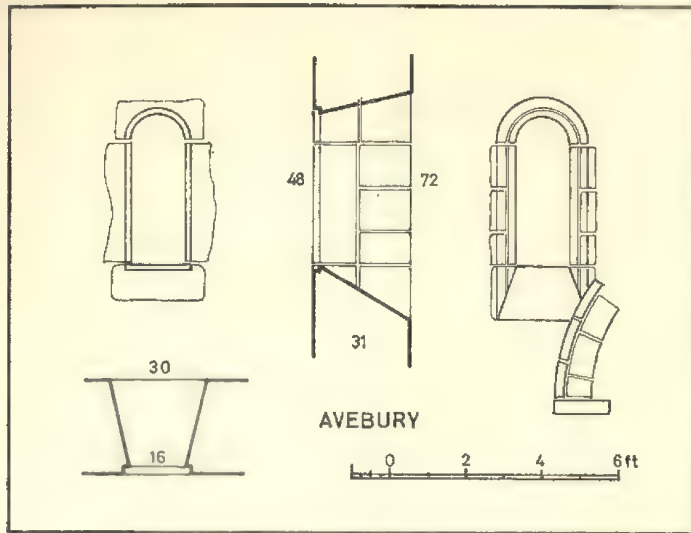


FIG. 676. HALF-THROUGH-STONE TECHNIQUE IN SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

The round-headed windows at Avebury use this technique throughout. See Jarrow, Ledsham and Monkwearmouth in Fig. 675 for half-through-stones used in the head in conjunction with through-stones in the jambs.

churches the windows have through-stone jambs: Arreton, Bardsey, Escomb (the round-headed windows of the south and west walls), Jarrow, Ledsham, Monkwearmouth, and Seaham. The same may be true of the north windows at Bywell St Peter, but at present the evidence is hidden beneath plaster. Representative examples of these windows with partial through-stone technique are shown in Fig. 675.

Half-through-stones. For many megalithic windows which are not built mainly of through-stones it is nevertheless true that at each point the full thickness of the wall is spanned by not more than two stones. It is useful to consider this technique more fully and to differentiate it clearly from the markedly different one in which large stones are used only at the salient angles while rubble is used to line the remainder of the soffit. The simplest example of the use of two large stones to line the full wall thickness of part of an opening is clearly given when each stone passes through half the thickness, and such stones could appropriately be called half-through-stones. At Avebury and at Corbridge there are windows in which both the jambs and also the lintelled head are of half-through-stone technique, while at Bardsey arched window-heads mainly of half-through-stone voussoirs are used in conjunction with jambs of

through-stones, and at Escomb and Jarrow round lintelled heads of half-through-stones are used with through-stone jambs. It should also be noted that stones of different shapes may be used on the inner and outer faces of the wall; for example at Escomb the round heads are cut in roughly rectangular lintels on both faces of the wall while at Jarrow the lintels on the interior face are rectangular while those on the outer face are roughly semicircular; and at Avebury the jambs are of single pillar-stones on the outer face of the wall but of three stones laid horizontally on the interior. Representative examples of these techniques are shown in Figs. 675 and 676.

Three-quarter-through-stones. This technique, like that of half-through-stones can be used either for the heads or the jambs or both. The best examples of the use in window-heads is to be seen in the nave at Monkwearmouth and the west porch at Ledsham, where the outer face of each head is formed of a fairly thin lintel and the main thickness of the wall is arched with three-quarter-through-stone voussoirs. At both places the jambs are of through-stones (Fig. 675). Good examples of three-quarter-through-stones in window-jambs are provided at Brigstock where the outer face is formed with pairs of pillar-stones while the inner face is formed of several very large flat stones

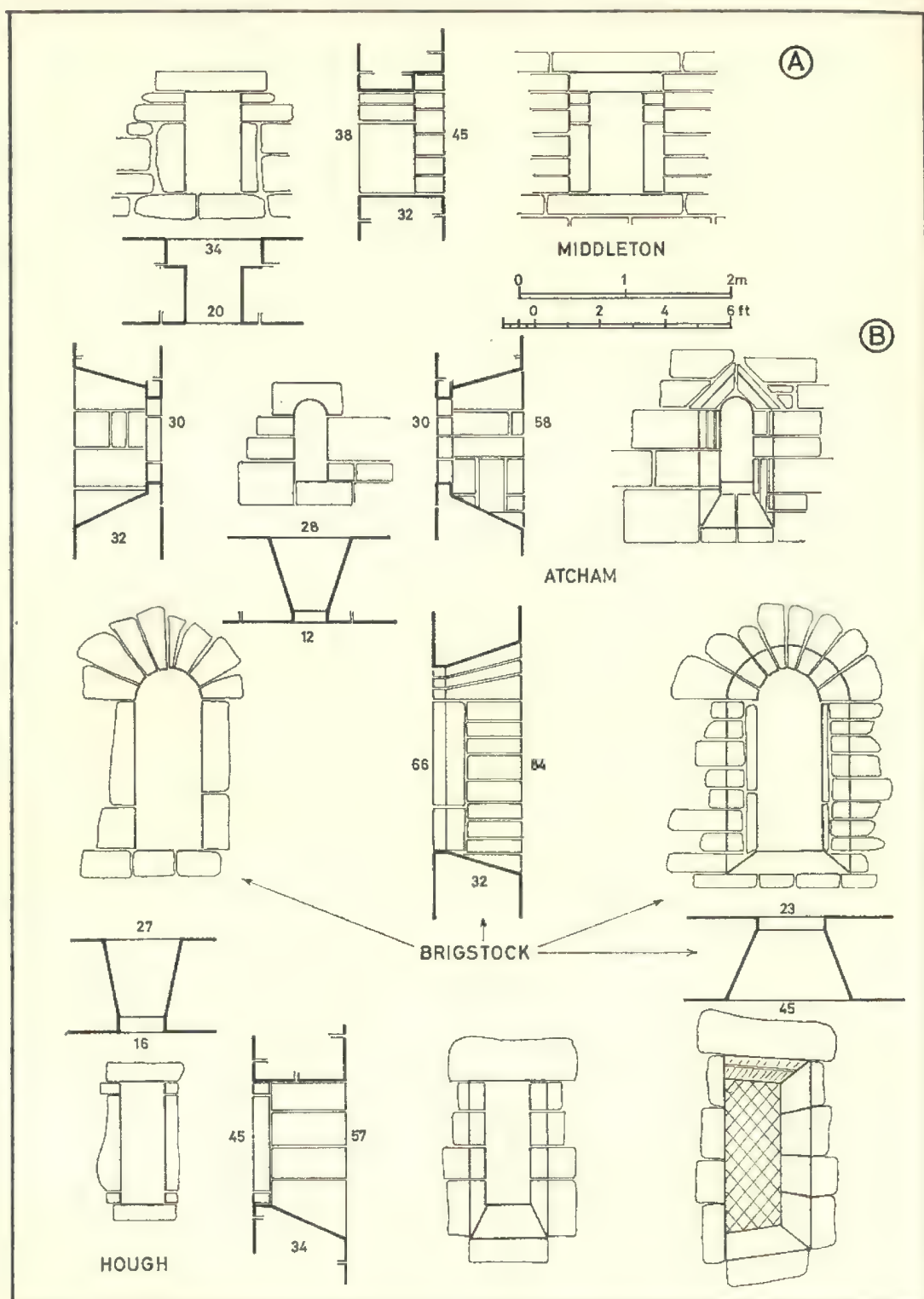


FIG. 677. THREE-QUARTER-THROUGH-STONE TECHNIQUE

A, a window wholly of three-quarter-through-stones in the second floor of the tower at Middleton; B, windows largely but not wholly of three-quarter-through-stones at Atcham, Brigstock and Hough. It should be noted that the head at Brigstock is arched with through-stone voussoirs.

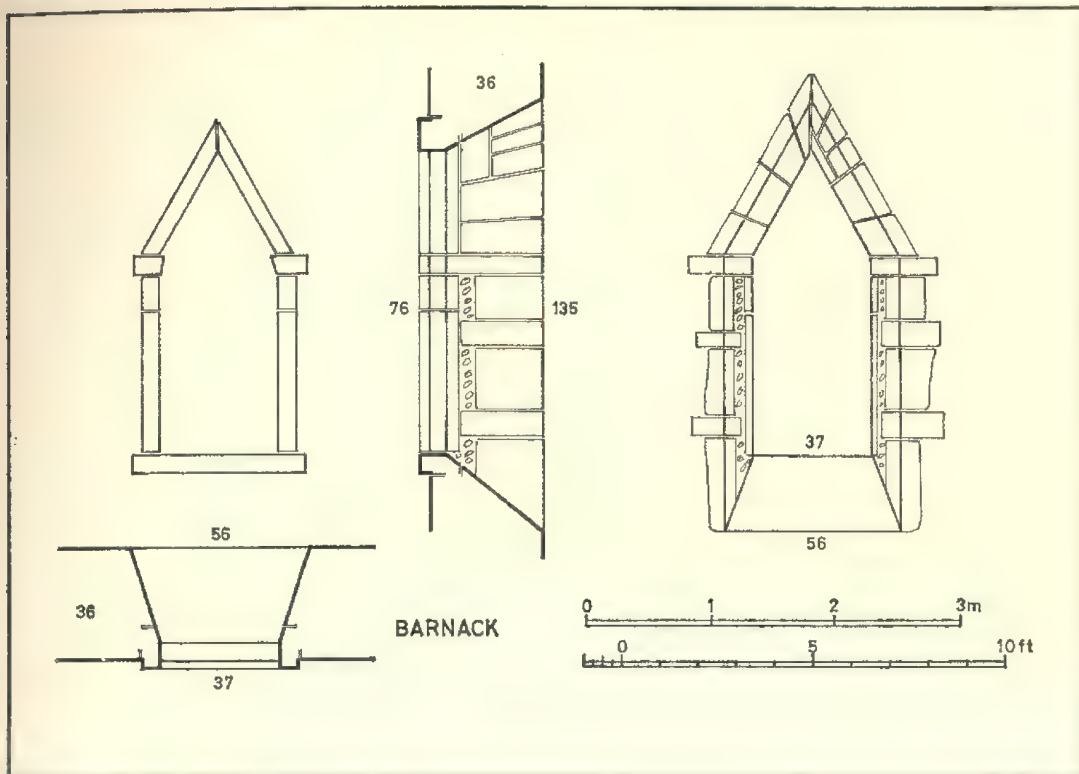


FIG. 678. MEGALITHIC FACING AND RUBBLE LINING

The example illustrated, at Barnack, has a very small area of rubble lining. Examples with much more rubble are to be seen at Lincoln P (Vol. I: 396) and Stow (Vol. II: 587).

which not only line the major part of the thickness of the wall but extend far sideways along its inner face. Another good example is provided by the western windows of the upper floor of the tower at Hough-on-the-Hill where the treatment is very similar to that at Brigstock except that, instead of pairs of pillar stones in the outer face, single pillar stones are used, with strange short stones below and above. A specially interesting example of this type of window is to be seen in the north wall of the nave at Atcham where the lintelled outer face is round-headed while the three-quarter-through-stones over the interior are laid in gabled fashion. All these windows as illustrated in Fig. 677 seem to represent a functional design for glazed openings, in the sense that the glass or the window-frame could conveniently be set at the junction between the three-quarter-through-stones and the pillar-stones of the outer face. In this connection it should be noted that these latter stones were not splayed but formed the parallel-sided part of the

opening. The figure also shows a window wholly formed of three-quarter-through-stones at Middleton.

Rubble-lined soffits with megalithic salient angles. The technique of lining much of the soffit of an arch and its jambs with rubble while forming the salient angles with dressed stone was used occasionally by the Anglo-Saxons and more often by Norman and later builders. But there is a marked difference in detailed practice in that the Anglo-Saxons normally used large and irregular stones for the salient angles whereas in Norman and later times regularly dressed ashlar was used. Good examples of rubble soffits with megalithic jambs and heads are to be seen at Stow (Vol. II: 587) and at the two Lincoln churches of St Mary-le-Wigford and St Peter-at-Gowts (Vol. I: 396); it is of particular interest to note the long-and-short technique in the interior facings of the jambs at both Stow and Lincoln St Peter. Other impressive

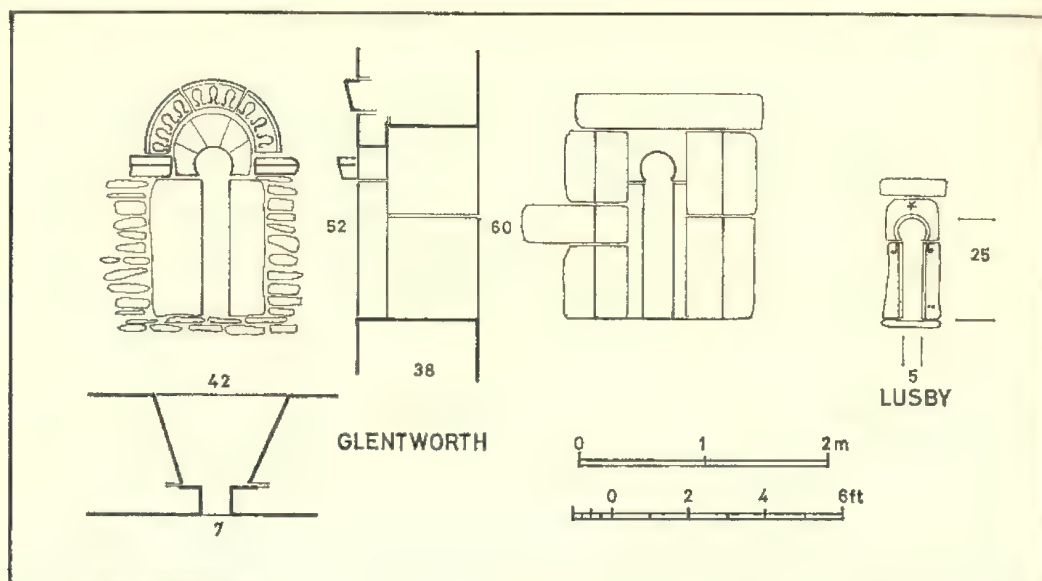


FIG. 679. KEYHOLE WINDOWS

examples of this technique but with much smaller areas of rubble are to be seen in the large windows of the tower at Barnack, in some of which so little rubble is used that the windows might almost be regarded as belonging to the three-quarter-through-stone type (see Fig. 678).

Keyhole windows. A small but interesting and localised group of windows is found in Lincolnshire, mainly in towers but also in the body of the church, as in the chancel at Lusby (and also in naves at Barnetby-le-Wold and Greetwell which were included in Volume I but have been excluded from this volume because the evidence is regarded as inadequate to justify a confident claim for Anglo-Saxon workmanship). In all these windows the round heads are cut in rectangular lintels, and their curves extend for rather more than a semicircle so as to give the window as a whole its well-known resemblance to a large keyhole. The megalithic nature of most of these comparatively small windows arises from the fact that the jambs are formed of pillar stones which give the whole window an impressive appearance. Examples in towers are to be found at Clee and Glentworth. In some other Lincolnshire towers such as Alkborough, Heapham and Scartho the jambs of keyhole windows are not megalithic but are formed of small dressed stones. An interesting feature of some

of the keyhole windows, as shown in Fig. 679 for Glentworth is that the widely splayed interior opening is also treated in megalithic fashion with three-quarter-through-stones for its jambs and flat head.

SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS OF RUBBLE FABRIC

We have already seen that in the churches under consideration there are ninety-one single-splayed windows of rubble fabric. Unfortunately all but thirty of these are small openings with rubble jambs and stone lintels for their round or flat heads, of a primitive type which gives little useful information because it seems to have been in common use throughout our period and also long after the Norman conquest. The single-splayed rubble windows which are distinctively Anglo-Saxon are those of a large size which in Norman or later times would almost certainly have called for facings of dressed stone. Therefore in considering the rubble windows it seems best to consider in detail only the comparatively few examples of large size. The thirty windows whose apertures are 1 ft or more in width are therefore listed in Table 8.

Even in these thirty larger windows it is difficult to see much in the way of regularity of treatment. The first four (at Bradwell-on-Sea) are flat-headed,

TABLE 8. *Large single-splayed windows of rubble fabric*

	Number	Width ft.
1. Bradwell N, S	4	3.0
W	1	2.5
2. Brixworth N, S,	6	3.0
Choir S	1	2.5
Choir E	2	2.0
3. Canterbury M W	2	1.0
4. Elmham S		
Annexe N, S	4	1.8
Nave N, S	2	1.8
5. Minster N, S	4	2.0
6. St Albans M N, S	4	2.0

with wooden lintels. All the others (including the west window at Bradwell) are round-headed, and are arched with tiles or flat pieces of stone except for those at South Elmham and Canterbury St Martin. The Elmham windows seem to have been formed in the rubble fabric of the wall without any voussoirs; the Canterbury windows are at first sight also cut through the wall without any proper arching, but on closer inspection it appears that this represents a later upward enlargement and that the original heads were properly arched with tiles, some of which can still be seen at the springing. It should be noted that at Brixworth and South Elmham the splays continue right through the walls whereas at the others the jambs have a narrow area without any splay beside the outer face of the wall.

SECTION 5. DETAILED STUDY OF DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

General considerations. In many ways circular and flat-headed double-splayed windows can be re-

garded as constituting separate classes within the main body of double-splayed windows in a way for which we did not find any analogue within the main body of single-splayed windows. Another group which will deserve special consideration consists of the windows which are wholly or partly formed of large stones by contrast with the rubble fabric which is the normal material for double-splayed windows. Finally we shall need to consider briefly the two different ways in which the windows can be formed wholly in rubble, depending on whether some use is made of rubble voussoirs for strengthening the heads of the windows, or whether the heads are simply formed in the rubble aggregate of the wall without any use of voussoirs.

Circular windows. There are fifty-four circular double-splayed windows in the churches under discussion, exactly two-thirds of them in towers, and the remaining third almost all in naves with only three in chancels and two in porticus. This distribution within the structure as well as the distribution about the country is shown in Table 9 where it will be seen that apart from five places (Barton, Bibury, Dover, Godalming, and Strethall) the circular double-splayed windows are confined to East Anglia. They therefore represent a specially localised tradition of building.

The details of construction of these circular windows are often concealed by plaster, but those for which details are visible indicate that the usual method was to lay the rubble aggregate of the wall round a template without any use of voussoirs to strengthen the upper part of the circular opening. A particularly interesting example is provided by

TABLE 9. *Circular double-splayed windows*

Naves		Chancels		Porticus		Towers	
Barsham	2	Framingham	2	Barton	2	Dover	7
Bibury	1	Norwich J	1			Dunham	4
Coltishall	2					Forncett	11
Godalming	2					Gissing	3
Haddiscoe T	1					Hales	2
Lopham	1					Howe	2
Norwich J	1					Mersea	1
Strethall	1					Roughton	2
Witton	2					Weybourne	4
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	13		3		2		36
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Hales (Vol. I: 279) where the basket work templates or frames which were used in the making of the windows were left in position and have survived to the present day.

Flat-headed double-splayed windows. There are only seven surviving flat-headed double-splayed windows, two in the western stair-turret at Brigstock, two in the west tower at Deerhurst St Mary, and three at Dover. Those at Brigstock and Deerhurst will be considered in the discussion of megalithic construction, so that only the three at Dover need special mention here. These are smaller than the great round-headed windows of the nave, but still quite large; the window in the west of the transept is about 3 ft wide by 7 ft tall, while those in the side walls of the nave are about 3 ft square, having been kept low because of a western gallery. They had wooden lintels of which clear traces were found during the repairs of 1860-62 (Vol. I: 216).

Double-splayed windows of dressed stone. In Table 10 there are shown the names of the fifteen churches in which there survive a total of twenty-five double-splayed windows made wholly or partly of dressed stone. The table also shows in which parts of the churches the windows are to be found. It should be noted that the two windows referred to at Skipwith are those on the ground floor of the tower, and that there are three more double-splayed windows on the first floor; the latter three have large voussoirs for their heads on the interior of the tower (Vol. II: 553), but they have been excluded from Table 10 because their jambs and exterior heads are almost wholly of rubble.

Size of stone. In the main, the fabric of these double-splayed windows of Table 10 should be regarded

as roughly dressed stone of quasi-ashlar character rather than as megalithic in the sense in which we have used this term in dealing with the single-splayed windows; but there are a few in which the construction is quite definitely megalithic. The outstanding example of the megalithic construction is to be seen at Deerhurst St Mary, where the two lateral flat-headed windows of the second floor chamber of the west porch are wholly constructed of through-stones in which are cut not only the splayed openings but also the rebates for the fitting of a shutter or a window-frame (Fig. 680). A somewhat similar treatment is also to be seen in the larger flat-headed west windows of the stair-turret at Brigstock; there again the heads, the jambs, and the sills are each built of single stones in the outer face of the wall and these stones continue beyond the original position of the glazing to form part of the interior splay; but they are not through-stones as at Deerhurst, and the remainder of the thickness of the wall at Brigstock seems to have been lined with rubble, which has survived in the upper window but has been replaced by modern ashlar in the lower window, perhaps in the repairs of 1875 (Vol. I: 104-5). It is by no means certain that even the megalithic outer face of this window is an original feature of the stair-turret, particularly because there is a fairly clearly marked line of disturbance in the wall on the south of the window; but it is difficult to imagine any period other than Anglo-Saxon in which a window of this design would have been inserted.

Construction of heads. In the construction of the twenty-five stone-faced double-splayed windows there is an almost equal use of the alternative techniques of lintels and voussoirs for forming the heads. Lintels are of course used for the flat-headed

TABLE 10. *Double-splayed windows of dressed stone*

<i>Naves</i>		<i>Chancels</i>		<i>Towers</i>		<i>Porticus</i>	
Bradford	1	Barrow	1	Deerhurst M	2	Bradford	1
Diddlebury	1	Boarhunt	1	Jarrow	2		
Hardwick	1	Bradford	1	Singleton	3	<i>Turret</i>	
Iver	1	Inworth	2	Skipwith	2	Brigstock	2
Poling	1	Shelford	1				
		Tichborne	2				
	-		-		-		
	5		8		9		
	-		-		-		

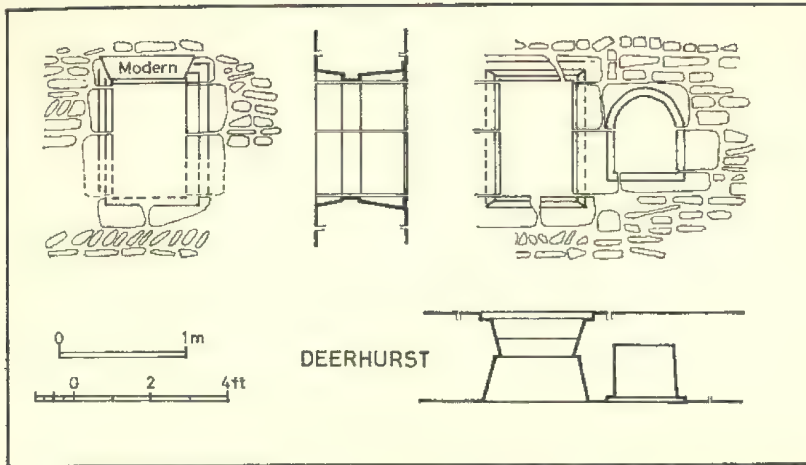


FIG. 680. THROUGH-STONE TECHNIQUE IN DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

windows at Brigstock and at Deerhurst St Mary. For the round-headed windows, lintels are used at Diddlebury, Barrow, and Shelford, and externally at Skipwith; while voussoirs are used at Boarhunt, Bradford-on-Avon, Hardwick, Inworth, Iver, Jarrow, Singleton, and Tichborne, and also on the interior of the windows at Skipwith. The windows at Skipwith are unique among double-splayed windows in the use of lintelled heads externally in conjunction with well cut voussoirs internally, and further reference is made below to possible implications of this unusual treatment.

Half-through-stones contrasted with rubble infilling. The round-headed double-splayed windows with lintelled heads externally are mainly built of half-through-stones as may be seen in Fig. 681 for those at Barrow, and Skipwith. By contrast, of those in which voussoirs are used externally, some are of the half-through-stone technique as at Bradford-on-Avon, whereas others, as at Inworth and Tichborne, have dressed stone only on the salient angles of the jambs and heads with rubble infilling for the remainder of the soffit, as shown in Fig. 682. Once again Skipwith requires special mention; the north and south windows of the ground-floor chamber of the tower are almost wholly built of half-through-stones although the outer faces have lintelled heads while the interior faces are arched with carefully shaped voussoirs. We suggested (in Vol. II: 550-1) that these windows might originally have been single-splayed and only later cut to

their present shape when the double-splayed windows of the upper storey were built. This possibility is illustrated in Fig. 681.

Megalithic and quasi-ashlar techniques contrasted. We have already noted that most of the double-splayed windows faced with stone are nearer ashlar than megalithic in style but that a few are megalithic, notably the flat-headed pairs at Brigstock and at Deerhurst St Mary. But there are also megalithic windows of round-headed type, as in the north window of the tower at Jarrow; and there are instances, as at Poling, of megalithic jambs used in conjunction with plain rubble heads. The window at Jarrow is of particular interest because one of the rare occurrences of double-splayed Norman windows occurs in the north-west turret of the nearby cathedral at Durham. It will be noticed in Fig. 683 that while the architectural treatments of the Jarrow and Durham windows are very similar, even to the roll-moulding carried round the arris of jambs and head, yet there is a sharp distinction in structural treatment, in the use of coursed ashlar at Durham by contrast with the megalithic treatment at Jarrow. If an attempt were to be made to separate into distinctive groups the double-splayed windows which make use of dressed stone, they could be classified as follows:

- (a) *Megalithic*
 - Brigstock and Deerhurst St Mary (flat heads at both places)
 - Jarrow (round heads with voussoirs)

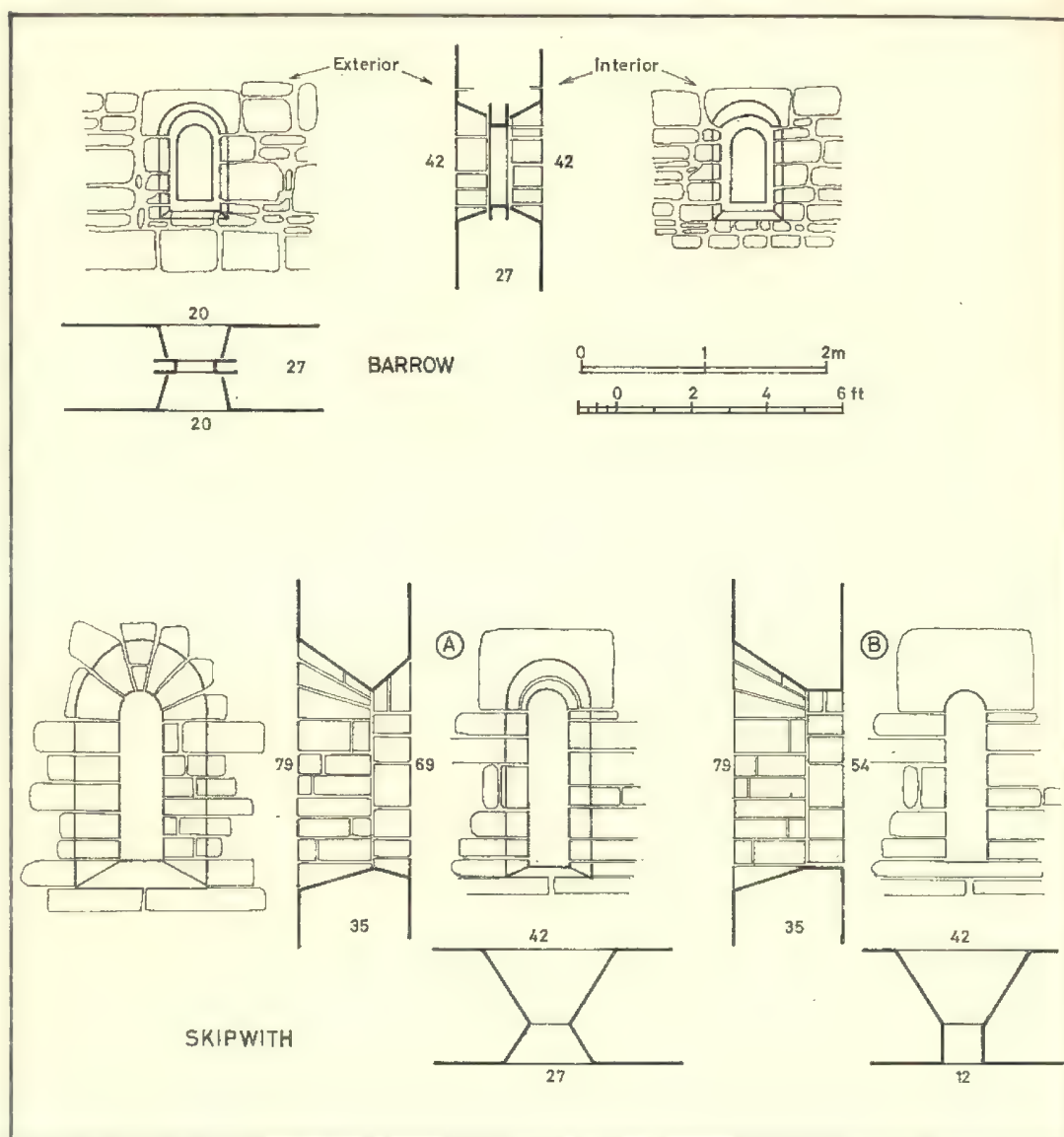


FIG. 681. DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS OF ROUGHLY DRESSED STONE

The example illustrated at Barrow has analogues at Diddlebury, Jarrow and elsewhere. The example at Skipwith is unusual in its use of well laid voussoirs internally, in conjunction with a monolithic external head. Drawing B shows how it might have arisen by later modification of a typical Northumbrian single-splayed window.

- Poling (megalithic jambs but rubble head)
Shelford and Skipwith (round lintelled heads)
- (b) Large blocks of quasi-ashlar
Barrow and Diddlebury (round lintelled heads)
- (c) Smaller quasi-ashlar
Boarhunt, Bradford, Hardwick, Iver, and Singleton
(all with voussoirs)
- (d) Small quasi-ashlar facings but rubble infilling
Inworth and Tichborne (voussoirs)

Double-splayed windows of rubble. By contrast with the twenty-five windows in which dressed stone is used, the remaining 175 double-splayed windows are constructed wholly of rubble (including flint and tile) and they can be divided into two groups depending on whether the heads of the windows are reinforced with voussoirs or are formed simply as part of the rubble aggregate of the wall without

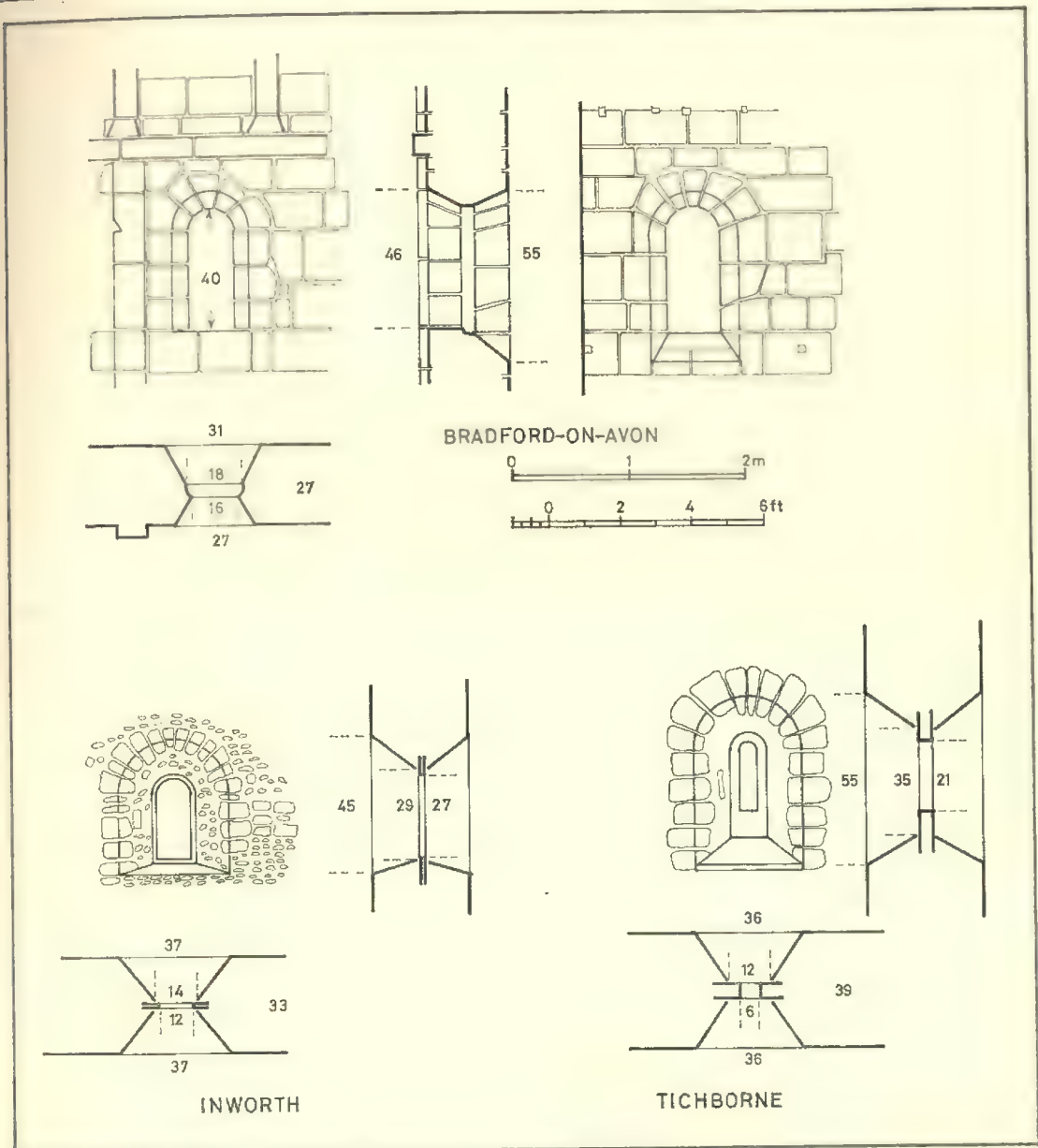


FIG. 682. DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS WITH DRESSED STONE VOUSSOIRS

Half-through-stone voussoirs at Bradford-on-Avon, in contrast with dressed stone only on the salient angles at Inworth and Tichborne.

any special facing on the arris. Moreover the first group itself can be divided in two, according as the voussoirs are laid more or less regularly in radial fashion or are set in the irregular way for which Baldwin Brown introduced the name Tredington fashion. The places at which windows of these three types occur are listed in Table II, and repre-

sentative windows are illustrated in Fig. 684. Finally it should be remembered that there are eighteen places comprising twenty-seven windows at which the details of the construction are not known, mainly because they are hidden beneath plaster.

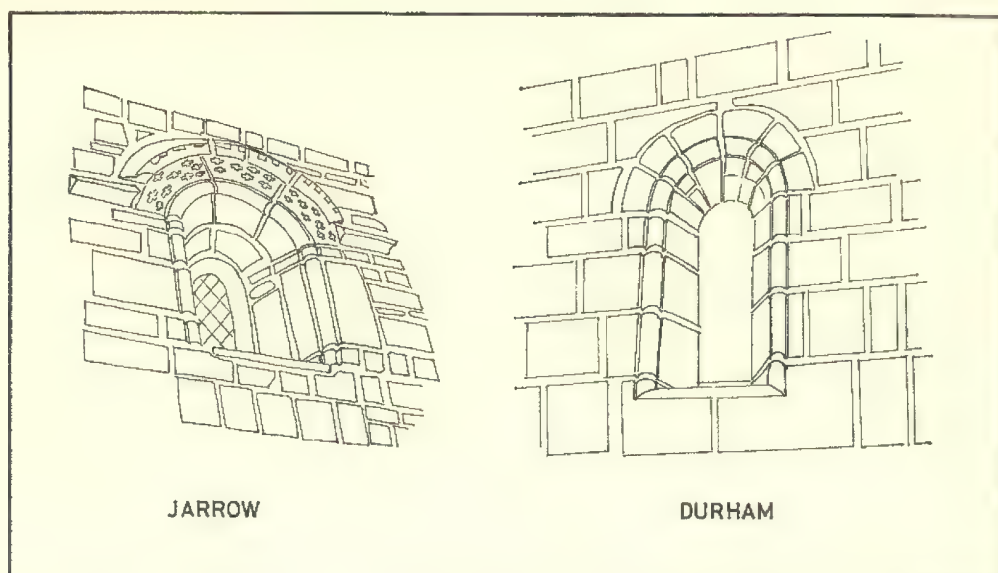


FIG. 683. CONTRASTED ANGLO-SAXON AND NORMAN TECHNIQUES

The window at Jarrow is on the first-floor stage of the north face of the tower; the window at Durham cathedral is in the lowest stage of the north face of the stair-turret in the north-west angle of the north transept.

TABLE II. *Double-splayed windows wholly of rubble, flint or tile*(a) *Heads formed with regularly-laid voussoirs*

Birstall	Darenth	Langford	Paxton
Clapham	Deerhurst O	Leicester	Strethall
Colchester	Dover	Newton	Weybourne

(b) *Heads formed with irregularly-laid voussoirs*

Arlington	Caversfield	Lydd	Thornage
Barsham	Cringleford	Norwich J	Tredington
Barton	Dunham	Stevington	Woodston
Bedford	Howe	Swanscombe	

(c) *Rubble aggregate for heads without any voussoirs*

Bardfield	Coltishall	Godalming	Oxford
Cheriton	Fornsett	Hadstock	Roughton
Chickney	Framingham	Hales	Shereford
Colney	Gayton	Hovingham	Witley
	Gissing	Lopham	

SECTION 6.
CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

At first sight there is a very sharp contrast between the quality and size of Anglo-Saxon windows and those of comparable date on the Continent. The latter are on the whole much larger than their English counterparts; and there is an almost complete absence of rubble-built windows on the Continent, by contrast with their widespread use

in England. But windows of rubble have indeed survived in smaller and simpler continental churches, as in the three-apsidal church at Mistail near Thusis in Switzerland, and possibly also at the similar and not very distant churches at Münstair and Mals where the fabric is hidden beneath plaster. It is a fact that in England most of the surviving churches represent smaller and humbler buildings, whereas the greater and more elaborate ones have vanished except for what is known of their plans by excavation. On the Continent, by contrast,

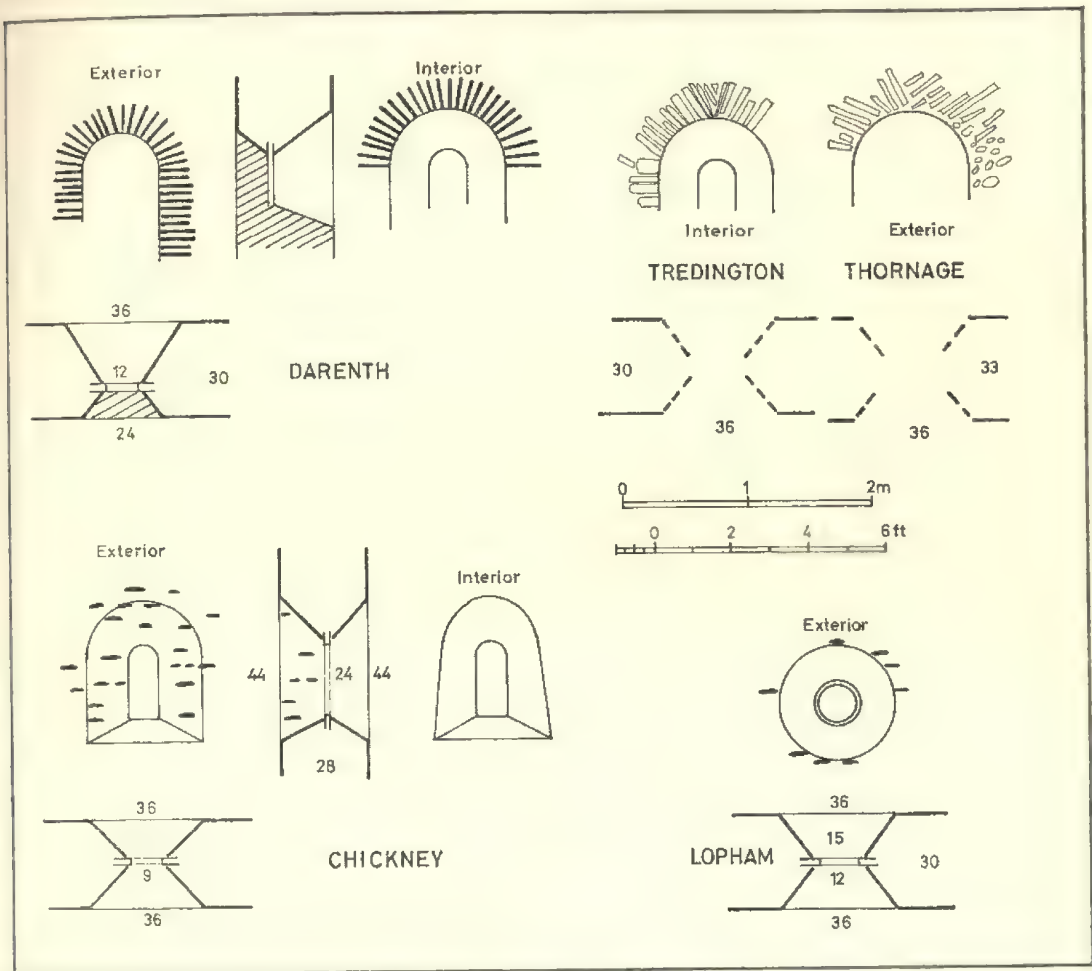


FIG. 684. DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS WHOLLY OF RUBBLE

The upper examples show the use of tile or stone voussoirs to reinforce the salient angles, while the lower examples show windows formed in rubble concrete with no such reinforcement. Wooden frames remain in the windows at Darenth, Chickney and Lopham.

several important Carolingian and Ottonian buildings have survived in a fairly complete form, whereas most of the smaller and humbler buildings have vanished and are only recently being recovered in plan by excavation beneath those that replaced them. Thus it may be that the contrast between English and continental practice was not as sharp as is suggested by the surviving buildings.

It is beyond the scope of this book to attempt to explain why there should have been so great a difference in survival, but a part of the almost total disappearance of the important Anglo-Saxon buildings is surely to be attributed to the remarkable outburst of rebuilding of major churches in

the period immediately after the Norman Conquest.

DIFFERING USE OF TYPES

We have seen that roughly equal numbers of single-splayed and double-splayed windows have survived in Anglo-Saxon churches; but on the Continent the number of double-splayed windows surviving from the corresponding period is very much smaller than the number with single inward splays. Moreover, whereas in England the use of double-splayed windows ceased almost completely after the Norman Conquest, there are clear examples of the use of double splays on the

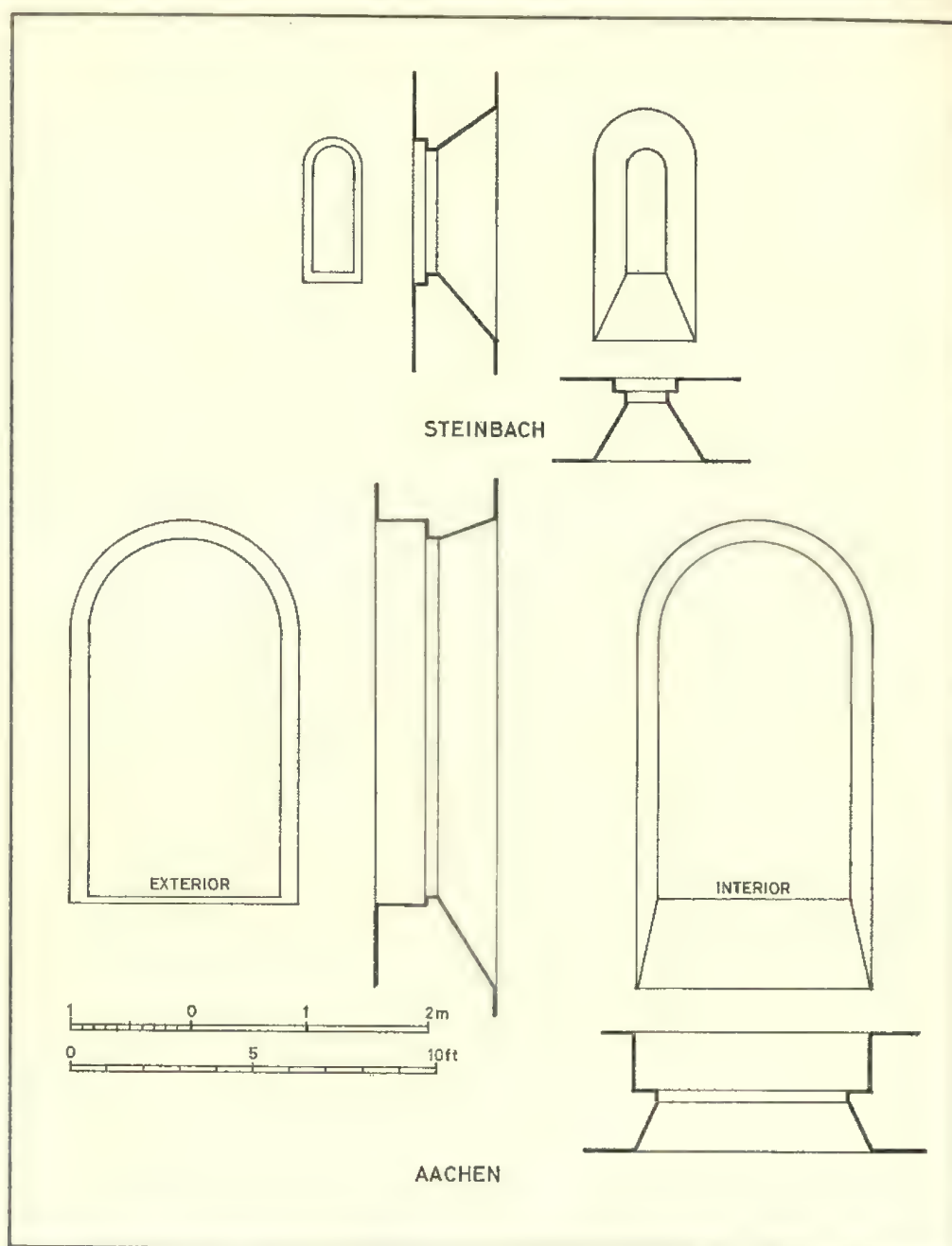


FIG. 685. CAROLINGIAN SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

Continent, particularly in France, into the twelfth century and indeed they are used even later in pointed windows.

Another important difference between English and continental usage appears in the detailed planning of single-splayed windows. We noted in Fig. 671 the three different types which were

commonly used in England and in all of which the glass was at or near the outer face of the wall. By contrast, the simplest type which placed the glass on the outer surface of the wall does not appear to have had any currency on the Continent; and in almost all continental windows the glass was placed much nearer the centre of the wall than was the

case for any single-splayed windows in England. Indeed at first sight, particularly from photographs or small-scale drawings, it is easy to mistake continental single-splayed windows for windows with double splays. Moreover there is a further variation of continental practice which heightens this illusion by recessing the whole window further back from the face of the wall as shown in Fig. 685.

DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

In considering what may have been the influences from the Continent on the development of double-splayed windows in England it is important to be as precise as possible about the examples that are under review in each country. So far as England is concerned, the examples have been fully specified in Section 5; for the Continent, a series of visits directed especially to Carolingian and Ottonian churches has produced the following list of occurrence of distinctively double-splayed windows:

Cologne: St Pantaleon, and St Maria im Kapitol
 Essen: Cathedral
 Fulda: St Michael, and St Lioba on the Petersberg
 Gernrode: St Cyriac
 Hastière-par-dela: St Maria
 Helmstedt: St Ludger
 Hildesheim: St Michael
 Nivelles: St Gertrude
 Ottmarsheim: Abbey church
 Paderborn: Abdinghof church, and St Bartholomew
 Reichenau: St Maria, Mittelzell; and St Georg, Oberzell
 Romainmôtier: Abbey church
 Soest: St Patroklaus
 Susteren: St Sauveur
 Trier: Cathedral
 Werden: St Peter, and St Lucius

It should be noted that in these churches, in addition to the truly double-splayed windows, there are also several instances, particularly at Hastière and Nivelles, of windows which give a first impression of being double-splayed but are really of the deeply recessed character mentioned above.

Comparative dates. Neither in England nor on the Continent is there any certainty in the dating of the earliest examples of double-splayed windows, and the great majority of the continental examples listed above would be described by modern writers as Ottonian rather than Carolingian. The most firmly dated of these examples, and possibly the

earliest (as accepted by Rivoira and Baldwin Brown) is Gernrode, known to have been founded by Count Gero and partially completed before his death in 965. Of the English churches with double-splayed windows the only precisely dated example is Odda's chapel at Deerhurst, dedicated in 1056; but the existence of so many other examples widely spread over the south and east of the country suggests that the style had a fairly long currency before it disappeared from use very soon after the Norman Conquest.

Origins of the style. According to Clapham (1930: 114) double-splayed windows in England were probably derived from the Rhineland where he said they were of fairly frequent occurrence. I have found that it is commonly believed that Baldwin Brown made the same suggestion, and that both writers regarded the continental usage as going back to Carolingian times; but the fact is that Brown was much more cautious. Although he traced origins in Italy, as Clapham did, and although he referred to German examples at Cologne, Fulda, Gernrode, Paderborn, and Werden, yet he followed Rivoira in accepting the Ottonian church at Gernrode as the earliest example in our period; and he then summarised a long argument by saying (Brown 1925: 252) that in Europe the double-splayed window is a peculiarity of the eastern province, absent from Norman architecture, 'while by its occurrence in the pre-Conquest work of our own country it provides another point of attachment by which we can associate our later Anglo-Saxon building with the Rhineland and Saxony'.

In spite of the commonly held belief that particular styles of building are necessarily to be interpreted as having been carried from country to country, I am inclined to believe that the development of the somewhat primitive double-splayed windows of Anglo-Saxon England was a functional inventive development for the reasons set out in Section 3 rather than the copying of a desired artistic pattern from elsewhere.

Carolingian windows. It has been indicated above that most if not all continental double-splayed windows are Ottonian rather than Carolingian. In this connection it is worth while to record explicitly

that the important surviving churches which are known to have been built during the lifetime of Charlemagne or shortly after do not have any double-splayed windows, but that such original windows as survive are deeply recessed, with inward splays; these churches are: Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen, and Einhardt's churches built between 827 and 840 at Steinbach and Seligenstadt. In addition the crypt at St Denis begun by Pipin the Short about 750 and finished by Charlemagne in 768, originally had single-splayed windows which were later widened on the exterior to a double-splayed shape at a date which cannot at present be more closely specified than between the ninth and the eleventh centuries (Formigé 1960: 163). Another important group of Carolingian windows is to be seen in churches of a more modest scale in Switzerland where the best preserved examples at Münster and Mistail in the Grisons are often thought of as being double-splayed. They are, however, of the same general type as those in the greater churches. Those at Münster are described by Poeschel (1943: 304) as 'hochsitzende rundbogige Öffnungen die sich nach innen zwar schräg erweitern, aussen jedoch ohne Einkantung oder Leibung in der sie umgebenden Blende liegen'.

SECTION 7. WINDOW-FRAMES

Wooden window-frames are perhaps best regarded as part of the furnishing of the church and as such are discussed in Chapter 18 along with glazing. But it is important to remember that there are several instances of small monolithic window frames which have survived *in situ* and which can properly be regarded as part of the fabric. These stone slabs are a distinctive feature of the stair-turrets at Brixworth and Hough-on-the-Hill; at the latter place all have survived and are carved in differing decorative patterns (Vol. I: 322). Somewhat similar stone slabs have survived in the chancels at Coln Rogers, Jarrow and Winstone, and high up in the nave at Avebury. Moreover both at Stow and at Harmston similar slabs have been re-used in modern stair-turrets; and fragments of similar design were found in the excavations at Cheddar. All of these will be considered

briefly in Chapter 18, with special reference to arrangements for fixing some of them in place.

So far as I am aware these comparatively thin slabs of stone pierced to form the actual aperture of the window are special to Anglo-Saxon buildings and have not been reported in Norman churches, but there is clearly a need for further search in buildings of both periods to see whether this generalisation can be upheld.

In addition to the considerable number of stone frames in the single-splayed windows mentioned above there are also a few in double-splayed windows, at Barrow, Diddlebury and Earl's Barton. At the first two places the apertures in the stone slabs are cut in round-headed shapes not much smaller than the main outline of the windows; but in the remarkable double windows at Earl's Barton the slabs cover most of the opening through the wall and leave for glazing only a small area in each window cut ornamentally in the shape of a cross (Vol. I: 225).

SECTION 8. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF WINDOWS

The tables of Sections 9 and 10 set out for single- and double-splayed windows respectively the basic evidence which has been used for the general considerations of this chapter and which has in the main been derived from the detailed descriptions given for each church in Volumes I and II. The purpose of this section is to describe briefly the principles that have been followed in constructing the tables and their summaries, and in particular the way in which the tables themselves sometimes give more detailed information than can conveniently be carried into the summaries. By keeping the more detailed record in the main tables it is immediately available for others to use if appropriate for their investigations; and in addition it is sometimes found to be of interest in the general discussions of the chapter as a whole, or even as a clue to special facets of Anglo-Saxon building methods.

For windows, as for other features, it is important to be able to study to what extent there are variations of practice in different parts of the church. Therefore in each of Sections 9 and 10 the windows have been grouped into separate tables according as they are placed in naves, chancels, towers, stairways, or annexes (i.e. porticus, transepts, aisles, or other subsidiary chambers). Each table is followed by a summary showing the frequency of occurrence of the details of fabric, shape, or construction listed in the table itself. Finally, each section ends with a single table which brings together the results for the whole group of windows considered in the section.

Layout of tables and use of code-symbols

In each table the churches are numbered serially and listed by their abbreviated names. For the very few windows at upper levels the floor concerned is stated immediately below the name of the church. The remaining details of position, fabric, shape, and construction of the windows are recorded in columns, using the code-symbols described in Chapter 2. The same sequence is used in each table and is described below, where the code-symbols used are named for the convenience of readers. The five columns of each table give details as follows:

1. *Position of windows.* The letters N, S, E, W denote the points of the compass.

2. *Number of windows concerned.*

3. *Main fabric of the opening.* M, megalithic fabric but not through-stones; Rb, rubble including flint or tile as well as stone; St, dressed stone but not megalithic; TS, through-stones; M* megalithic, including through-stones.

4. *Shape of the opening.* Cr, circular; FH, flat-headed; G, gabled; RH, round-headed. In addition certain combinations of shape are named; thus the window at Atcham which is round-headed externally and gabled internally, is denoted by the symbol RH-G.

5. *Construction of the head.* Ag, head formed in the rubble aggregate of the wall without any use of lintels or voussoirs; L, lintelled head; L-V, lintel externally but voussoirs internally; RbV, voussoirs of stone, flint, or tile rubble; StV, dressed stone voussoirs; SV, voussoirs of stone or through-stone; WL, wooden lintel.

In the summarised and final tables, the minor variations denoted in columns 4 and 5 by duplicated symbols are ignored: thus L, WL and L-V are all classified under the single heading L; and RH-G is classified under RH. Moreover in the final tables megalithic and through-stone fabrics have both been classified under the symbol M*, and voussoirs of stone or through-stone have both been given the symbol SV.

SECTION 9. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

TABLE 12. *Single-splayed windows in naves*

(including the choir at Brixworth and the one-cell churches at Heysham and Jarrow)

1. Arreton	W	1	M	RH	StV	15. Geddington	N	1	M	RH	L-V
2. Atcham	N	1	M	RH-G	L	16. Hackness	S	2	St	FH	L
3. Avebury	N,S	2	M	RH	L	17. Heysham Pa	S	1	St	FH	L
upper	N	3	?	Cr	L	18. Jarrow	S	3	TS	RH	L
4. Bishopstone	W	2	?	RH	?	19. Ledsham	N,S	8	M	RH	L-V
5. Bradwell	N,S	4	Rb	FH	WL	20. Minster	N,S	4	Rb	RH	RbV
	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV	21. Missenden	N	2	Rb	RH	RbV
6. Brigstock	N	1	M	RH	TSV		S	1	Rb	RH	RbV
7. Brixworth	N,S	6	Rb	RH	RbV	22. Mwearmouth	W	2	TS	RH	L-V
choir	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV	23. Quarley	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV
	E	2	Rb	RH	RbV	24. St Albans M	N	3	Rb	RH	RbV
8. Bywell P	N	4	M	RH	L		S	1	Rb	RH	RbV
9. Canterbury M	W	2	Rb	RH	RbV	25. St Albans S	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV
10. Carlton	N	1	?	RH	?	26. Seaham	N,S	4	M	RH	L
11. Corbridge	N	2	M	RH	L	27. Springfield	N	2	Rb	RH	RbV
upper	W	1	M	RH	L		S	1	Rb	RH	RbV
12. Elmham S	N,S	2	Rb	RH	?	28. Staindrop	N,S	2	St	RH	L-V
13. Escomb	N	2	TS	FH	L	29. Tedstone	N,S	2	St	RH	L
	S	2	TS	RH	L	30. Whitfield	W	1	M	RH	L
upper	W	1	TS	RH	L	31. Winstone	N	1	St	FH	L
14. Fetcham	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV						

31 churches 86 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Main fabric</i>		<i>Shape</i>		<i>Construction of head</i>	
TS	10	RH	73	StV	1
M	26	FH	10	TSV	1
	—	Cr	3		—
M*	36		—	SV	2
St	8		86	RbV	30
Rb	36		—	L	49
?	6			?	5
	—				—
	86				86
	—				—

CHAPTER 7 WINDOWS

In Table 12 it should be noted that, although the upper windows at Avebury have circular apertures, these are pierced through square monolithic slabs in the outer face of the wall, and the inward circular splays were built of rubble; the outer slabs have been classified in the table as representing lintelled heads. Moreover the small window at Winstone has also been difficult to classify; its flat head in the outer face of the wall is supported by a rectangular monolithic slab pierced by a round-headed opening, and its wide interior splay to the nave is also round-headed.

TABLE 13. *Single-splayed windows in chancels*

1. Brixworth	N	1	St	RH	StV	6. Lusby	N	1	M	RH	L
2. Carlton	N	3	St	RH	L	7. Milborne	N,S	2	St	RH	StV
3. Chithurst	N	1	St	RH	L	8. Rivenhall	N	2	Rb	RH	RbV
4. Coln Rogers	N	1	Rb	RH	L	9. Wareham M	N	1	M	RH	L
5. K Hammerton	S	1	St	RH	L	10. Wing (upper)	S	2	Rb	RH	RbV

10 churches 15 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Main fabric</i>	<i>Shape</i>	<i>Construction of head</i>
M 2	RH 15	StV 3
St 8		RbV 4
Rb 5		L 8
—		—
15		15
—		—

In Table 13 the round-headed outer face of the window at Coln Rogers is formed in a single slab of stone that forms the lintel to carry the wall above; and the widely splayed interior face is plastered. The two windows noted at Wing are the blocked openings high up in the south wall above the round arcades and below the gabled ones. These were wrongly noted (in Vol. II: 667) as unsplayed; they splay from 23 in. in the outer face of the wall to 26 in. at the blocking.

TABLE 14. *Single-splayed windows in towers*

(Including porch-towers and tower-naves, but excluding stairways)

1. Alkborough	W	1	St	RH	L	20. Haddiscoe T					
2. Bardsey	N,S	2	M	RH	StV	1st floor	N,S,W	3	St	RH	L
3. Barnack	W	1	M	G	M	2nd floor		4	St	RH	L
1st floor	N,S	2	M	RH	L-V	21. Hale	S,W	2	M	RH	L
4. Bessingham	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	S,W	2	St	FH	L
5. Billingham	W	1	St	RH	L	22. Harpswell					
6. Bolam						1st floor	S	1	Rb	FH	L
1st floor	N,S,W	3	St	RH	L	1st floor	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV
7. Bracebridge	W	1	Rb	RH	L	23. Heapham	W	1	St	RH	L
8. Brigstock	N,S	2	M	RH	TSV	24. Herringfleet					
9. Brixworth	S	1	Rb	FH	L	1st floor	N,S	2	St	RH	L
1st floor	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV	2nd floor	N,S,W	3	St	RH	L
10. Broughton	N,S	2	St	RH	L	25. Hornby					
1st floor	N	1	St	RH	L	1st floor	S	1	M	RH	L
11. Bywell A	S	1	St	RH	L	26. Hough	N	1	M	RH	StV
12. Clee	W,S	2	M	RH	L	1st floor	N,S	2	M	RH	StV
13. Corbridge	W	1	M	RH	L	2nd floor	W	2	M	FH	L
14. Debenham	S	1	St	RH	L	27. K Hammerton					
15. Deerhurst M						1st floor	N,S,W	3	M	FH	L
1st floor	N,S	2	Rb	FH	L	2nd floor	N,S,W	3	M	FH	L
16. Fornsett	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV	28. Lavendon	N,S,W	3	Rb	RH	RbV
upper		4	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	N,SW	3	Rb	RH	RbV
17. Glentworth						29. Ledsham	S	1	TS	RH	L-V
1st floor	W	1	M	RH	L	1st floor	S	1	TS	RH	L-V
2nd floor	S	1	M	RH	L	30. Lincoln M					
18. Guestwick	E,N	2	Rb	RH	L	1st floor	W	1	M	RH	L-V
19. Haddiscoe						2nd floor	S	1	M	RH	StV
1st floor	N,S,W	3	St	RH	L	31. Lincoln P					
2nd floor	N,S,W	3	St	RH	L	2nd floor	S	1	M	RH	L-V
						3rd floor	W	1	M	RH	L-V

9. SINGLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

32. Marton	W	1	St	RH	L	39. Rothwell	S	1	M	RH	L
33. Middleton						1st floor	N,S,W	3	M	RH	L
1st floor	S	1	TS	FH	L	40. Roughton					
2nd floor	S	1	M	FH	L	upper	N,S,W	3	Rb	G	Rb
34. Mwearmouth						41. Scartho	W	1	St	RH	L
1st floor	W	1	M	RH	StV	1st floor	S	1	St	RH	L
1st floor	S	1	M	FH	L	42. Tasburgh	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV
3rd floor	W	1	St	FH	L	1st floor	N,S,W	3	Rb	RH	RbV
35. Morland	N,S	2	St	RH	L	43. Wharram S					
36. N Leigh	N,S	2	St	RH	L	1st floor	S,W	2	M	RH	L
37. Norton						2nd floor	S,W	2	M	RH	L
upper	N,S,E,W	8	St	RH	L	44. Winterton	N,S	2	St	RH	L
38. Ovingham	S	1	St	RH	L	45. York					
1st floor	W	1	St	RH	L	1st floor	N,S	2	Rb	FH	L

45 churches 129 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

Main fabric		Shape		Construction of head	
TS	3	RH	105	StV	6
M	45	FH	20	TSV	2
—	—	—	—	—	—
M*	48	G	4	SV	8
St	51	—	—	RbV	21
Rb	30	—	129	L	100
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	129	—	—	—	129
—	—	—	—	—	—

Table 14 excludes a small upper west window at Barnack with a monolithic outer face. Until 1935 the area now occupied by this window was blocked; and there does not appear to be any evidence for the original form of the opening.

TABLE 15. *Single-splayed windows in stairways*

1. Brixworth	N,S,W	15	Rb	FH	L	3. Hale	N	5	St	FH	L
2. Broughton	S,W	2	St	FH	L	4. Hough	N,S,W	10	M	FH	L

4 churches 32 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

Main fabric		Shape		Construction of head	
M	10	FH	32	L	32
St	7	—	—	—	—
Rb	15	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—
—	32	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—

Although all the openings in Table 15 are cut with flat heads through the walls, many of the openings (except those at Broughton) are partially closed by monolithic slabs set close to the outer face of the wall and pierced by apertures of varying shape enriched with various kinds of simple mouldings. The windows at Hough have many through-stones in the megalithic linings of their jambs and heads.

TABLE 16. *Single-splayed windows in annexes*

1. Deerhurst M S porticus	1	M	FH	L	4. Reculver N Porticus	1	Rb	RH	RbV
2. Elmham S W annexe	4	Rb	RH	Ag	5. Stanton L N transept	1	M	RH	L
3. Milborne S transept	1	St	RH	StV	6. Stow N transept	1	M	FH	L
					S transept	1	M	RH	L-V

6 churches 10 windows

CHAPTER 7 WINDOWS

Frequency of occurrence of types									
Main fabric			Shape			Construction of head			
M	4		RH	8		StV	1		
St	1		FH	2		RbV	1		
Rb	5					L	4		
—				10		Ag	4		
10								10	
—									—

The flat-headed north window at Stow was almost certainly originally round-headed like its counterpart in the south transept, and was altered when the large circular window was inserted above it.

TABLE 17. Summary of statistics for single-splayed windows

Position	Number	Main fabric				Shape				Construction of head				
		M*	St	Rb	?	RH	FH	Cr	G	SV	RbV	L	Ag	?
Nave	86	36	8	36	6	73	10	3	0	2	30	49	0	5
Chancel	15	2	8	5	0	15	0	0	0	3	4	8	0	0
Tower	129	48	51	30	0	105	20	0	4	8	21	100	0	0
Stair	32	10	7	15	0	0	32	0	0	0	0	32	0	0
Annexe	10	4	1	5	0	8	2	0	0	1	1	4	4	0
	272	100	75	91	6	201	64	3	4	14	56	193	4	5

SECTION 10. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

TABLE 18. Double-splayed windows in naves

1. Arlington	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV	21. Houghton	N,S	2	?	RH	?
2. Bardfield	N,S	2	Rb	RH	Ag	22. Howe	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV
3. Barsham	N	2	Rb	Cr	RbV	23. Iver	N	1	St	RH	StV
	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV	24. Leeds	N	2	?	RH	?
4. Bedford	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV	25. Leicester	N	2	Rb	RH	RbV
5. Bibury	N	1	?	RH	?	26. Lopham	N	1	Rb	Cr	Ag
	S	1	?	Cr	?	27. Lydd	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV
6. Bradford	S	1	St	RH	StV	28. Morton	W	1	?	RH	?
7. Breamore	N	2	?	RH	?	29. Norwich J	N	1	Rb	Cr	RbV
8. Cheriton	W	1	Rb	RH	Ag		N	1	Rb	RH	RbV
9. Chickney	N,S	2	Rb	RH	Ag	30. Paxton	N,S	4	Rb	RH	RbV
10. Coltishall	N	2	Rb	Cr	Ag	31. Poling	N	1	St	RH	L
11. Cringleford	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV	32. Shereford	S	1	Rb	RH	Ag
12. Darenth	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV	33. Shorne	N	1	?	RH	?
13. Deerhurst O	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV	34. Stourmouth	N	1	?	RH	?
14. Diddlebury	N	1	St	RH	L	35. Strethall	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV
15. Dover	N,S	4	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	W	1	Rb	Cr	RbV
	N,S	2	Rb	FH	WL	36. Thornage	N	2	Rb	RH	RbV
16. Dunham	N	2	Rb	RH	RbV	37. Tredington	N,S	8	Rb	RH	RbV
17. Godalming	E	2	Rb	Cr	Ag	38. Turvey	S	2	?	RH	?
18. Haddiscoe T	W	1	Rb	Cr	Ag	39. Whitfield	S	1	?	RH	?
19. Hadstock	N	3	Rb	RH	Ag	40. Witley	S	1	Rb	RH	Ag
	S	2	Rb	RH	Ag	1st floor	W	1	Rb	RH	Ag
20. Hardwick	N	1	St	RH	StV	41. Witton	N	2	?	Cr	?
						42. Wouldham	S	1	?	RH	?

42 churches 80 windows

10. DOUBLE-SPLAYED WINDOWS

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Main fabric</i>		<i>Shape</i>		<i>Construction of head</i>	
St	5	RH	65	StV	3
Rb	58	FH	2	RbV	37
?	17	Cr	13	L	4
—	—	—	—	Ag	19
80	—	80	—	?	17
—	—	—	—	—	—
				80	—

The present wooden lintels of the windows at Dover were inserted during the restoration by Sir Gilbert Scott, but he recorded evidence which convinced him that wood had been the original material (Scott, 1879: 41).

TABLE 19. *Double-splayed windows in chancels*

1. Barrow	N	1	St	RH	L	7. Inworth	N,S	2	St	RH	StV
2. Birstall	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV	8. Norwich J	S	1	Rb	Cr	RbV
3. Boarhunt	N	1	St	RH	L	9. Shelford	S	1	St	RH	L
4. Bradford	S	1	St	RH	StV	10. Thursley	N	2	?	RH	?
5. Cringleford	N	1	Rb	RH	Ag	11. Tichborne	N,S	2	St	RH	StV
6. Framingham	N,S	2	Rb	Cr	Ag						

11 churches 15 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

<i>Main fabric</i>		<i>Shape</i>		<i>Construction of head</i>	
St	8	RH	12	StV	5
Rb	5	Cr	3	RbV	2
?	2	—	—	L	3
—	—	15	—	Ag	3
15	—	—	—	?	2
—	—	—	—	—	—
				15	—

TABLE 20. *Double-splayed windows in towers*

1. Brigstock						11. Gissing					
1st floor	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	N,S,W	3	Rb	Cr	Ag
Turret	W	1	St	FH	L	12. Guildford	N,S	2	?	RH	?
1st floor	W	1	St	FH	L	13. Hales	N,S	2	Rb	Cr	Ag
2. Caversfield	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV	14. Hovingham					
3. Clapham						2nd floor	S	1	Rb	RH	Ag
1st floor	N,S,W	3	Rb	RH	RbV	15. Howe	N,S	2	Rb	Cr	RbV
2nd floor		4	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	N,S,W	3	Rb	RH	RbV
4. Colchester	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV	16. Jarrow					
1st floor	W	2	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	N,S	2	St	RH	StV
5. Colney	N,S,W	3	Rb	RH	Ag	17. Langford					
6. Deerhurst M						1st floor	N,S	4	Rb	RH	RbV
2nd floor	N,S	2	TS	FH	L	18. Mersea					
7. Dover						1st floor	W	1	?	Cr	?
3rd floor	N	3	Rb	Cr	RbV	19. Newton					
3rd floor	S	2	Rb	Cr	RbV	1st floor	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV
3rd floor	E	2	Rb	Cr	RbV	20. Oxford	W	1	Rb	RH	Ag
8. Dunham	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV	1st floor	N,W	2	Rb	RH	Ag
1st floor	N	1	Rb	RH	RbV	21. Roughton	N,S	2	Rb	Cr	Ag
belfry	E,W	4	Rb	Cr	RbV	22. Singleton	N,S,W	3	St	RH	StV
9. Fornsett						23. Skipwith	N,S	2	St	RH	L-V
2nd floor	N,S,W	3	Rb	Cr	Ag	1st floor	S,W	2	Rb	RH	StV
belfry		8	Rb	Cr	Ag	1st floor	S	1	Rb	RH	L-V
10. Gayton	W	1	Rb	RH	Ag	24. Sompting	N	1	?	RH	?
1st floor	W	1	Rb	RH	Ag	25. Stevington	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV

CHAPTER 7 WINDOWS

26. Stowe-nC	W	1	?	RH	?	29. Wickham	W	1	Rb	RH	?
27. Swanscombe	S	1	Rb	RH	RbV	belfry	W	1	Rb	RH	?
28. Weybourne						30. Woodston	W	1	Rb	RH	RbV
belfry	S,E,W	4	Rb	C	Rb						

30 churches 95 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

Main fabric	Shape	Construction of head
TS 2	RH 55	StV 7
St 9	FH 4	RbV 47
Rb 79	Cr 36	L 7
? 5	—	Ag 27
—	95	? 7
95	—	—
—		95
		—

The somewhat sketchy remains of double-splayed windows in the tower at Bedford have been excluded from this table (Vol. I: 59). The windows in the turret at Brigstock have been classified under St although their outer faces are megalithic. It should be noted that before the war there were double-splayed windows at Norwich St Julian in the round west tower which was destroyed by bombing in June 1942.

TABLE 21. *Double-splayed windows in annexes*

1. Barton						4. Dover					
W annexe	N,S	2	Rb	RH	RbV	S transept	W	1	Rb	FH	WL
	W	1	Rb	Cr	RbV	5. Reculver					
1st floor	W	1	Rb	Cr	RbV	N porticus	N	1	Rb	RH	?
2. Bradford						6. Stoughton					
N porticus	W	1	St	RH	StV	N transept	W	1	?	RH	?
3. Breamore						S transept	W	1	?	RH	?
S porticus	E	1	?	RH	?						

6 churches 10 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

Main fabric	Shape	Construction of head
St 1	RH 7	StV 1
Rb 6	FH 1	RbV 4
? 3	Cr 2	L 1
—	—	? 4
10	10	—
—	—	10
		—

It should be noted that it is not clear from Scott's account of the restoration at Dover that he had evidence for an original wooden lintel in the large west window of the south transept; at Reculver the double-splayed window is a later insertion.

TABLE 22. *Summary of statistics for double-splayed windows*

Position	Number	Main fabric				Shape			Construction of head				
		M*	St	Rb	?	RH	FH	Cr	SV	RbV	L	Ag	?
Nave	80	0	5	58	17	65	2	13	3	37	4	19	17
Chancel	15	0	8	5	2	12	0	3	5	2	3	3	2
Tower	95	2	9	79	5	55	4	36	7	47	7	27	7
Annexe	10	0	1	6	3	7	1	2	1	4	1	0	4
	200	2	23	148	27	139	7	54	16	90	15	49	30

BELFRY OPENINGS

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter we conclude our long study of openings by considering those in the uppermost stages of towers, commonly called the belfry stages. It has seemed natural to leave these to the last, not only because of their special nature, but also so that they come beside the other two chapters specially devoted to the consideration of towers. In particular the subject matter of this chapter is very closely related to that of Chapter 9, and a certain duplication of the discussion is inevitable, but some can be more easily avoided by cross reference between the two chapters when they are placed close together. The greater part of this chapter will be concerned with the double belfry openings that have long been recognised as one of the most distinctive and reliable indications of the Anglo-Saxon style of building; but the word 'double' has been deliberately omitted from the title of the chapter for two reasons: first, to emphasise the existence of single belfry openings at a dozen or more churches; and secondly, to justify the inclusion of the four quintuple openings at Earl's Barton and the triple one at Brixworth.

Attention should also be directed to the use of the word 'openings' rather than 'windows' in the title of the chapter. It would be pedantic to ban the use of the well-established names 'belfry windows' and 'double belfry windows'; and indeed we shall use these convenient terms quite widely throughout the chapter; but it has long been appreciated that in most of these openings the jambs are not splayed like those of the normal Anglo-Saxon windows. Therefore the openings are not well suited either for admitting light or for giving a good all-round view such as would be needed from a watch-tower.

There is therefore some advantage in the term

'belfry openings' for the title of the chapter; but it must be admitted that even this name is not free from objection on two counts. In the first place, a few of the multiple openings are used in the body of churches and have no association with towers or bells; and in the second place, it could be questioned whether even the uppermost stages of towers were necessarily belfries.

The first objection is perhaps adequately answered by saying that there are very few instances of the use of these distinctive openings for the ordinary purposes of the church; and that, provided there is a separate discussion of these special cases such as is given in Section 4, then it is logically acceptable to regard even the few special cases as belonging to the general class for which we use the name belfry openings.

The second objection possibly needs fuller discussion, both to settle the meaning of the term 'belfry' and also to decide whether that meaning correctly describes the purpose for which the upper stages of these towers were built. There is little doubt that the modern meaning of belfry is a tower to carry bells, or even more particularly the upper stage in which the bells are hung; but the original meaning seems to have been a watch-tower or a movable tower used in the attack of fortifications. The upper stages of church-towers almost invariably now carry bells, and there is clear contemporary evidence for this use in the tenth-century Benedictional of St Ethelwold in which fol. 118b shows two bells housed above a church in a tower with a doubly-receding roof and a tall weathercock (Wormald 1959: 31). Moreover the western belfry opening at Glentworth gives clear structural evidence that a small bell once hung in its north light, where the mid-wall shaft has a groove that was clearly designed to allow the pivot for the bell to be inserted and

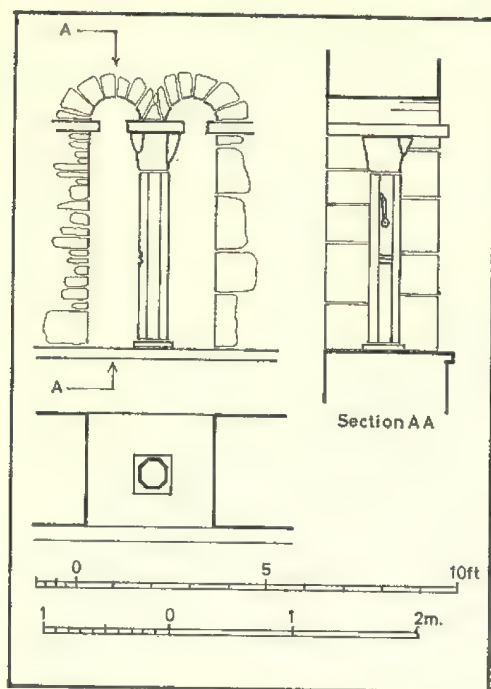


FIG. 686. GLENTWORTH: THE WEST BELFRY WINDOW

removed, while concentric markings lower down the shaft seem to have been cut either by the bell or more probably by the wheel that carried the bell-rope (Fig. 686). These marks were noted as long ago as 1882 when they were attributed to a Sanctus bell (North 1882: 415). It cannot, however, now be proved at what date these marks were made, except that they belong to a period before the present two much larger bells which are dated 1675 and 1777. None of this evidence would exclude the possibility that the upper stages of towers were intended to be used as lookouts; but evidence will be given in Section 2 to indicate that several of the single openings were designed for the passage of sound rather than for giving a good view. In summary it can therefore be said that there is contemporary evidence that the upper stages of towers were used for hanging bells; and, although this does not exclude the possibility that they were also used for lookouts, it therefore seems appropriate to describe them as belfries.

One further introductory question concerns the distinction between a multiple opening and a group of single openings; for we shall see that several towers with single openings have more than

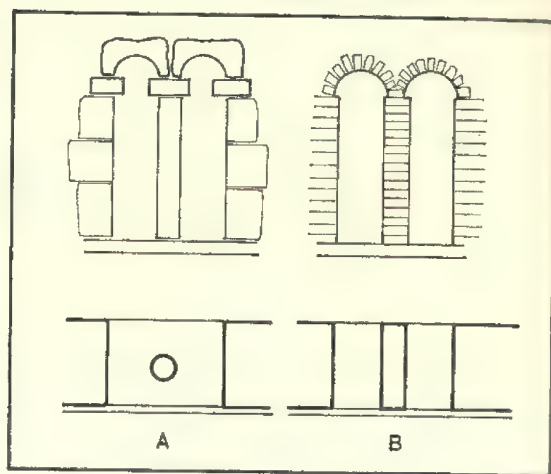


FIG. 687. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN A DOUBLE OPENING (A) AND A PAIR OF SINGLE OPENINGS (B)

one of these in one face. The distinction is shown diagrammatically in Fig. 687 where it will be seen that a double opening has two lights which are separated from each other only by a narrow shaft; whereas two single openings, even when placed close together, are separated by a block of solid walling of the full thickness of the wall concerned.

Finally we should note that, with minor exceptions at Haddiscoe, Herringfleet and Langford, the jambs and heads of Anglo-Saxon belfry openings are cut straight through the wall, in sharp contrast to the recessed jambs and heads of Norman openings.

SECTION 2. SINGLE BELFRY WINDOWS

It is only in recent years that the existence and significance of single belfry windows have been fully appreciated. Evidence for many openings of this type is to be seen in the twelve churches named in Table 1, and there are also vestigial or doubtful remains at Alkborough, Bedford, Deerhurst St Mary, Skipwith and Stowe-nine-Churches.

Single and double windows used together. A particularly interesting feature to which brief reference has already been made is that in five churches, whose names are printed in italics in Table 1, the single belfry openings occur together with the more usual double openings. At Bardsey there are

TABLE 1. *Single belfry windows*

1. Bardfield	4. Bolam	7. Guestwick	10. Lavendon
2. Bardsey	5. Colchester	8. Herringfleet	11. Lexham
3. Barnack	6. Dover	9. Langford	12. Sompting

two superimposed belfry storeys, in each of which there is a double opening in the south face and a single opening in the east face; the fabric and quoining are uniform over the two storeys and there seems no reason to doubt that the work is all of one date. At Bolam there are four single openings in the uppermost storey, with four double openings in the storey below; but again the quoining and fabric are uniform throughout, thus indicating that all the openings are of one date. In the round towers of Herringfleet and Lexham, and the square tower at Sompting there are single and double openings side by side in the uppermost storey; and at Lexham the single openings have carved stone transennae which give a clear indication that the openings were designed for the passage of sound rather than for use as windows.

Relative dating of single and double openings. At none of the five churches just considered is there any indication that either the single or the double openings are later insertions. Therefore the cumulative evidence is that both types were current together, throughout the period covered by the building of these five towers. This, of course, does not preclude the possibility envisaged by Baldwin Brown that single belfry openings might have represented a simpler and earlier form (Brown 1925: 484). But, with the possible exception of Barnack, the other seven churches of Table 1 in which single openings occur alone all give the impression of being rather late in the period.

Single belfry windows used alone. In the other churches of Table 1 the belfry stages contain only

single windows, and at Barnack these are provided with elaborately carved open-work transennae in further proof that the openings were for the passage of sound rather than for use as the windows of a watch-tower. At Bardfield there are twenty-two openings in three distinct storeys as shown diagrammatically in Fig. 688; these storeys are all of uniform fabric and are apparently of one date; at present only the six openings of the lowest storey have belfry louvres, but there seems no reason to doubt that all three storeys constitute the original belfry. At Colchester there are twelve openings in two storeys as shown in Fig. 688, with single openings in each face of the lower storey and pairs in each face above; slight differences of fabric might indicate that the upper storey was added later, but there seems no reason to doubt that the narrow openings of each stage were designed from the beginning for the passage of sound rather than for a watch-tower. The elaborate paired windows in each face of the tower at Langford call for special mention since they might almost be regarded as double openings; but since the massive dividing piers run through the full thickness of the wall it seems justifiable to claim that Langford has eight single windows arranged in pairs in the four faces of the tower (Vol. 1: 369).

Shape of heads. Round heads are used in single belfry windows at nine places, gabled heads at three, and other shapes at one. The places are listed in Table 2 which also serves to record that lintelled heads are used at Bardsey and Bolam while the other round heads are arched with voussoirs; these are of through-stones at Langford

TABLE 2. *Heads of single belfry windows*

(a) Round heads			
1. Bardfield	RV	4. Colchester	RV
2. Bardsey	RL	5. Dover	RV
3. Bolam (1)	RL	6. Guestwick	RV
		7. Herringfleet	RV
		8. Langford	RV(TS)
		9. Lavendon	RV
(b) Gabled heads			
1. Barnack	G	2. Bolam (3)	G
		3. Sompting	G
(c) Other shapes			
		1. Lexham: 1 flat, 1 segmental	

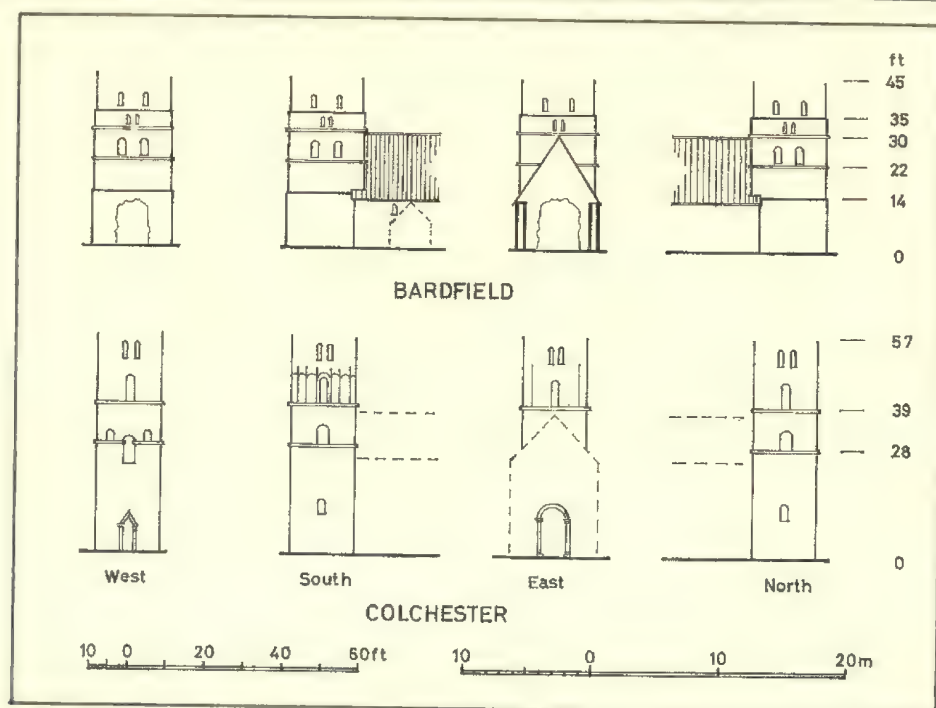


FIG. 688. MULTIPLE STOREYS OF SINGLE OPENINGS: LITTLE BARDFIELD AND COLCHESTER

and of rubble elsewhere. It will be noticed that Bolam has three gabled windows and one round-headed.

Fabric and shape of jambs. With the single exception of the elaborate mouldings at Langford the jambs of all the single windows of Table 1 are cut straight through the wall; the jambs are of through-stones at Langford, they are megalithic at Bardsey and Bolam, and at the remaining nine places they are of rubble.

Decoration. At Langford the openings have capitals of conical shape with fillets above and below, and simple foliage on the main surface (Vol. I: 369); at the other eleven places there are no imposts or capitals. Reference has already been made to the elaborately carved stone transennae at Barnack (Vol. I: 45) and the simpler ones at Lexham (Vol. I: 389).

SECTION 3. MULTIPLE BELFRY WINDOWS

The many surviving double belfry windows have long been among the best known features of

Anglo-Saxon architecture, perhaps sharing this distinction only with long-and-short quoining. Apart from the four quintuple belfry windows at Earl's Barton and the triple window between the nave and tower at Brixworth all the openings discussed in this section are of two lights; and, since there are over two hundred of them in over fifty churches, it is clearly justifiable to regard them as the normal type of Anglo-Saxon belfry window.

The belfry windows are of special interest not only because so many have survived but also because many of them are still in good enough condition to allow a detailed investigation of their construction and so to build up a classification into types which suggest a sequence of development. It is also possible to see certain local groupings with interesting and distinctive features. A very general classification of the main features of the belfry windows is given in summary form in Table 17 of Section 8, and the principal features are discussed in more detail below.

But before embarking on this detailed study it is desirable to emphasise once again the clear distinction between Anglo-Saxon multiple openings and those of Norman or later date, whether used in

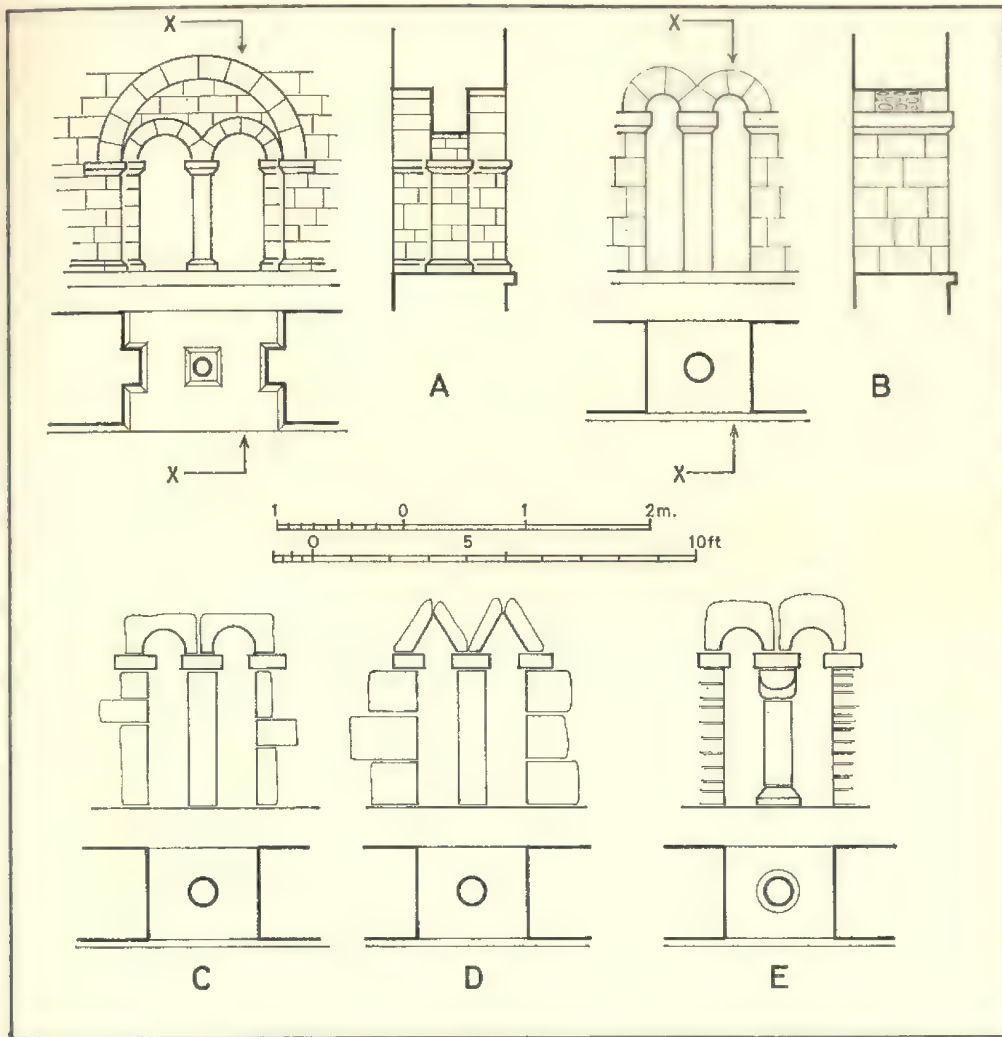


FIG. 689. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN THE NORMAN AND ANGLO-SAXON TECHNIQUES FOR DOUBLE OPENINGS

A, Norman; B-E, Anglo-Saxon

belfries or elsewhere. The distinctions are shown clearly in Fig. 689 where A shows how the jambs and heads of the individual lights of the Norman opening are recessed behind the main wall, while B shows how the jambs and heads of the Anglo-Saxon openings are cut straight through the full thickness of the wall. In this figure the individual lights of both windows are shown with arched heads of quasi-ashlar masonry in order to emphasise that the distinction between the two types of window does not depend upon details of the masonry but upon a fundamental principle of design; the plans and sections emphasise that the recessing in the Norman design applies equally to the jambs and

the heads, just as in the Anglo-Saxon design both jambs and heads are cut straight through the wall. Three further diagrams C, D and E are added to Fig. 689 in order to show other representative examples of the detailed treatment of the heads, jambs, and mid-wall shafts of Anglo-Saxon double windows; it will be seen that the variations of detail do not affect the general principle that the openings are cut straight through the wall.

CHURCHES WITH MULTIPLE WINDOWS

The detailed list of churches with multiple windows as given in Table 3 shows that these are to be

CHAPTER 8 BELFRY OPENINGS

found in fifty-three belfries and in the body of five churches. Separate consideration is given in Section 4 to the small group of multiple windows in the body of churches; but it is convenient here to have a single list of all the churches with multiple windows, and of the places where they occur. Mention should also be made of two churches which have been excluded from these lists because of the unsatisfactory nature of the evidence; at Jevington windows of the double belfry type have been so heavily restored as to be useless for further study (Vol. I: 350), and at Whittingham double belfry windows were destroyed in 1840 and are known only on the conflicting evidence of two sets of illustrations (Vol. II: 658-9).

In Table 3 the names of churches printed in italics are those where single belfry openings also occur, as recorded in Table 1. It should also be noted that Barton occurs twice in Table 3 because of the double windows in the belfry stages and also in the lower stage where they served to light the tower-nave.

The fifty-seven churches listed below contain 206 multiple windows in belfries and eight elsewhere, for all of which details of construction and decoration are listed in Table 17 at the end of this chapter. We now consider the extent to which it is

possible to group these 214 windows into smaller classes which show similarities of treatment.

SHAPE OF HEADS

A simple semicircular head is by far the most usual treatment for the individual lights of multiple windows, as can be seen from the summary in Table 4. Moreover the use of lintels for these round heads can be seen to be more popular than arching with voussoirs. Gabled heads follow far behind in popularity; and a flat head is used only once, in the east belfry window at Harpswell.

It should be noted that as a rule the lintels which form the round heads of the majority of these windows do not extend for more than about 1 ft into the thickness of the wall. In some windows a separate lintel is used on the inner face of the wall, with rubble to line the area between the two lintels; in others, rubble is used over the whole soffit except for the space covered by the lintel in the outer face of the wall.

Gabled heads. The thirty-nine gabled windows fall into two classes depending on whether the gables are formed by pairs of sloped stones or whether they are built of the same rubble as the main body

TABLE 3. *Multiple windows*

(a) *Belfries in square west towers*

1. Alkborough	10. Cambridge	19. Heapham	28. Morland
2. Appleton	11. Carlton	20. Hornby	29. Ovingham
3. <i>Bardsey</i>	12. Clee	21. Hovingham	30. Oxford
4. Billingham	13. Corringham	22. K Hammerton	31. Rothwell
5. <i>Bolam</i>	14. Earl's Barton	23. Lincoln M	32. Scartho
6. Bosham	15. Glentworth	24. Lincoln P	33. <i>Sompting</i>
7. Bracebridge	16. Hale	25. Marton	34. Wharram S
8. Branston	17. Harmston	26. M Fryston	35. Wickham
9. Bywell A	18. Harpswell	27. Mwearmouth	36. Winterton
			37. York

(b) *Belfries in round west towers*

1. Aslacton	4. Forncett	7. <i>Lexham</i>
2. Beechamwell	5. Haddiscoe	8. Norwich M
3. Bessingham	6. <i>Herringfleet</i>	9. Roughton

(c) *Belfries in other towers*

1. Barton	3. Jarrow	6. Waithe
2. Dunham	4. Newton	7. Weybourne
	5. N Leigh	

(d) *Not in belfries*

1. Barton (tower-nave; N, S)	3. Deerhurst M (nave; W)	4. Wing (nave; E)
2. Brixworth (nave; W)		5. Worth (nave; N2, S1)

3. MULTIPLE BELFRY WINDOWS

of the wall. The distribution of the two types is as follows:

Gables of large stones: Barton, Beechamwell, Bessingham, Deerhurst M, Haddiscoe, Herringfleet, Roughton
Gables of rubble aggregate: Aslacton, Forncett, Newton, Norwich M, Weybourne

Reference to Table 17 will show that in three of these twelve churches (Barton, Beechamwell, and Forncett) there are other double windows in which round heads are used. It will also be noted that, apart from Deerhurst, the churches with gabled double windows are in the eastern areas where good building stone is not easily available.

CROSS-SECTION OF JAMBS AND HEADS

The distinguishing features of the Anglo-Saxon windows are that their jambs and heads are cut straight through the wall; but there are certain minor exceptions which are worth recording, if only to demonstrate that they do not approach any recessing of the whole window in the way that is characteristic of fully developed Norman work.

Jambs. The only exceptions to the rule of plain square-sectioned jambs in double windows are at the Norfolk churches of Haddiscoe and Herringfleet, at both of which angle-shafts with capitals have been worked on the angles of the jambs.

Heads. The exception to the rule of plain square-sectioned heads is in the form of a decorative roll-moulding on the arris, such as can be seen on the voussoirs at Alkborough and on the lintels at Marton; or a decorative groove or rebate, such as can be seen on the quintuple openings at Earl's Barton.

COMPARATIVE USE OF MATERIALS

In all multiple windows, megaliths are used for the great through-stone slabs which support the heads, and usually also for the mid-wall shafts on which they rest. But there is considerable variety in the fabric of the jambs; megalithic fabric is used in about one-third of the windows, smaller dressed stone in rather more than one-third, and rubble in the remainder, as is shown in Table 5.

We shall now list the places where these different classes of fabric are used and illustrate typical windows of each class. In listing the places of occurrence it will be useful also to record the numbers of windows at each place and the shapes of the heads of individual lights.

Through-stone windows. It will be seen from Table 6 that through-stone jambs occur at two levels of the original tower at Barton-on-Humber, and that both there and elsewhere they are used not only

TABLE 4. *Heads of individual lights*

	<i>Belfry windows</i>	<i>Windows elsewhere</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Round heads:				
Voussoirs (RV)	60	5	65	31
Lintels (RL)	107	2	109	51
Gabled heads (G)	38	1	39	18
Flat heads (F)	1	0	1	0
	—	—	—	—
	206	8	214	100
	—	—	—	—

TABLE 5. *Use of materials in jambs*

	<i>Belfry windows</i>	<i>Windows elsewhere</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Through-stones (TS)	13	6	19	9
Other megaliths (M)	55	0	55	26
Small stone (St)	86	0	86	40
Rubble (Rb)	52	1	53	25
Uncertain (?)	0	1	1	0
	—	—	—	—
	206	8	214	100
	—	—	—	—

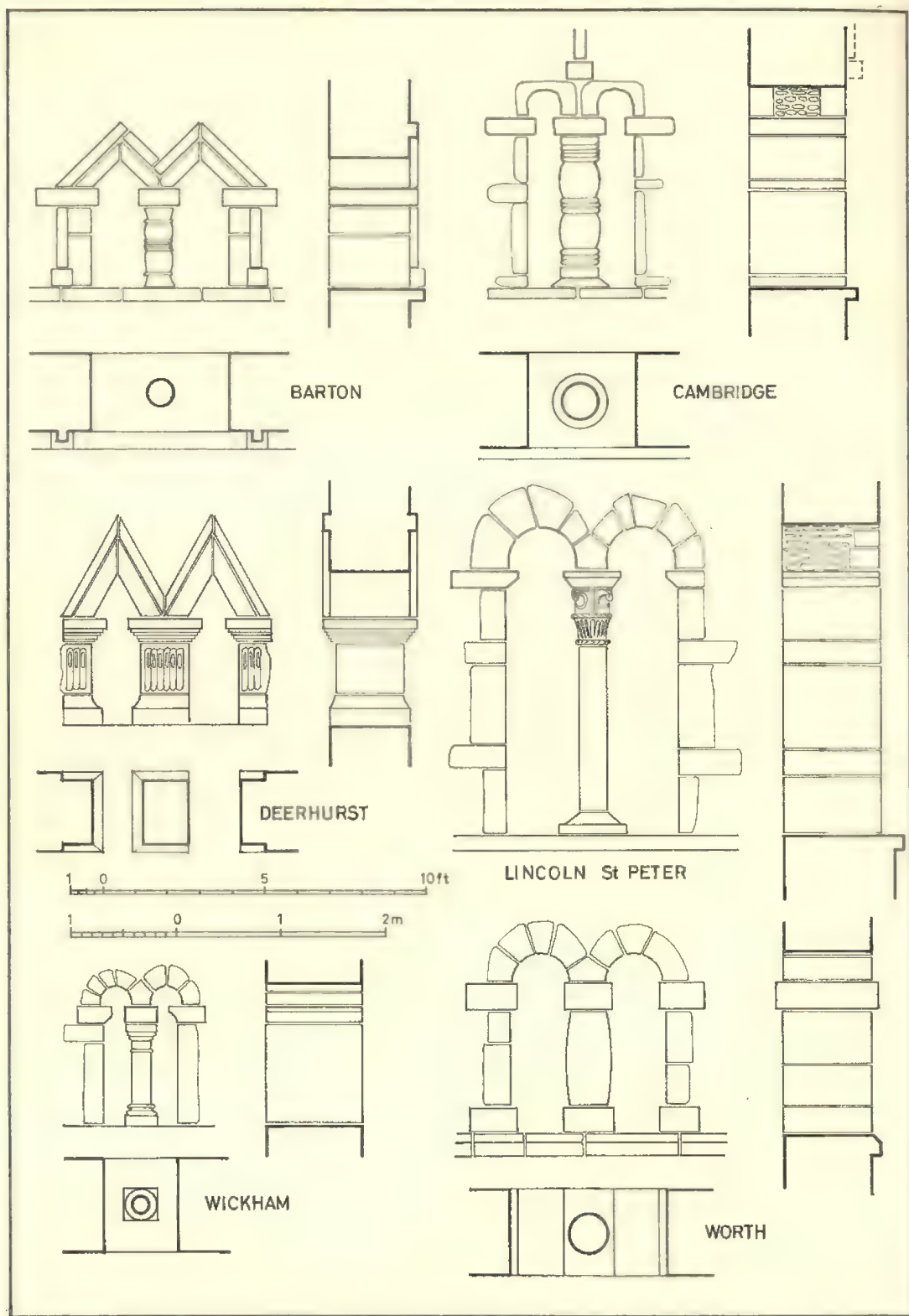


FIG. 690. DOUBLE OPENINGS WITH THROUGH-STONE JAMBS

with gabled but also with round heads. These through-stone windows are of sufficient interest to justify an illustration of one window of each type, all drawn to a uniform scale.

TABLE 6. *Windows with through-stone jambs*

<i>Belfry windows</i>		<i>Windows elsewhere</i>	
1. Barton (ii)	4 G	5. Barton (i)	2 RL
2. Cambridge	4 RL	6. Deerhurst M	1 G
3. Lincoln P	4 RV	7. Worth	3 RV
4. Wickham	1 RV		

From Fig. 690 it is worth noting in summary that Lincoln St Peter is alone in the use of capitals on the mid-wall shafts; that at Barton, Cambridge and Wickham the shafts are turned balusters; that Deerhurst is unique in using a square pier with fluted ornament; and that all three windows at Worth have bulbous mid-wall shafts.

Other megalithic windows. The fifty-five windows with megalithic jambs, not of through-stones, are all in belfries, at the fifteen churches listed in Table 7. All these windows have round heads, mainly with lintels. Arched heads are used at Bosham, Jarrow, and Lincoln St Mary at which latter place the voussoirs are inscribed with lines as if to mark out a regular pattern of small voussoirs on the larger stones. As regards the mid-wall shafts, balusters are used only at Earl's Barton, and plain circular cylinders elsewhere except at Hovingham and Lincoln.

The quintuple windows at Earl's Barton are unique in other respects, for the balusters between the lights are not mid-wall shafts but are placed ornamentally in front of the wall, which is sup-

ported by slabs which continue through a great part of its thickness; moreover the jambs are faced with balusters like those between the lights.

A peculiarity of Monkwearmouth in Table 7 and Cambridge in Table 6 also deserves mention, namely that the windows have single lintels extending over both lights instead of the usual pattern of a separate lintel for each light. At Monkwearmouth the single lintels are used for all three windows, and at Cambridge for all but the south window.

A representative group of windows from Table 7 is shown in Fig. 691. It should be added that only at Lincoln St Mary and Rothwell do the mid-wall shafts have capitals.

Windows with quasi-ashlar jambs. The eighty-six double windows with quasi-ashlar jambs are found, as shown in Table 8, in twenty-four belfries of which three (Appleton, Barton, and Bosham) are upper storeys of towers which have earlier belfries of somewhat different construction below. At Barton it has long been accepted that the upper belfry is a considerably later addition, on the ground that the marked difference both in fabric and in building technique must have required a considerable lapse of time; at Appleton the contrast is not so great, but there is a change between the megalithic quoining of the lower stage and the coursed quasi-ashlar of the upper stage (Vol. I: 28). At Bosham the evidence is less clear, partly because the lower windows have been greatly damaged and partly because the upper stage is concealed by plaster. In summary it could

TABLE 7. *Windows with megalithic jambs*

1. Appleton (ii)	4 RL	6. Earl's Barton	4 RL	11. Mwearmouth	3 RL
2. Billingham	4 RL	7. Hovingham	4 RL	12. Morland	4 RL
3. Bosham (ii)	2 RV	8. Jarrow	2 RV	13. Ovingham	4 RL
4. Bywell A	4 RL	9. K Hammerton	4 RL	14. Rothwell	4 RL
5. Carlton	4 RL	10. Lincoln M	4 RV	15. Wharram S	4 RL

TABLE 8. *Windows with quasi-ashlar jambs*

1. Alkborough	4 RV	9. Clee	4 RL	17. Marton	4 RL
2. Appleton (iii)	4 RL	10. Corringham	4 RV	18. M Fryston	4 RL
3. Bardsey	2 RV	11. Glentworth	4 RV	19. Scartho	4 RL
4. Barton (iii)	3 RV	12. Haddiscoe	4 G	20. Sompting	4 RV
5. Bolam	4 RL	13. Hale	4 RL	21. Waithe	4 RL
6. Bosham (iii)	1 RV	14. Harmston	4 RL	22. Wickham	1 RV
7. Bracebridge	4 RV	15. Heapham	4 RL	23. Winterton	3 RV
8. Branston	4 RL	16. Hornby	4 RL	24. York	4 RV

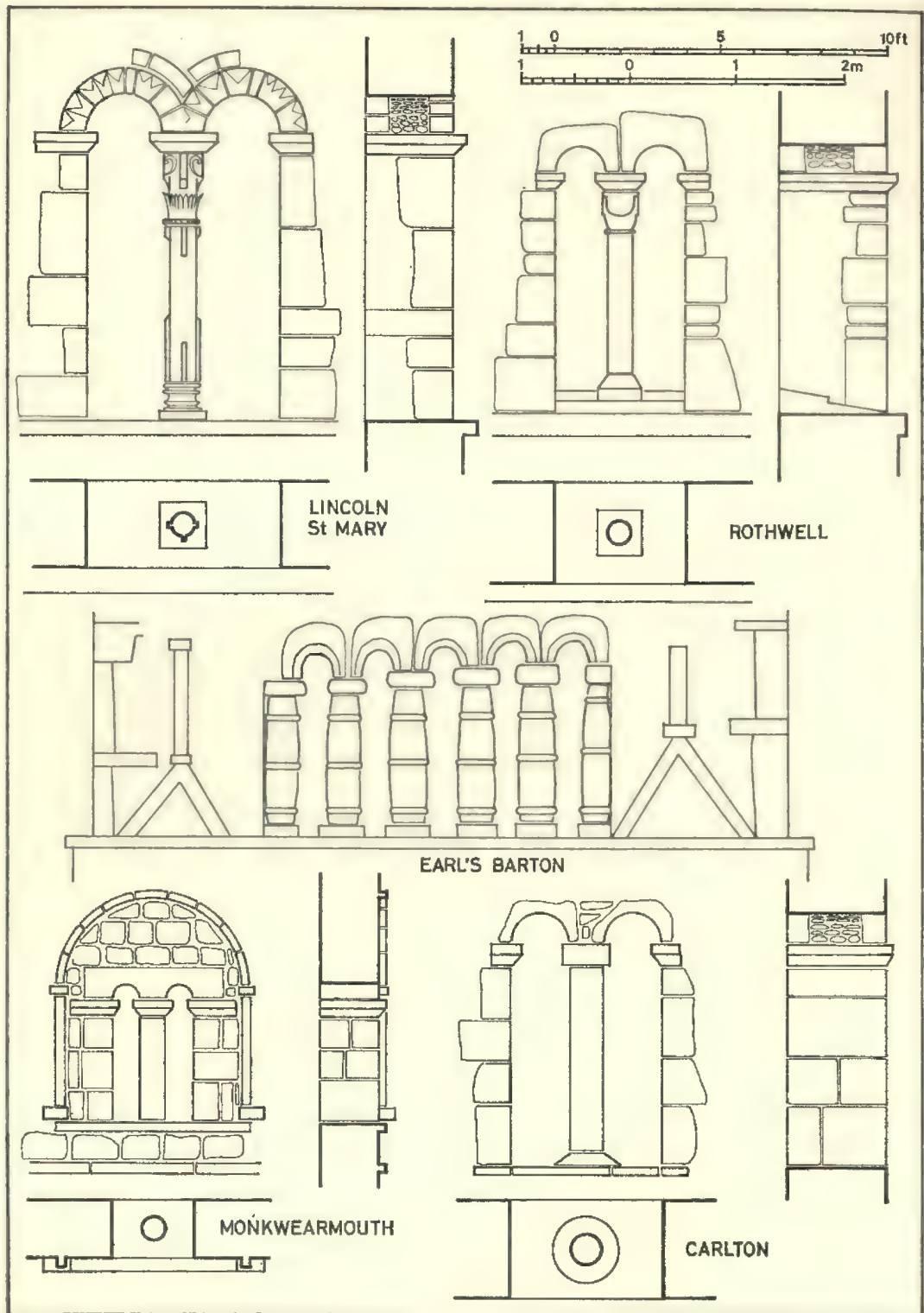


FIG. 691. DOUBLE OPENINGS WITH MEGALITHIC JAMBS

The drawing of Earl's Barton is only approximate, and that of Lincoln St Mary is in correction of Fig. 177 (Vol.I: 392).

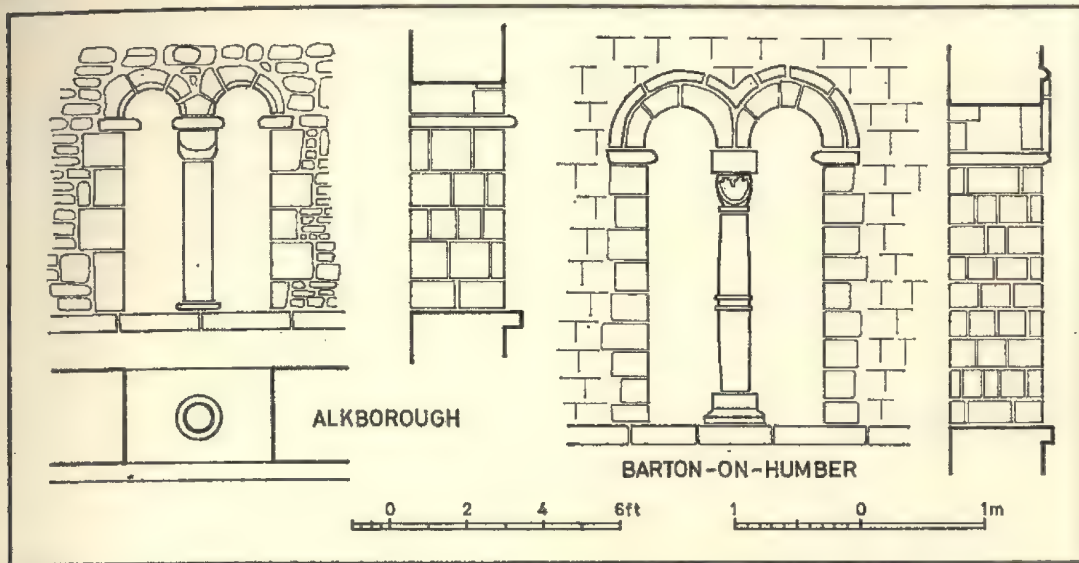


FIG. 692. DOUBLE OPENINGS WITH QUASI-ASHLAR JAMBS

The adjoining areas of walling have been shown in order to indicate the contrast between the rough rubble at Alkborough and the quasi-ashlar at Barton.

be said that the belfries at Appleton and Barton suggest that megalithic jambs represent an earlier fashion than jambs of quasi-ashlar. It should, however, be noted that at Wickham the belfry has at the same level a through-stone window on the south and a quasi-ashlar one on the north (see Table 17). But in support of the more sophisticated nature of the quasi-ashlar windows we shall see later that by contrast with the somewhat sparing use of decorative capitals on the mid-wall shafts of megalithic windows, capitals are used on more than three-quarters of the semi-ashlar windows.

The four double windows at Sompting (Table 8) are unique in that they appear grouped in pairs on the north and south faces of the tower, while the east and west faces each have pairs of single windows (Vol. II: 560).

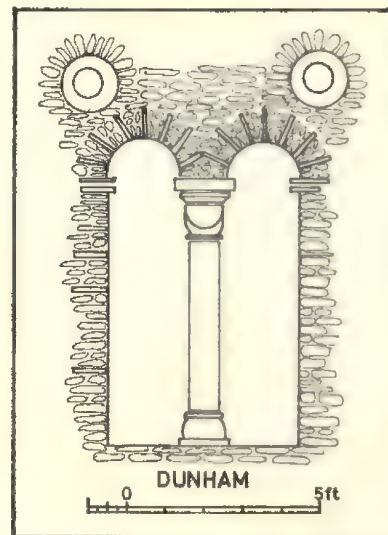


FIG. 693. DOUBLE OPENING WITH RUBBLE JAMBS AND HEAD

Windows with rubble jambs. The fifty-two windows with rubble jambs occur in fourteen belfries as shown in Table 9 where it will be seen that three

TABLE 9. *Windows with rubble jambs*

1. Aslacton	4 G	6. Harpswell	2RL, 1F	11. Norwich M	4 G
2. Beechamwell	2 G, 2 RV	7. Herringfleet	4 G	12. Oxford (i)	4 RV
3. Bessingham	4 G	8. Lexham	1 RV	(ii)	3 RV
4. Dunham	4 RV	9. Newton	4 G	13. Roughton	4 G
5. Forncett	1 RV, 3 G	10. N Leigh	4 RL	14. Weybourne	1 G

CHAPTER 8 BELFRY OPENINGS

TABLE 10. *Imposts on jambs of multiple windows*

	<i>Belfry windows</i>	<i>Windows elsewhere</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Plain square impost (I)	85	5	90	42
Other impost (J)	76	3	79	37
No impost, or uncertain	45	0	45	21
	—	—	—	—
	206	8	214	100
	—	—	—	—

TABLE 11. *Capitals on mid-wall shafts of multiple windows*

	<i>Belfry windows</i>	<i>Windows elsewhere</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Per cent</i>
Capitals (C)	106	3	109	53
No capitals, or uncertain	92	5	97	47
	—	—	—	—
	198	8	206	100
	—	—	—	—

belfries each have windows with heads of two different shapes. It should also be recorded that capitals are used on the shafts of more than half of these windows.

DECORATION

There is not much small-scale decoration on multiple belfry windows, and this could well indicate a due appreciation that the outline of the windows themselves would serve as the best kind of decoration at the considerable distance from which these windows are seen. But there is a limited amount of decoration by impost, capitals, and hoodmouldings or stripwork; and some of the capitals have decorative sculpture. The following paragraphs discuss these decorative treatments in more detail.

It should be said in introduction that because of weathering and restoration, as well as because of difficulty of access, it is not always possible to be certain about finer details; this applies particularly to questions such as the chamfering and the detailed shape of capitals.

Imposts. The use of impost is summarised in Table 10 from the details given in Table 17.

Capitals. The use of capitals on mid-wall shafts of multiple windows is not as frequent as the use of impost on the jambs, as may be seen by comparison of Tables 10 and 11, both of which are summarised from Table 17.

Mid-wall shafts. Plain circular cylinders are used for the great majority of mid-wall shafts in multiple windows, but the following variants should be recorded.

TABLE 12. *Special mid-wall shafts*

Balusters Barton (i), (ii), Brixworth, Cambridge, Earl's Barton, Oxford (ii), (iii), Wickham
Bulbous Bardsey (ii), (iii), Barton (iii), N Leigh, Wing, Worth
Polygonal Glentworth, Hale, Harmston, Lincoln M, Lincoln P
Composite shafts or piers Beechamwell, Lexham, Norwich M, Roughton
Sculpture on shafts Glentworth (Vol. 1: 258)

Stripwork. There are eleven towers in which the belfry windows are enriched by an outstanding frame of stripwork. Apart from Barton these fall into two groups which are distinct both in location and in the detailed use of the stripwork: in the Northumbrian group the stripwork is carried in a bold sweep high above the window, thus leaving a large tympanum between itself and the heads of the two lights; by contrast, in the south-eastern group, the stripwork follows fairly closely the round heads of the individual lights of each double window. The members of the two groups are as follows:

Northumbrian group: Billingham, Bywell A, Monkwearmouth, Ovingham, Wharram S, York
South-eastern group: Bessingham, Haddiscoe, Herringfleet, Weybourne

In addition, it should be noted that at Barton-on-

Humber stripwork is carried in the south-eastern fashion over the individual heads of the gabled lights of the original belfry whereas hoodmouldings are used over the round-headed lights of the two other storeys of double windows. Reference should also be made here to the use of circular sound-holes in three of the belfries of the North-umbrian group: Billingham, Bywell A and Ovingham, to which further consideration will be given in Section 5.

Hoodmouldings. By contrast with the widespread use of stripwork, hoodmouldings are used on double windows only at two places, on the tower at Barton-on-Humber and in the west of the nave at Deerhurst St Mary. The tower at Barton is, moreover, of particular interest for the way in which hoodmouldings are used over the windows of the first and third floors by contrast with stripwork over those of the second floor.

SIZE AND PROPORTION OF DOUBLE WINDOWS

The individual lights of double windows are very tall in proportion to their width, giving height-width ratios as great as six or more. But if the height be compared with the width of the window as a whole then the multiple openings do not reach the same tall narrow proportions as are found for doorways or single windows. A typical group of observations is given in Table 13.

TABLE 13. *Representative heights and widths of double windows*

	Height ft	Width overall ft	H/W
Alkborough	6.0	3.5	1.7
Barton			
i Tower-nave	3.9	4.3	0.9
ii Early belfry	4.0	4.3	0.9
iii Later belfry	8.3	4.3	1.9
Cambridge	6.2	3.5	1.8
Lincoln M	9.8	5.8	1.7
Lincoln P	8.5	5.5	1.6
Mwearmouth	4.2	2.6	1.6

Among the churches with double windows it is interesting to note that Barton-on-Humber not only has the highest H/W ratio (1.9) for the windows of the later belfry but also the smallest ratio (0.9) for its lower double windows. It should of

course be recorded that the quintuple windows at Earl's Barton and the triple window at Brixworth have even lower H/W ratios of 0.6 and 0.8 respectively.

SECTION 4. MULTIPLE WINDOWS NOT IN BELFRIES

We have seen in Table 3 that there are five churches which have multiple windows in their naves. These fall fairly clearly into three separate groups; first there are two places where double windows in the side walls seem without doubt to have been designed for the lighting of the naves, the tower-nave at Barton and the ordinary nave at Worth; next there are two places at which multiple windows are used to provide a view into the nave from upper chambers in west towers, a double window at Deerhurst St Mary and a triple one at Brixworth; and finally there is the double window in the east wall of the nave at Wing, now giving light to the nave but possibly once providing a link between upper spaces above the nave and the chancel as seems also to be suggested by fragmentary remains at Repton.

Ordinary windows in naves. Both at Barton and at Worth the double windows are now glazed so as to serve what would now be regarded as their proper purpose of admitting light while keeping out the cold and damp. But the design seems ill adapted for glazing and one cannot help wondering whether the openings were originally left without any filling. It is easier to understand the use of this awkward type of window at Barton, where it can be explained as being in sympathy with the belfry windows immediately above, than at Worth, where there seems to be no logical reason for departing from the normal single- or double-splayed openings.

Windows from towers to naves. We have seen that there is both literary and structural evidence for the use of galleries and upper rooms in connection with services within the church, and in this connection it seems easy to understand that multiple windows would offer an attraction for communication between tower-rooms and the body of the church. The splayed windows at Monkwear-

mouth and Ledsham must have given only in-different contact between the tower-room and the church, whereas at Deerhust and Brixworth the multiple openings must have allowed the occupants of the tower-rooms to feel fully in touch with all that was going on in the nave or the sanctuary.

SECTION 5. CIRCULAR BELFRY WINDOWS OR SOUND-HOLES

An interesting small group of belfry openings is formed by the circular sound-holes which are found in several towers in conjunction with the normal double belfry windows. The complete list of places where these survive in what seems to be their original state is given in Table 14. In addition there are heavily restored sound-holes at Jevington and large openings in the restored parapet on the north and west faces of the tower at Monkwearmouth.

TABLE 14. *Circular sound-holes*

1. Billingham	4. Dunham	7. Ovingham
2. Bywell A	5. Earl's Barton	8. Weybourne
3. Cambridge	6. Forncett	9. Winterton

It will be seen that Table 14 includes three of the Northumbrian towers whose belfry windows are outlined with stripwork; each of these three has a sound-hole in each tympanum, below the stripwork; and at Bywell there are two further sound-holes in each face of the tower, outside the stripwork and slightly higher up.

The treatment of the other towers follows no regular pattern; at Cambridge and at Weybourne each face has two sound-holes above the double window but spaced wider apart than its lights; at Dunham only the east and west faces have sound-holes, and these are placed in pairs close above the lights of the double windows; in the round tower at Forncett an evenly spaced ring of eight sound-holes is placed high above the double windows; and at Winterton a single sound-hole is placed above each double window and separated from it by a string-course which runs right round the tower.

It is interesting to speculate on the purpose of these small openings. If the bells had been hung in the lights of the double windows as seems to have been the case at Glentworth, the sound-holes could

have served little purpose; and even if the bells were wholly inside the tower, the sound-holes have so small an area in comparison to that of the double windows that they could have done little to help the passage of sound. They may therefore have been mainly ornamental, but perhaps they may give an indication to strengthen our belief that the bells were sounded within the belfry.

SECTION 6. TIME-SEQUENCE IN BELFRY WINDOWS

The establishment of a time-sequence in double belfry windows, like most other aspects of the detailed dating of Anglo-Saxon buildings, is not yet at a stage where conclusions can be drawn with certainty; as has been suggested in another setting (Mercer 1966: 61), the best that can be done is to arrange the examples in a sequence which is 'consistent within itself and not at variance with any external observed facts'. In the case of belfry windows the most directly applicable external facts are the time-sequences that are proclaimed so clearly by the two levels of belfry windows at Barton-on-Humber and less clearly by those at Appleton and Bosham; thereafter come the more inferential deductions that can be made from the comparisons and contrasts between the towers of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in Chapter 9; and finally there are the obvious indications of lateness in date which are given by belfry windows with cushion capitals or other features which closely resemble Norman forms even though the openings themselves preserve the Anglo-Saxon shape. These were the arguments which led us over a decade ago to put forward the following tentative sequence of types of double belfry windows (Taylor 1961a: 69-72, and 1966c: 20-32).

OUTLINE SEQUENCE OF TYPES

The earliest and latest types are both to be seen at Barton-on-Humber, the earliest in the original double openings, and the latest in those of the uppermost belfry which can clearly be seen to be a later addition. The argument for the passage of a considerable period of time before the adding of this belfry was advanced as long ago as 1817 by Thomas Rickman, and is summarised in Section 6

of Chapter 9. The characteristic features of the earliest and latest types and of a suggested intermediate or transitional type can be set out along the following lines which, however, are not sharply discriminating but allow several shades of overlapping:

(a) *The earliest type.* This is distinguished by balusters or plain cylinders for the mid-wall shafts, without bases or capitals, by simple monolithic heads, and by megalithic or through-stone jambs.

(b) *The intermediate type.* This is distinguished by megalithic or through-stone jambs, by heads that are either monolithic or arched with voussoirs, and by mid-wall shafts that have bases and capitals, but not of developed cushion form.

(c) *The latest type.* This is distinguished by quasi-ashlar or rubble jambs, by heads that are arched with voussoirs, and by mid-wall shafts with cushion capitals or other related forms.

Tentative sequences. In placing the multiple windows into a tentative time-sequence it is necessary to state that those at Deerhurst and Earl's Barton must be regarded as *sui generis*, and therefore to be left outside any general scheme, to be dated on whatever other evidence may become available. The others as shown in Table 15 fit more or less clearly into the scheme proposed above, with the following possible exceptions:

Brixworth: The tentative cushion capitals would suggest the late group, whereas the baluster shafts suggest the early group.

Wickham: The use of Roman shafts, and of through-stone jambs in the south window might justify an early placing, but quasi-ashlar in the north window is against this.

Worth: The use of through-stones for jambs and heads and the absence of capitals would probably justify a placing in the early group.

SECTION 7. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

The multiple belfry windows represent a distinctive type which is of so widespread occurrence that the list given in Table 16 must be regarded as only a sample chosen to record those for which there is reasonably well-founded evidence of date in modern continental literature. Single belfry openings do not represent a sufficiently distinctive type to justify an attempt to list continental analogues. Many well-known examples have been excluded from this table because there is disagreement about their date.

The difficulties of dating are obviously much greater for features which occur high up in towers than for those on the ground, especially in the absence of contemporary written evidence that

TABLE 15. *Tentative time-sequences for double windows*

(a) <i>Early group</i>			
1. Appleton ii	4. Bolam	7. Carlton	10. Ovingham
2. Barton i, ii	5. Bywell A	8. K Hammerton	11. Wharham S
3. Billingham	6. Cambridge	9. Mwearmouth	
(b) <i>Intermediate group</i>			
1. Appleton iii	4. Brixworth	7. Lincoln M	10. Morland
2. Bardsey ii, iii	5. Hovingham	8. Lincoln P	11. Wickham
3. Bosham ii	6. Jarrow	9. M Fryston	12. Worth
(c) <i>Late group</i>			
1. Alkborough	10. Corringham	19. Herringfleet	28. Roughton
2. Aslacton	11. Dunham	20. Hornby	29. Scartho
3. Barton iii	12. Fornsett	21. Lexham	30. Sompting
4. Beechamwell	13. Glentworth	22. Marton	31. Waithe
5. Bessingham	14. Haddiscoe	23. Newton	32. Weybourne
6. Bosham iii	15. Hale	24. N Leigh	33. Wing
7. Bracebridge	16. Harmston	25. Norwich M	34. Winterton
8. Branston	17. Harpswell	26. Oxford	35. York
9. Clee	18. Heapham	27. Rothwell	
(d) <i>Excluded from stylistic date-sequence</i>			
1. Deerhurst M		2. Earl's Barton	

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TABLE 16. *Select list of continental multiple belfry windows*

<i>Church</i>	<i>Position of openings</i>	<i>Approximate date</i>	<i>Authority</i>
<i>France</i>			
Epfig,	Belfry	Not later than second quarter	Grodecki 1958: 159
St Marguerite	Cloister arcade	of eleventh century	
Jumièges,	Triforium	Mid tenth century	ibid: 201 and 238 n87
St Pierre			
Metz, St Pierre	West arcade	Tenth century	Reusch 1943: 78-92
dans la Citadelle			Oswald, Schaefer and Sennhauser 1966-8: 214-5
<i>Germany</i>			
Gernrode, St Cyriac	Triforium	961-75	Grodecki 1958: 23
Hersfeld Abbey	Belfry	After 1050	ibid: 210
Reichenau	Belfry	1030-48	ibid: 271
Mittelzell, St Maria			
Fulda,	Belfry	822-42	ibid: 128
St Lioba on the		Late Ottonian	Oswald, Schaefer and Sennhauser 1966-8: 257
Petersberg			
<i>Holland</i>			
Susteren, St Saviour	Belfry	1050 or later	Grodecki 1958: 111-2
<i>Italy</i>			
Ravenna			
S. Apollinare in Classe	Belfry	c. 1000	Bovini 1960: 146
S. Apollinare Nuovo	Belfry	c. 1000	ibid: 86
S. Francesco	Belfry	Tenth or eleventh century	ibid: 63
Rome			
Ss Quattro Coronati	Belfry	847-55	Krautheimer 1942a: 22, n146
<i>Switzerland</i>			
Romainmôtier, Abbey	Belfry	996-1029	Grodecki 1958: 64-5

can be directly related to the features themselves. Table 16 indicates that windows of the pre-Romanesque multiple belfry type were in widespread use over a period from the middle of the ninth century until the middle of the eleventh century, or even later, when they were replaced by recessed openings of the Romanesque type.

The earliest of the windows noted above (at Rome, Ss Quattro Coronati) have baluster shafts and are somewhat squat in overall shape, perhaps because they form a quadruple opening. The tenth-century openings at Jumièges, Metz and Gernrode have simple cylindrical shafts and give a rather taller impression. The eleventh-century openings at Epfig and at the three churches of Ravenna have corbel-like through-stone slabs of the same general form as those at Heapham, Scartho and Sompting. In summary, therefore, it is perhaps fair to say that the general pattern on the Continent is much the same as that in England, and perhaps not very different in time.

SECTION 8. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF MULTIPLE BELFRY WINDOWS

Table 17 gives in summary form the evidence which is used in this chapter. The windows which are not in belfries are distinguished by square brackets; and the separate levels of towers with more than one belfry are denoted by small Roman numbers. The code symbols of the table are set out in four columns thus:

1. *The number of windows concerned.*

2. *The shape of the heads of individual lights:* RL, round head cut in a lintel; RV, round head arched with voussoirs; G, gabled head; F, flat head.

3. *The fabric of the jambs:* TS, through-stones; M, other types of megalithic masonry; St, small dressed stone; Rb, rubble, including tile and flint.

4. *Decoration:* I, plain square imposts; J, more elaborate imposts; C, capitals of whatever shape; HM, hood-mouldings over the heads only; SW, stripwork over the heads and beside the jambs.

The names printed in italic type are those of churches which also have single belfry windows, as listed in Table 1.

TABLE 17. *Multiple belfry windows*

1. Alkborough	4	RV	St	I C	28. Heapham	4	RL	St	I C
2. Appleton					29. <i>Herringfleet</i>	4	G	Rb	SW
ii	4	RL	M	I	30. Hornby	4	RL	St	I C
iii	4	RL	St	I	31. Hovingham	4	RL	M	J
3. Aslacton	4	G	Rb	J	32. Jarrow				
4. <i>Bardsey</i>					N, S	2	RV	M	I
ii	1	RV	St	J	33. K Hammerton	4	RL	M	I
iii	1	RV	St	J	34. <i>Lexham</i>				
5. Barton					S-W	1	RV	Rb	C
[i N, S]	2	RL	TS	I HM	35. Lincoln M	4	RV	M	J C
ii	4	G	TS	I SW	36. Lincoln P	4	RV	TS	J C
iii N, S, E	3	RV	St	J C HM	37. Marton	4	RL	St	J C
6. Beechamwell					38. M Fryston	4	RL	St	C
N, S	2	RV	Rb		39. Mwearmouth				
E, W	2	G	Rb		N, S, W	3	RL	M	J SW
7. Bessingham	4	G	Rb	SW	40. Morland	4	RL	M	
8. Billingham	4	RL	M	I SW	41. Newton	4	G	Rb	C
9. Bolam	4	RL	St		42. N Leigh	4	RL	Rb	I C
10. Bosham					43. Norwich M	4	G	Rb	J C
ii N, S	2	RV	M	I	44. Ovingham	4	RL	M	I SW
iii W	1	RV	St	I C	45. Oxford				
11. Bracebridge	4	RV	St	I C	ii	4	RV	Rb	J
12. Branston	4	RL	St	J C	iii N, S, W	3	RV	Rb	J
13. [Brixworth]	1	RV	Rb	J C	46. Rothwell	4	RL	M	I C
14. Bywell A	4	RL	M	I SW	47. Roughton	4	G	Rb	
15. Cambridge	4	RL	TS	I	48. Scartho	4	RL	St	I C
16. Carlton	4	RL	M	J	49. <i>Sompting</i>				
17. Clee	4	RL	St	J C	N	2	RV	St	C
18. Corringham	4	RV	St	J C	S	2	RV	St	C
19. [Deerhurst M]	1	G	TS	J C HM	50. Waithe	4	RL	St	I C
20. Dunham	4	RV	Rb	J C	51. Weybourne	1	G	Rb	SW
21. Earl's Barton	4	RL	M	I	52. Wharrah S	4	RL	M	J SW
22. Forncett					53. Wickham				
W	1	RV	Rb	C	N	1	RV	St	I
N, S, E	3	G	Rb	C	S	1	RV	TS	J
23. Glentworth	4	RV	St	I C	54. [Wing]	1	RV	?	J C
24. Haddiscoe	4	G	St	I C SW	55. Winterton				
25. Hale	4	RL	St	J C	W, N	2	RL	St	I C
26. Harmston	4	RL	St	J C	S	1	RV	St	I C
27. Harpswell					56. [Worth] 2N, 1S	3	RV	TS	I
N, S	2	RL	Rb	C	57. York	4	RV	St	J
E	1	F	Rb						

57 churches (52 belfries, 1 belfry and church, 4 churches), 214 windows

Frequency of occurrence of types

	Heads		Total	Per cent		Fabric		Total	Per cent
	Belfries	Elsewhere				Belfries	Elsewhere		
RV	60	5	65	31	TS	13	6	19	9
RL	107	2	109	51	M	55	0	55	26
G	38	1	39	18	St	86	0	86	40
F	1	0	1	0	Rb	52	1	53	25
					?	0	1	1	0
	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—
	206	8	214	100		206	8	214	100
	—	—	—	—		—	—	—	—

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	<i>Imposts</i>				<i>Decoration</i>			
Square (I)	85	5	90	42	C	106	3	109
Other (J)	76	3	79	37	SW	36	0	36
None	45	0	45	21	HM	3	3	6
	—	—	—	—				
	206	8	214	100				
	—	—	—	—				

Nature of windows

Double	209
Triple	1 (Brixworth)
Quintuple	4 (Earl's Barton)
	—
	214
	—

SECTION 9. TERTIARY EVIDENCE

In Chapter 2 (p. 760) we noted that although double belfry windows are a most distinctive feature, yet the number of examples brought forward by the primary evidence of towers was so small (only Barton and Branston) that for the moment it was desirable to regard this feature with some reserve as a basis for claiming other churches as Anglo-Saxon, although it had been accepted in this rôle ever since it had first been noted by Rickman in 1817. It is now time to review this matter in the light of other evidence that is available.

In the first place, we might have noted that windows of the double belfry type occurred in the naves of Brixworth and Deerhurst, which we had claimed as Anglo-Saxon on primary evidence, and therefore the basis for claiming the double windows as a characteristic feature could be extended from Barton and Branston to include also Brixworth and Deerhurst. But a new line of argument can be introduced by considering the extent to which the double windows occur in buildings which are claimed as Anglo-Saxon on the secondary evidence of other (independent) features.

Reference to Table 2 of Chapter 3 will show that while only a few towers were there claimed as Anglo-Saxon on primary evidence over thirty were claimed on secondary evidence which in some cases was solely the possession of double belfry windows but which for the group shown in Table 18 also included one or more other characteristic features as defined in Chapter 2. Moreover windows of the double belfry type also occur in the naves of Wing and Worth which are claimed as Anglo-Saxon on the basis of two or more other characteristic features. Thus the twenty-one churches of Table 18 could be regarded as having been established as Anglo-Saxon on secondary evidence quite separate from their double windows; and this could therefore be accepted as *tertiary* evidence for regarding the double windows as being characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon style or period, since we already know that they are foreign to Norman practice.

This line of argument by tertiary evidence is capable of wide extension but it is apt to give the impression of circular reasoning and therefore only this one example has been given.

TABLE 18. *Tertiary evidence for double belfry windows as an Anglo-Saxon characteristic*

<i>A. Church towers</i>			
1. Alkborough	6. Billingham	11. Hovingham	16. Morland
2. Appleton	7. Bolam	12. Jevington	17. Newton
3. Bardsey	8. Bosham	13. K Hammerton	18. Rothwell
4. Beechamwell	9. Bywell A	14. Lexham	19. Sompting
5. Bessingham	10. Dunham	15. Marton	
<i>B. Naves</i>			
1. Wing		2. Worth	

CHAPTER 9

TOWERS

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

A total of ninety-nine wholly or partly surviving Anglo-Saxon towers is made up of sixty-two square west towers, twenty-one round west towers, and a residual sixteen which are square in plan but are related to the church in a number of different ways, in that some are axially placed between the nave and the chancel, some are centrally placed between the four arms of a cruciform church, and the precise status of others cannot now be defined with certainty.

We shall see that the round west towers are wholly confined to East Anglia; and that, while the square west towers are to be found over a much wider area, there are many more of them in the north and east than in the other parts of England. By contrast the small number of central and axial towers can be said to be fairly evenly distributed through the country.

Most of the surviving towers discussed in this chapter are in a fairly complete state, with clearly recognisable Anglo-Saxon features at levels up to and above the roof of the nave; but a few have been included in which Anglo-Saxon features are to be seen only at lower levels. This decision needs some justification, especially since the two-storeyed west porch at Ledsham has been excluded on the ground that it remained a porch throughout the Anglo-Saxon era and was converted to become a tower only in Norman times (Vol. I: 379). On the other hand the few problematical remains that are included in Table 5 are not easily to be interpreted as porches that were only later raised to become towers; for some, such as Caversfield and Swanscombe, have no external entries; and others, such as Debenham and Mersea, seem much too substantially built to have been designed only as porches.

SECTION 2. THE PURPOSE OF TOWERS

Since a west tower is attached to the west wall of the nave for the greater part of its height, any discussion of the purpose of that part will be equally valid in relation to multi-storey west porches; and it will only be for the short height above the gabled roof of the nave that the discussion will need to be restricted to the special case of the tower.

LOWER PARTS OF TOWERS

If, then, we begin by considering the lower storeys of the porch or tower, all of which abut against, or are bonded into, the west wall of the nave, we are presented with a structure of several storeys, usually nearly square in plan, but occasionally circular. In four instances (Brigstock, Brixworth, Broughton, and Hough) the square tower has an independent stone turret to house the stairway for access to the upper storeys; otherwise, the access to upper storeys must have been by ladders or wooden stairs in the towers themselves or in adjoining parts of the church. It is often assumed that access must have been by ladder, perhaps because this is so often the case at present; but wooden stairs of the same adequate width as those in the stone stair-turrets mentioned above could have been housed in towers such as that at Deerhurst without taking up as much as one-quarter of the floor-space and without blocking any parts of the windows in the north and south walls.

The multiplicity of upper doorways to provide communication between towers and naves, and the well-worn treads in some of these openings have been used in Chapter 6 as an argument for

asserting that one use of towers was to house stairs for access to rooms above the church. But this cannot have been the only use; for in the first place, as has been noted above, the plans are more than four times the area that was needed to house a convenient stairway; and in the second place there are fittings such as the elaborate aumbries at Deerhurst or the plainer but larger recess at Skipwith to show that these upper rooms had liturgical or monastic uses and were in no sense just landings on a stairway.

It is therefore probably fair to say that the lower storeys of western towers were designed primarily to provide a block of rooms for liturgical or monastic use, and secondarily to house communicating stairways unless independent access was provided either in a stair-turret or in the church itself.

Access through the body of the church. It may cause surprise to suggest that stairs for access to a tower might have stood in the church itself; but there are several continental examples of which perhaps the most striking are in the great churches of St Philibert at Tournus and St Foy at Conques, in both of which western gallery-churches were approached by flights of stairs leading upwards against the side walls of the aisles. The doorways to the upper chambers survive at both places, but the stairs have vanished at Tournus (Heitz 1963: 63 and pls. XXIV-XXV). The most straightforward English evidence for stairways within the church is at Norton (Vol. I: 468); and it seems likely that the cutting of a doorway at Deerhurst St Mary through the north light of the double-gabled second-floor window of the tower was to provide access to a stairway leading up from the first-floor gallery. Moreover at Stow a stairway to the tower survived in the north-east corner of the nave until moved outside in the restorations about 1850 (Appendix G).

Access through side-chambers. At Deerhurst and Monkwearmouth there are blocked lateral doorways in the first-floor rooms of the west towers; moreover at Monkwearmouth there is clear evidence for access from the ground-floor of the tower to flanking rooms on either side, while at Deerhurst there is evidence that the west porch at

first stood alone but was later flanked by other buildings. The first-floor doorways may therefore at both places have provided access to the tower, thus avoiding any need for a stairway in the ground-floor entrance-porch. From what has been said above it would follow that at Deerhurst the entrance to the upper floor of the porch-tower would at first have been by way of an external stair to the first-floor lateral doorway, and only later through rooms that flanked the tower; at Monkwearmouth, however, the flanking rooms seem to have been contemporary with the porch, on the evidence of the doorways which opened to them from the ground-floor chamber. Similar lateral doorways exist at Brixworth on the ground floor but without any evidence for related doorways on the first floor, no doubt because full provision for access to the upper floors was later made by the western stair-turret.

Access by stone stairways. The square towers at Brigstock, Brixworth, Broughton and Hough-on-the-Hill have round western stair-turrets of stone; and stone stairways have survived in the latter three while at Brigstock the original stairs seem to have been of wood and to have been destroyed by fire (Vol. I: 104). All three of the surviving stone stairways continue above the first floor but none is complete in its original form as far as the second. In all of them the construction is different from that of Norman and later newel-stairways in which each tread also formed part of the central newel; by contrast, these Anglo-Saxon stairways have newels which are of quite separate stones from those of the treads (see Fig. 660 of Chapter 6). At Broughton and Hough each stone of the newel rises through the height of several treads; and at Brixworth the newel is not formed of dressed stone drums, but is a thick column of rubble from which a winding barrel vault is thrown across to the outer wall. In the ruined cathedral church at North Elmham there are fragmentary remains of a west tower and an attached circular stair-turret with a few surviving treads; these are of the Anglo-Saxon type, separate from the newel which has vanished. A further newel-stair of this type has recently been noted in the fragmentary Anglo-Saxon remains at Wimborne Minster (R.C.H.M. Dorset, 5, 1975: 78-83). At

Great Hale in Lincolnshire a newel-stair of late Saxon or early Norman date has been contrived in the thickness of the wall of the tower at its north-east angle, but it should specially be noted that its treads are of the normal medieval pattern in which the newel is built up from the inner ends of the treads (Vol. I: 277-8).

Uses of upper rooms in porches or towers. It seems a mistake to think of church towers as places of refuge from Viking marauders, particularly as so many have wooden floors at a low level that would give little safety against fire. Therefore, apart from their purpose of supporting a belfry, it seems likely that the main object of the lower rooms of a tower is to be seen in providing additional space for purposes directly connected with the service of the church, not excluding comparatively safe storage for its treasures.

Use as church treasuries. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records the theft of church treasures from the tower of the monastery at Peterborough in 1070; and on the Continent upper rooms are still used as treasuries at Trier, in the Cathedral and in the church of St Mathias (Rhein und Maas 1972: 136-7). Moreover the association of such upper rooms with the custom of periodical ceremonial display of relics has been mentioned in Chapter 6 as a possible explanation of the otherwise problematical doorways which open out into space from upper floors of several English towers.

Use in church services. Contemporary records mention upper rooms or western galleries in connection with church services under two headings. The first of these is concerned with special provision for the founder or his family in a west gallery in privately-established churches, the German *Eigenkirchen*. The second is connected with the greater abbeys from the Carolingian period onward, in which chapels with almost the status of separate churches were set up in great western towers; the German *Westwerke*. These special chapels provided not only for regular daily services which moved from altar to altar within the church as a whole, but also for special services wholly in the upper chapel on certain great festivals (Taylor 1975: 142-55 and 160-8). Mention has been made in

Chapter 6 of the probability that the porch-tower at Deerhurst belonged, although on a small scale, to this family of westworks; and much the same may have applied at Bosham and elsewhere. The many examples of west galleries or first-floor west doorways may indicate similar arrangements or may more probably represent provision for the founder or his family. For a discussion of *Eigenkirchen* in England see Knowles 1950: 561-73 and 592-606; and for specific mention of Einhard's provision of a west gallery for himself at Seligenstadt, then known as Mulinheim, see Migne CIV: cols 559, 565 and 593 or Teulet 1843: 253, 275 and 375.

Multi-storeyed porticus. There is clear evidence at Deerhurst for the two-storeyed character of the principal lateral porticus to the north and south of the monks' choir, and there is indirect evidence that some of the lateral porticus further to the west were also two-storeyed. There is therefore no good reason why doubt should be felt about the interpretation of a tall west porch or west tower as a block of rooms which were designed to serve purposes directly connected with the work of the church.

Tower-sanctuaries. The evidence at Deerhurst for a first-floor chapel in the west tower is closely paralleled at Bosham where the first-floor doorway has a window beside it, as at Deerhurst, and where there is a second-floor doorway above. By contrast to these chapels at upper levels of towers we should again note the distinctive evidence for a ground-floor sanctuary in the west tower at Barnack (p. 1019) and the evidence at Glastonbury (p. 742) that Dunstan's tower was built over the eastern sanctuary.

THE UPPER PART OF TOWERS

Belfries. Evidence that bells were hung in Anglo-Saxon towers has been summarised at the beginning of Chapter 8. It might be added here that the *Regularis Concordia*, compiled about 970 recorded that the ringing of bells at festivals was 'a custom of the people of this country' (Symons 1953: 30). Of course it does not follow from these facts that the upper parts of towers had no other



FIG. 694. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF TOWERS

Square west towers are shown with their names alone. Central and axial towers are shown with their names underlined. Round west towers are shown in the inset, with the numbers used in Table 6.

uses; but there can be little doubt that this was one of the major purposes, especially when we note that more than half of the towers recorded in Tables 5 to 7 still have complete sets of belfry windows.

SECTION 3. SPACE-DISTRIBUTION OF TOWERS

The distribution map in Fig. 694 shows that of the sixty-two square west towers all but eight (at Bosham, Deerhurst, Jevington, Oxford, Singleton, Sompting, Swanscombe and Wickham) are in the Danelaw or further north. This might be regarded as strong evidence that church towers were built as a system of watch-towers against Danish invaders or for refuge at times of raids, but many churches are poorly placed as sites for watch-towers, and we have already given reasons why the towers would have provided little security against determined raiders. It may therefore be that we should look for some quite different reason for the concentration of west towers in eastern and northern regions.

The map also shows how Anglo-Saxon round west towers are wholly confined to East Anglia. The simplest explanation of this fact would be to associate it with the shortage of good building stone in East Anglia and to notice the consequential advantage of the round shape in avoiding the need to provide dressed stones for quoining. But this cannot be the full explanation because the builders of the round towers added decorative features in which they formed durable salient angles wholly of flints, as at Tasburgh and Hadiscoe Thorpe.

Finally, the map shows that square towers placed other than at the west are fairly evenly distributed about England. The surviving numbers are too small to justify any secure deduction from this observation except to note that it is strikingly different from the pattern for western towers.

SECTION 4. SIZE, SHAPE AND DECORATION OF TOWERS

SIZE AND SHAPE

The elevations of square towers with surviving

belfry stages are shown visually in Fig. 695, in groups according to width and height, at intervals of 5 ft. Although these are rather wide intervals, they serve fairly well to show the distribution of towers from a maximum height of just over 70 ft for Lincoln St Peter, through large groups at heights between 60 ft and 45 ft, down to the lowest at 35 ft for Monk Fryston.

The visual impression of height which is given by a tower when seen in isolation depends markedly on its width; this is perhaps shown most clearly at Monkwearmouth where the very slender tower gives an exaggerated impression of height, although it is only in the third group in order of height in Fig. 695.

It will be noticed that Sompting is alone in having a pointed 'Rhenish helm' profile. The height to the apex of the roof is 75 ft (Vol. II: 560) whereas the height to the tops of the four stone gables is 60 ft, as shown in Fig. 695. The pilaster-strips on the four faces of the tower at Cambridge suggest that it may formerly have had the gabled 'Rhenish helm' type of roof (Vol. I: 130); if this had been so, the masonry would have continued to a height of about 75 ft, and the apex of the roof to about 85 ft.

DECORATION

The most obvious system of decoration of towers is provided by the belfry openings with their various elaborations which have already been discussed in Chapter 8. An almost equally important decorative system is provided by string-courses and pilaster-strips which are discussed and illustrated in subsequent chapters. But it would be wrong to leave the subject of towers without a brief consideration of the differing decorative treatments which distinguish certain fairly well defined local groups.

Lincolnshire group. This is perhaps the best known and most widely discussed of the local groups (Thompson 1907-8, and Brown 1925: 386). The special characteristics of this group as defined by Thompson were the tall and gaunt appearance, the absence of decoration other than the tall belfry windows, and the presence of only two stages of which the lower occupied two-thirds or even

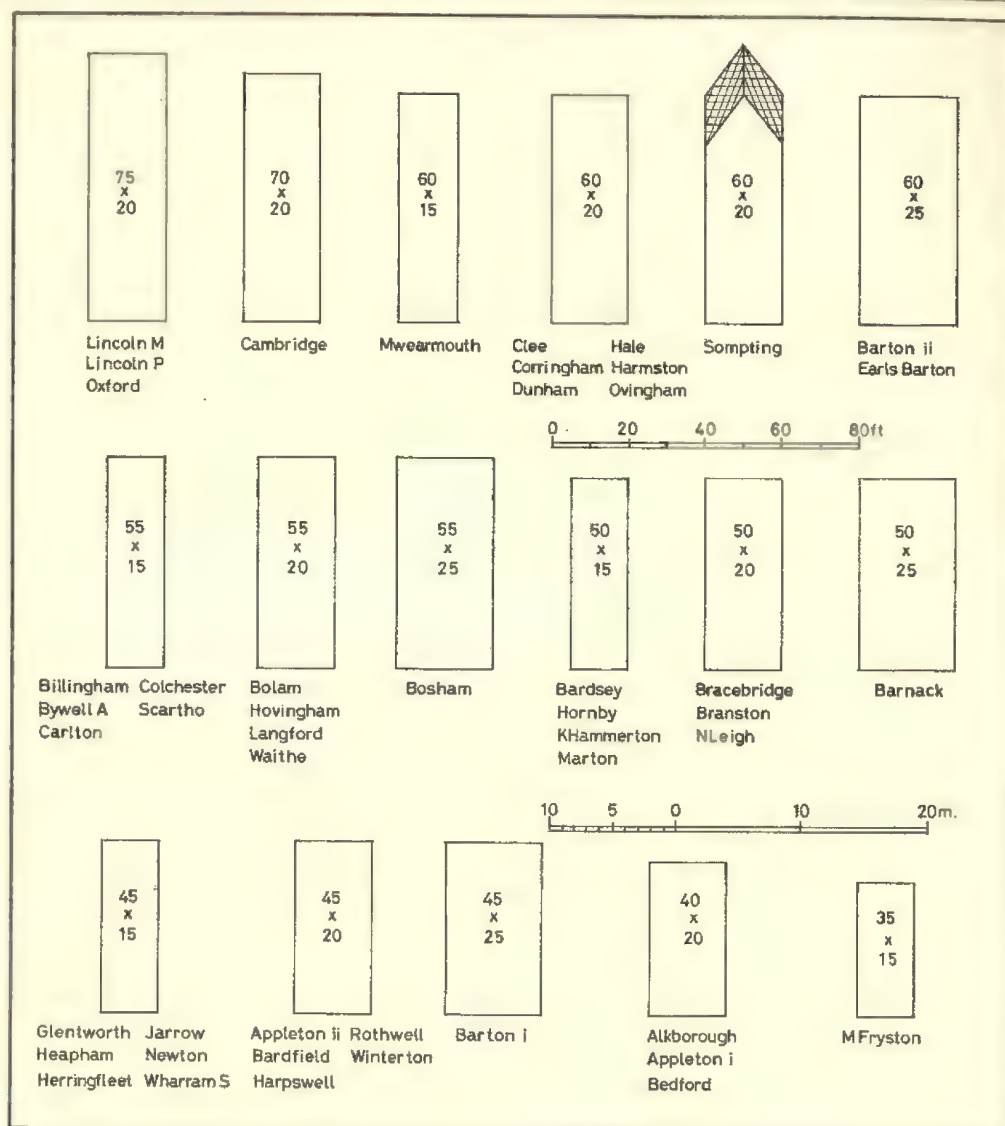


FIG. 695. CHART SHOWING SIZES AND PROPORTIONS OF TOWERS

This figure shows over forty towers each represented to the nearest 5 ft in height and width by the seventeen representative outlines.

more of the total height. A few towers approximating to this definition appear outside Lincolnshire; and not all towers in the county conform to it, the most notable exception being Barton-on-Humber. But on the whole the Lincolnshire group can be regarded as a useful concept, comprising most of the towers in the county, as follows:

Lincolnshire group

Alkborough	Corringham	Heapham	Rothwell
Bracebridge	Glentworth	Lincoln M	Scartho
Branston	Hale	Lincoln P	Winterton
Clee	Harmston	Marton	

Northumbrian group. The distinctive decoration of belfry openings of a number of Northumbrian towers by an outlining frame of stripwork has already been mentioned and illustrated in Chapter 8. This very mannered treatment in six towers grouped fairly closely together is surely to be associated with a local patron or team of builders in a way that implies a fairly limited span of time. There is, however, some indication of gradual development within the group by the addition or omission of circular sound-holes and upper-floor doorways. It should also be mentioned that apart

from the very decorative belfries the Northumbrian towers are almost as gaunt and plain as those of the Lincolnshire group. Finally we should notice the reappearance of stripwork round the belfry openings of a small group of apparently very late round towers in East Anglia.

<i>Northumbrian group</i>		
Billingham*+	Monkwearmouth	Wharram S
Bywell A**	Ovingham+	York
*Also with sound-holes +Also with upper doorway		
<i>East Anglian variant</i>		
Bessingham	Haddiscoe	Herringfleet

Midland group. The elaborate decoration of the walls of towers by pilaster-strips seems to have been confined roughly to the midlands. The number of towers concerned is very small, and the inclusion of Stowe-nine-Churches might be questioned on the ground that pilaster-strips occur only on two faces. Moreover it might be questioned why Cambridge and Sompting are not included in the list; they have been excluded for the reason stated in the next paragraph.

<i>Midland group</i>			
Barnack	Barton	Earl's Barton	Stowe-nC

Rhenish helm group. The only fully surviving member of this group is the tower at Sompting, but the provision of a pilaster in the centre of each face of the belfry at Cambridge suggests very strongly that the walls were originally carried up to gables like those at Sompting and were roofed similarly with a Rhenish helm (Vol. I: 130). If the evidence of Salvin's rebuilding in 1861 could be accepted, Flixton near Bungay in Suffolk must also have originally been roofed in this way (Vol. I: 240-1), but the use of a Rhenish helm on a church newly built in 1865 at Hawkley in Hampshire must sound a note of caution (Pevsner 1967: 280).

SECTION 5. DETAILS OF PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION

ACCESS TO TOWERS

In connection with the planning of churches it is of interest to record the different types of access to

west towers. The figures in Table 1 show that nineteen of the twenty-one round west towers have no external entry, and therefore access to them must always have been only through the church itself. By contrast, more than half of the sixty-two square west towers have original external doorways and could therefore be entered directly from outside and could indeed serve as entrance-porches for the church. The places concerned are listed at the end of the chapter in Tables 5 and 6, so that only the numbers need be given in Table 1.

TABLE 1. *Access to west towers*

<i>From outside</i>	<i>Square towers</i>	<i>Round towers</i>
West	25	2
Lateral	6	0
None	23	19
Uncertain	8	0
	62	21
	—	—
<i>From the church</i>		
Tower-arch	32	8
Doorway	6	2
Uncertain	24	11
	62	21
	—	—

UPPER DOORWAYS

Internal doorways. The evidence that towers served as routes to and from upper chambers in the church depends on the survival of many doorways leading from the towers towards the churches at upper levels as shown in Table 2, together with evidence of wear in the treads of some of these, notably at Deerhurst and Hough. We have also seen in Chapter 6 that doorways towards the nave occur at three different levels at Deerhurst and at two levels at Bosham, thereby emphasising the complexity of arrangements in what might be regarded as fairly simple churches. Moreover at Deerhurst, Hough, and Norton doorways led through gables as if into chambers in the roof-space.

External doorways. Table 2 also lists eleven towers at which there are now doorways opening out into space at upper levels. At four of these towers

(Appleton, Colchester, Monkwearmouth and Wickham) the doorways are on the first floor and were probably concerned with access, but at the other seven churches (Barnack, Billingham, Bywell A, Deerhurst M, Earl's Barton, Ovingham and Oxford) the doorways are on the second or higher floors at twenty feet or more from the ground. No thoroughly convincing explanation has ever been presented for these doorways so picturesquely described by Baldwin Brown (1925: 287) as 'apparently leading no whither'; but it seems at least possible that they were used for periodical display of relics as suggested above in Section 2.

TABLE 2. *Towers with upper doorways*

	<i>Square west towers</i>	<i>Round west towers</i>	<i>Other towers</i>
Internal	25	5	7
External	11	0	0

For the names of all the places concerned see Table 25 of Chapter 6.

BELFRY OPENINGS

The most distinctive features of Anglo-Saxon towers are the double belfry openings which have been discussed in detail in Chapter 8. These usually appear above the level of the ridge of the roof of the nave and provide positive evidence that the tower stood clearly visible above the roof. Indeed if we associate towers primarily with the housing of bells, the need to allow the sound to spread widely without areas of shadow can be regarded as constituting the main reason for building towers to a height well above the roofs of the naves. Equally if towers had been designed for look-outs, there would have been the same need to carry them clear of the line of roof.

The figures in Table 3 show the numbers of towers in which Anglo-Saxon belfry openings still survive, and it will be noticed that these figures include not only the normal double openings and the special quintuple openings at Earl's Barton, but also the single openings that have been discussed fully in Chapter 8 (including somewhat fragmentary vestiges at Bedford, as recorded by the symbol *rv* in Table 3 and *SB(v)* in Table 5).

TABLE 3. *Towers which contain Anglo-Saxon belfry openings*

	<i>Square west towers</i>	<i>Round west towers</i>	<i>Other towers</i>
Single openings only	4 + <i>rv</i>	0	3
Single and double openings	3	2	0
Double openings only (including quintuple at Earl's Barton)	35	7	7

FABRIC AND QUOINS

Fabric. Almost without exception Anglo-Saxon towers are built of rubble, but there are wide variations of detail, from coursed and roughly squared stone at one end of the scale to the roughest unworked and uncoursed stone or flint at the other. It is very difficult to classify rubble fabric much further, in any way which helps in the understanding of the buildings, except in so far as differences of fabric between adjoining parts of the building can be used to call attention to or to confirm separate phases in the erection of the building. We therefore give no general discussion of the fabric of towers, but occasionally mention evidence from the fabric as an aid to the interpretation of the architectural history.

Quoins. The details of quoining, on the other hand, have long been recognised as one of the most important aids in the interpretation of buildings, and Chapter 13 is devoted to this study. In connection with towers, it is therefore only necessary to record the type of quoining used, and whether or not it agrees with that of the adjoining nave. The evidence for the towers themselves is recorded in summary form in Tables 5 to 7 at the end of this chapter. Table 4 shows the grouping of the towers in accordance with their types of quoins, and it also indicates the evidence that is available about the quoins of the naves. The symbol *n=* is used to denote that quoins of the nave survive beside the tower and are of the same type; where surviving quoins of the nave are of a different type this is recorded; and the absence of any such record indicates that there is no information about the quoins of the nave. It will be noted that Barton-on-Humber has been included in

TABLE 4. Quoining of square west towers

(a) Long-and-short					
1. Barnack	n=	6. Cambridge	n=	10. Sompting	
2. Barton		7. Debenham		11. Stevington	
3. Bedford	n=	8. Earl's Barton		12. Thurlby	
4. Bosham	n=	9. Oxford		13. Whittingham	n=
5. Brigstock	n=			14. Wickham	
(b) Side-alternate					
1. Alkborough	n=	14. Corringham	n=	16. Lincoln P	n LS
2. Appleton	n=	15. Glentworth		17. Marton	n Rb
3. Bardsey	n=	16. Hale		28. Middleton	*
4. Barton		17. Harmston		29. Mwearmouth	n=
5. Billingham	n=	18. Harpswell		30. Ovingham	
6. Bolam		19. Heapham		31. Rothwell	n LS
7. Bracebridge	n LS	20. Holton	n=	32. Scartho	
8. Branston	n LS	21. Hornby		33. Singleton	
9. Broughton		22. Hovingham		34. Skipwith	
10. Bywell A	n=	23. Jevington		35. Stowe-nC	
11. Caversfield		24. K Hammerton	n=	36. Wharram S	n=
12. Clee		25. Lincoln M	n=	37. Winterton	n=
13. Corbridge				38. York	
(* At Middleton pillar quoins are used on the first nave and side-alternate on the second.)					
(c) Face-alternate					
1. Deerhurst M	n Rb	2. Hough		4. Morland	
		3. M Fryston			
(d) Rubble					
1. Bardfield	n=	4. Clapham		8. Mersea	
2. Bedford	n LS	5. Colchester		9. Oxford	
3. Brixworth	n=	6. Deerhurst M	n=	10. Swanscombe	
		7. Lavendon	n=		

(* At Middleton pillar quoins are used on the first nave and side-alternate on the second.)

(c) Face-alternate

1. Deerhurst M	n Rb	2. Hough		4. Morland
		3. M Fryston		

(d) Rubble

1. Bardfield	n=	4. Clapham		8. Mersea
2. Bedford	n LS	5. Colchester		9. Oxford
3. Brixworth	n=	6. Deerhurst M	n=	10. Swanscombe
		7. Lavendon	n=	

Table 4 although it is not strictly a west tower. It should also be recorded here that Barton, Bedford, Deerhurst M, and Oxford each appear twice (and in italic type) because each has two different types of quoining.

The bare information of Table 4 could well be amplified in many ways such as defining whether or not the stones are laid in regular patterns and whether they are large or small. But Table 4 is intended mainly to name the broad classification and to show clearly whether or not the quoining of the tower agrees with that of the nave. Therefore for finer details the reader is referred to the full descriptions of individual churches in Volumes I and II. It should, however, be specially noted that it is by an unfortunate error that the quoining of the nave is described as side-alternate at Rothwell in Vol. II: 523.

Marked differences of quoining and fabric can be taken to give a good indication of separate phases of building; and this will apply not only to

differences between the tower and the nave but also to differences between separate stages of the tower. Conversely identity between the nave and the tower in regard to fabric and quoining will indicate a single time of building, but this indication can scarcely be regarded as secure unless the two sets of walls are bonded together. These matters are discussed further in Section 6.

SECTION 6. BUILDING SEQUENCES

One of the most fruitful methods of establishing the history of a building is to settle the relation between its several parts, and in this section we shall record a few of the contributions that can be made by a careful study of the various stages of towers and of their relation to the main body of the church.

Barton-on-Humber. The sharp difference between the lower stages and the uppermost belfry at

Barton, both in quoining and fabric and also in decorative treatment is important historically as having provided Thomas Rickman in 1817 with material for the first reliably based claim that stone buildings had survived in England from before the Norman Conquest. These differences now take on a fresh importance as a means for discriminating between different periods within the Anglo-Saxon era. We have seen that the very plain uppermost belfry has regularly coursed quasi-ashlar fabric and side-alternate quoins such as are common in Norman buildings, but along with these it has tall double belfry windows cut straight through the wall in the Anglo-Saxon fashion. By contrast, the much more richly decorated lower storeys are of rubble fabric with long-and-short quoins, and the differences of treatment are so marked as to justify Rickman's assertion that there must have been a considerable lapse of time between the two phases of building. Thus from this tower we deduce that the tall double openings of the uppermost belfry are of a late-Saxon or even Saxo-Norman period while the rather squat double openings of the lower stages are of an appreciably earlier Anglo-Saxon period, as we have already indicated in Chapter 8.

Other towers with belfries at two levels. The two stages of belfries at Appleton give a similar indication, but to a less marked extent. There is no difference of decoration between the two stages such as is provided by the pilaster-strips at Barton; indeed at Appleton side-alternate quoining is used at both levels, but in the lower stages it is megalithic whereas in the uppermost belfry it is coursed with the main fabric. Thus at Appleton as at Barton we have an indication that double openings with megalithic jambs are of an earlier type than those with jambs of smaller stones laid in the same courses as the main fabric of the wall. These two examples by themselves would be insufficient to justify a firm claim, but other less direct arguments leading to the same conclusions will be mentioned later. At present it is important to refer to two other towers with double belfries at two levels, Bardsey and Oxford, and to note that in neither tower is there any difference in treatment between the two levels, either in the belfry openings or in the fabric or quoining. It seems to follow

that the builders of these two towers felt the need to build two levels of belfry windows at a single time; but this does not invalidate the time-sequences which were indicated by the towers at Appleton and Barton.

The Lincolnshire group of towers. All the towers of this group have side-alternate quoining; but four of them (at Branston, Bracebridge, Lincoln St Peter, and Rothwell) are built without any bonding against the west walls of naves which have clearly defined long-and-short quoins. At Branston and Lincoln it is made particularly clear that the towers are later additions to the naves by the fact that in each case a plain square plinth under the west wall of the nave can be seen to continue under the side walls of the tower, and at Lincoln the evidence is further strengthened by the tall chamfered plinth of the tower. There is thus a strong indication that the long-and-short quoining of these four naves represents in Lincolnshire an earlier fashion which had been abandoned by the time that these and the other towers of the Lincolnshire group were built.

It is also important to note that at Barton-on-Humber the uppermost stage, with its tall belfry openings and side-alternate quoining, is closely allied in fabric and general design to the belfries of the Lincolnshire group whereas the lower and earlier stages, with their decorative panelling and long-and-short quoining, stand quite separate from the Lincolnshire group. Therefore, not only does Barton-on-Humber substantiate the indication that long-and-short quoining was an earlier fashion in Lincolnshire than side-alternate quoining, but it suggests that the tall double openings of the Lincolnshire group of towers are a later fashion than the squat double openings of Barton's own lower stages.

Other building sequences defined by square west towers. From the many similar examples of building sequences, it will perhaps be sufficient to refer to some typical deductions, giving only brief indications of the evidence and references to places where details are available.

(a) *West towers added to naves.* By contrast with the four Lincolnshire towers where a difference of quoining indicated that they had been added later to their naves, it

is of interest now to consider some towers which have similar quoining to that of their naves but are indicated as having been added later by the fact that they are built without any bonding to the west wall of the nave. Three examples, all with side-alternate quoining will suffice, and in each case additional confirmatory evidence is set out in Volume I as follows: Billingham (66), Carlton-in-Lindrick (151) and Kirk Hammerton (362).

(b) *Towers added above earlier porches.* Many low west porches were raised in Anglo-Saxon times to form belfry towers or multi-storey porches. The evidence is set out in Volume I as follows: Bardsey (39-40), Bedford (58), Brigstock (102-4), Brixworth (109), Corbridge (173-4), Deerhurst M (204-5), Jarrow (344-5) and Monkwearmouth (442-3). We consider the latter two in more detail below.

(c) *Towers contemporary with their naves.* These long lists of towers added at different periods might give the false impression that towers were never built at the same time as their naves; but there is clear evidence from bonding and identity of fabric that towers and naves were built as a single unit at several places among which the following examples provide additional confirmatory evidence as listed for each: at Bardfield the plain square plinth of rubble is continuous under both tower and nave; at Barnack the quoins of both nave and tower begin in face-alternate fashion but continue upwards in well-executed long-and-short; and at Brigstock and Cambridge the long-and-short quoins of nave and tower all rest on distinctive projecting bases.

Monkwearmouth and Jarrow. The tower at Monkwearmouth has already been noted as a member of the Northumbrian group, and it is so similar to its neighbours at Billingham, Bywell, and Ovingham that it must be close to them in date. But the tower at Jarrow has none of the features of that group, and must surely therefore have been built under different inspiration and presumably therefore at a different time. Its uppermost belfry, of roughly squared and coursed stones, has recessed double openings of developed Norman style, but the lower belfry has double openings of the normal Anglo-Saxon form with megalithic jambs cut straight through the wall. It has long been appreciated that these belfry stages were built upon an earlier two-storeyed porch whose lateral walls were thickened internally as if to carry the additional load and were at that time provided with double-splayed windows which pass through the full thickness of the walls (Vol. I: 345 and Savage 1900: 34). The similarity of one of these double-splayed windows with one in the Norman cathedral at Durham has already been noticed in Chapter 7; and this fact together with the general

resemblance of the lower belfry to others of the later Anglo-Saxon period suggests that this lower belfry part of the tower is Saxo-Norman, most probably of the time of Aldwine's restoration of the two monasteries between 1074 and 1083, after which he and his companions were moved to Durham. From what has been said above it follows that Monkwearmouth and other towers of the Northumbrian group must have been built appreciably earlier.

Round towers. We have already seen that the group of Anglo-Saxon round towers is confined to East Anglia. It has often been claimed that these towers, or at any rate many of them, were originally built for defensive purposes and that the churches were only later built beside them (e.g. Messent 1958: xvii). My own observations on the towers listed in Table 6 and on a number of others have given no support to the claim that the naves are later than the towers. By contrast, the west walls of many of the naves can be seen to be bonded into the towers as proof that they were built simultaneously; whereas for others it is clear that the tower was added later to the nave (Vol. I: 272 for Haddiscoe Thorpe; and Vol. I: 90 for Little Bradley which is probably post-Saxon).

SECTION 7. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

On the Continent, as in England, towers of several different sorts have survived in considerable numbers from our period. In most cases, too, they have been very much altered during the intervening years, and it is by no means easy to be certain what were their original internal arrangements or how they were intended to be used. Fortunately, however, there is a considerable body of surviving contemporary written evidence about a few of the most important early monuments, particularly the abbey of Centula St Riquier with its two great towers of which the western one housed the gallery-church dedicated in honour of our Saviour. By contrast there is, unfortunately, very little written or structural evidence to guide us in the interpretation of the less pretentious towers of the smaller churches.

We shall see, however, that there are many published works concerning the form, use, and origins of the continental west towers. Two important groups of studies have been directed particularly to the west towers over entrance porches of a type which we have seen to be so widely used in England (Reinhardt and Fels 1933 and 1937; Francastel 1951). On many points a considerable measure of agreement has been reached; but there is still argument about details, particularly the precise dates of critical parts of the buildings and also the sources of inspiration.

Therefore it will at present be best not to try to place individual English bell-towers precisely in relation to the continental pattern of development but we should abandon the idea that their dates must necessarily be later than those of the earliest Italian campanili. We shall see evidence in the Carolingian empire for towers with bells before 800, and in settings which form an integral part of the design of the church as a whole, by contrast with the rather separate placing of many Italian bell-towers. Thus it is misleading to suggest that since 'the bell-tower as we understand it was not introduced until the ninth century in Italy' therefore 'it need not, perhaps, be looked for in England before the tenth century' (Clapham 1930: 117-18). It is possible that the bell-tower was developed simultaneously from first principles both in England and in western Europe, or that it came from a source other than Italy. An eastern Mediterranean source should not be ruled out, although it is as yet far from proven (Krautheimer 1965: 103-4; Taylor 1968c: 11-14 and 18 n8).

WESTWORKS

In Chapter 6 we have discussed the evidence of upper doorways as a basis for comparing Deerhurst with Corvey on the Weser because both churches had an upper western sanctuary beneath which there was a direct processional entry to the main church on the ground floor. But the most remarkable evidence in England for this type of church has recently come to light at Sherborne where a western transept has been established as well as an upper western tower-sanctuary (Gibb 1975). The great western tower-sanctuaries with vaulted entries to the main church below are often

regarded as peculiarly German features, perhaps because the most complete survivals are Charlemagne's palace chapel at Aachen, dedicated in 805, and the abbey church at Corvey, where the western tower-sanctuary was dedicated about 885. But the most complete evidence from contemporary written sources relates to the great abbey of Centula St Riquier built by Charlemagne's friend Angilbert near Abbeville, between 790-799. Moreover there is both archaeological and contemporary written evidence that there was a similar upper western sanctuary in the cathedral at Reims until it was cleared away about 976 in order to lengthen and lighten the nave (Reinhardt and Fels 1933: 351-4). In addition to the great surviving westwork at Corvey there are other survivals of a similar character at the abbey church in Werden (now almost a suburb of Essen), St Pantaleon in Cologne, St Servatius in Maastricht, and St Gertrude in Nivelles. The most complete accounts of three of these remarkable churches are still those of the original discoverer, who also appreciated the way in which the abbey church at Werden represented a somewhat simpler and later derivative from the fully developed style evolved by Angilbert at Centula (Effmann 1912 for Centula; 1929 (posthumous) for Corvey; and 1899 for Werden).

That St Riquier had bells from the time of its foundation is made certain from the inventory recorded by Angilbert himself in the so-called *Libellus Angilberti*, from which it was copied in the twelfth century by a monk of Centula named Hariulf; the inventory records the item 'belfries enriched with gold iii, best bells xv, with their circles xv' (*Cloccaria auro parata iii, clocce optime xv, cum earum circulis xv*) (Lot 1894: 68, and Effmann 1912: 83). From this record it seems legitimate to assert that the bells hung in the towers, with wheels (*circuli*) for ropes by which they could be sounded from the church below. Moreover there is evidence to show that bells were hung in towers in Gaul from a considerably earlier time (see also Hubert 1938: 80-5).

SIMPLER TOWERS

On the Continent, as in England, there are many west towers of a simpler form than the great

westworks described above but nevertheless with clear evidence for a tower-chapel above the arch that opened to the nave. The churches of this type that seem to us to have the closest resemblances to English examples are provided by a group in Belgium, of which Hastière-par-Dela and Celles-les-Dinant in the Meuse valley are typical (Grodecki 1958: 52-5 briefly describes and illustrates these two). The west towers have round stair-turrets for access to the upper floor which is carried on a stone vault; and both the lower and upper floors of the tower open towards the nave through wide round arches; while at Hastière three smaller arches are set within the main opening. The arrangements at both these churches are therefore reminiscent of Brixworth if the triple window there can be accepted in place of the wide arch, and the wooden floor in place of the stone vault. Moreover as a less pretentious analogue of this group of churches it would not be unreasonable to think of Deerhurst at the stage before the building of its second-floor sanctuary.

At Celles and Hastière, as now at Brixworth, entry to the nave is from the side; but at Lobbes, not far away towards Nivelles there is a similar but more elaborate west tower with upper chapel, and the entry to the nave is through a deep west porch as at Deerhurst.

Another interesting example of the west tower with an upper chapel opening towards the nave through a wide arch is provided by the church of St Lucius at Werden, close beside the great abbey

church to which reference has been made above (Zimmermann 1959: 160-249, specially 198).

Finally we should consider the simplest type of west tower with no upper openings towards the church except perhaps a simple doorway. In England we have seen that there are close on thirty surviving examples of this type (Chapter 6, Table 22), so that it could be regarded as a very normal treatment for the west end of an Anglo-Saxon church. By contrast there are very few if any surviving examples of this type on the Continent, so that it would be fair to say that for our period it was unusual to provide a simple tower at the west end.

CENTRAL TOWERS AND TRANSEPTS

The transeptal plan seems on the whole to be more common on the Continent than in England during our period, whether with low transepts or with a fully developed crossing; but whereas the use of a central tower in connection with this type of plan is very common in England it seems to be the exception on the Continent where the more usual arrangement, even with the regular crossing, seems to have been to allow the two main ridges of the roofs to cross with no architectural feature other than a lantern or *flèche*. Both in England and on the Continent the numbers of surviving examples are too small to justify firm conclusions, but the evidence set out below shows that these generalisations are not unreasonable.

<i>England</i>	<i>Low transepts</i>	<i>The Continent</i>
Continuous roof-ridge: Hadstock (but evidence for earlier tower) Paxton (earlier state uncertain)	Continuous roof-ridge: Celles-les Dinant Cologne, St Pantaleon Nivelles, St Gertrude	Continuous roof-ridge: Celles-les Dinant Cologne, St Pantaleon Nivelles, St Gertrude Stone tower: Lobbes (probably a later addition) Romainmôtier, Abbey church Flèche: Hastière-par-Dela
Stone tower: Dover Receding wooden tower: Breamore	Stone tower: Lobbes (probably a later addition) Romainmôtier, Abbey church Flèche: Hastière-par-Dela	
<i>Regular crossings (or approximations thereto)</i>		
Stone tower, rising above ridges of roofs: Norton	Intersecting roof-ridges: Reichenau Mittelzell Susteren, St Sauveur	
Stone tower, but original only up to eaves: Milborne Stow	Stone tower: Epfig, St Marguerite Hildesheim, St Michael Flèche: Gernrode, St Cyriac	

Finally, attention should be directed to a detail of the treatment of the central space in churches with regular crossings. In England the individual arms of the church are narrower than the central space, so that the four quoins of the tower rise from the ground as salient angles of masonry in the spaces between the several arms of the church. By contrast, in all the continental examples the central space matches the width of the arms of the church, and the quoins of the tower rise from the eaves of the main walls with no projecting masonry in the spaces between the arms of the church.

SECTION 8. DETAILED ANALYSIS OF TOWERS

The three tables of this section provide a convenient summary of most of the basic facts which are treated in greater detail in the body of this chapter. Against alphabetical

lists of the churches concerned, each table records the evidence in four columns as follows:

1. *Access to towers from outside.* W, N, or S are used to indicate the existence of an Anglo-Saxon doorway of access in the direction named; - is used to denote positive evidence by solid walling that there was no access from outside; ? denotes uncertainty, usually because of a later wide opening. It should specially be noted that although the towers at Brigstock and Brixworth had no access from outside, yet the porches which preceded them had western access which was blocked by the later stair-turrets.

2. *Access from the nave or church.* Symbols denote surviving Anglo-Saxon arches or doorways; TA for western tower-arches; TA* for other tower-arches; d for doorways.

3. *Quoining.* LS for long-and-short; SA for side-alternate; FA for face-alternate; and Rb for rubble. At Barton, Bedford and Deerhurst the first recorded type is used on the lower part, and the second recorded type on the upper part; at Oxford rubble is used on the south and long-and-short on the north.

4. *Belfry openings.* DB for double openings (and for the quintuple ones at Earl's Barton); SB for single openings; - for no surviving Anglo-Saxon belfry openings; (v) for a vestige.

TABLE 5. *Square west towers*

1. Alkborough	W	TA	SA	DB	32. Holton	W	TA	SA	-
2. Appleton	S		SA	DB	33. Hornby	W		SA	DB
3. Bardfield	?		Rb	SB	34. Hough	?	d	FA	-
4. Bardsey	N, S		SA	DB, SB	35. Hovingham	W	TA	SA	DB
5. Barnack	S	TA	LS	SB	36. Jevington	-	TA	SA	DB
6. Bedford	?		LS, Rb	SB (v)	37. K. Hammerton	W	TA	SA	DB
7. Billingham	-	d	SA	DB	38. Lavendon	-	TA	Rb	SB
8. Bolam	-		SA	DB, SB	39. Lincoln M	W	TA	SA	DB
9. Bosham	-	TA	LS	DB	40. Lincoln P	W	TA	SA	DB
10. Bracebridge	W	TA	SA	DB	41. Marton	?	TA	SA	DB
11. Branston	W		SA	DB	42. Mersea	-		Rb	-
12. Brigstock	-	TA	LS	-	43. Middleton	W		SA	-
13. Brixworth	-	d	Rb	-	44. M Fryston	-		FA	DB
14. Broughton	S	TA	SA	-	45. Mwearmouth	W	d	SA	DB
15. Bywell A	-		SA	DB	46. Morland	-	d	FA	DB
16. Cambridge	-	TA	LS	DB	47. Ovingham	-		SA	DB
17. Carlton	?	TA	?	DB	48. Oxford	W		Rb, LS	DB
18. Caversfield	-		SA	-	49. Rothwell	W	TA	SA	DB
19. Clapham	W	TA	Rb	-	50. Scartho	W	TA	SA	DB
20. Clee	W	TA	SA	DB	51. Singleton	-		SA	-
21. Colchester	W	TA	Rb	SB	52. Skipwith	-	TA	SA	-
22. Corbridge	W	TA	SA	-	53. Sompting	W	TA	LS	DB, SB
23. Corringham	W	TA	SA	DB	54. Stevington	S		LS	-
24. Debenham	?		LS	-	55. Stowe-nC	W	TA	SA	-
25. Deerhurst M	W	d	Rb, FA	-	56. Swanscombe	-		Rb	-
26. Earl's Barton	W		LS	DB	57. Thurlby	-	TA	LS	-
27. Glentworth	?	TA	SA	DB	58. Wharram S	W	TA	SA	DB
28. Hale	-		SA	DB	59. Whittingham	-	TA	LS	-
29. Harnston	-		SA	DB	60. Wickham	S		LS	DB
30. Harpswell	-		SA	DB	61. Winterton	?	TA	SA	DB
31. Heapham	W		SA	DB	62. York	-	TA	SA	DB

Numbers of places of occurrence									
External access		Access from nave		Quoining		Belfry openings			
S	5	TA	32	LS	13	SB	4		
N and S	1	d	6	SA	37	SB(v)	1		
W	25			FA	4	DB and SB	3		
None	23			Rb	10	DB	35		
Uncertain	8			?	1	None	19		
—								—	
62								62	
				Less repetitions					
								3	
								—	
								62	
								—	

TABLE 6. Round west towers

1. Aslacton	—	—	DB	11. Hales	—	TA	—	—
2. Beechamwell	—	—	DB	12. Herringfleet	—	d	—	DB, SB
3. Bessingham	—	TA	—	13. Howe	W	TA	—	—
4. Colney	—	TA	—	14. Kirby Cane	—	—	—	—
5. Fornsett	W	TA	—	15. Lexham	—	—	—	DB, SB
6. Framingham	—	—	—	16. Norwich J	—	—	—	—
7. Gayton	—	—	—	17. Norwich M	—	—	—	DB
8. Gissing	—	—	—	18. Roughton	—	TA	—	DB
9. Haddiscoe	—	TA	—	19. Tasburgh	—	TA	—	—
10. Haddiscoe T	—	d	—	20. Thorington	—	—	—	—
				21. Witton	—	—	—	—

Number of places of occurrence

External access		Access from nave		Quoining		Belfry openings	
W	2	TA	8	none		DB and SB	2
None	19	d	2			DB	7
—						None	12
—						—	
21						21	
—						—	

TABLE 7. Other towers

1. Barton	N, S	TA*	LS, SA	DB	9. Milborne	—	TA*	SA	—
2. Breamore	—	—	LS	—	10. Newton	?	TA*	Rb	DB
3. Dover	—	TA*	Rb	SB	11. N Leigh	?	TA*	SA	DB
4. Dunham	—	TA*	LS	DB	12. Norton	—	TA*	SA	—
5. Guestwick	?	TA*	Rb	SB	13. Stow	—	—	SA	—
6. Guildford	?	—	Rb	—	14. Waithe	?	—	SA	DB
7. Jarrow	N, S	—	SA	DB	15. Weybourne	?	—	Rb	DB
8. Langford	—	TA*	FA	SB	16. Wootton	—	TA*	LS	—

Number of places of occurrence

External access		Access from church		Quoining		Belfry openings	
N and S	2	TA*	10	LS	4	SB	3
None	8			SA	7	DB	7
Uncertain	6			FA	1	None	6
				Rb	5		
—						—	
16						17	
				Less repetitions			
						1	
						—	
						16	
						—	

STRING-COURSES

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

String-courses with various types of mouldings are a very common architectural feature of medieval buildings of all periods, and their shape can give some indications of date. It is difficult to be sure what was their purpose, and indeed there may have been more than one; it may in part have been aesthetic, as a means of emphasising horizontal divisions; but it may also have been practical, first as a means of providing occasional lateral bonding of the walls by long stones, and secondly as a means of throwing rain-water clear of the buildings and thus both keeping them drier and also avoiding unsightly vertical marks. This last purpose is very clearly indicated by the profiles of string-courses from the thirteenth century onwards, with their deeply undercut shape to make sure that water running down the wall from above was thrown clear. By contrast with those sophisticated Gothic profiles, Anglo-Saxon string-courses almost always had very simple cross-sections, with a plain rectangular shape being by far the most common, as is shown in Table 4. In the Norman period the most common type was a simple chamfered shape, but neither type is sufficiently exclusively confined to either of those two periods to justify its use as a characteristic feature for use in settling the period of a building.

In considering the practical uses of string-courses it is important to remember how very common was the use of quite small rubble for the main fabric of the walls during the Anglo-Saxon era, and how vulnerable the tops of the walls would therefore be to degradation by damp or by heavy and concentrated loads. We should therefore expect that large flat stones would be used for bonding and to provide a good top to the wall at the level where it would carry the load of the roof, whether

or not this load was distributed by means of a wooden roof-plate. We shall therefore call attention to clearly defined examples of eaves-courses; and we should also note that for certain towers which have been raised by the addition of a second belfry, the string-course below that belfry may originally have been the eaves-course of the earlier tower. Indeed this may also be the case for string-courses along the walls of certain naves which have later been raised. Finally on this subject of practical uses we should note that many towers have their upper stages set back a few inches from the face of the stage below, and that in such cases a string-course of long flat stones serves a very practical purpose not only for bonding together the smaller rubble fabric of the lower stage but also for protecting it from rainwater which runs down the face of the upper stage. It is however a remarkable fact that there is no surviving instance of any undercutting of the projecting lower faces of Anglo-Saxon string-courses so as to ensure that the rainwater is thrown clear of the face of the wall below. It is also true that the string-courses and offsets in the tower at Bardfield are wholly formed of uncut flints, without any use of dressed stone, thus showing that durable and weather-proof structures of very considerable height could be built by the Anglo-Saxons without any need for the bonding or weatherproofing effects which string-courses of dressed stone undoubtedly have. The string-courses at Colchester should also be specially noted because they are of tile and not of dressed stone.

Tables 1 and 2 show that string-courses from the Anglo-Saxon period have survived externally on forty-six towers and on the main body of twenty-one churches. But, since Monkwearmouth appears in both lists, this represents a total of sixty-six churches with external string-courses.

TABLE 1. *External string-courses on towers*

1. Alkborough	Sq	16. Earl's Barton	Ch, Sq	32. Marton	Sq
2. Appleton	Sq	17. Glentworth	Sq	33. M Fryston	Sq
3. Bardfield	Sq	18. Haddiscoe	Ch	34. Mwearmouth	Ch, Sq
4. Barnack	Sp	19. Harmston	Sq	35. Ovingham	Sq
5. Barton	Sq	20. Harpswell	Sq	36. Rothwell	Sq
6. Billingham	Sq	21. Heapham	Sq	37. Scartho	Sq
7. Bolam	Sq	22. Herringfleet	Sq	38. Singleton	Sq
8. Bosham	Ch	23. Holton	Sq	39. Skipwith	Sq
9. Bracebridge	Sq	24. Hornby	Sq	40. Sompting	Sp
10. Branston	Sq	25. Hough	Sq	41. Stowe-nC	Sq
11. Bywell A	Sq	26. Hovingham	Sq	42. Thurlby	Sq
12. Cambridge	Sq	27. Jarrow	Ch(v)	43. Waithe	Sq
13. Carlton	Sq	28. K Hammerton	Sq	44. Weybourne	Sq
14. Clee	Sq	29. Langford	Sq	45. Wharrah S	Sq
15. Colchester	Sq	30. Lincoln M	Sq	46. Winterton	Ch
		31. Lincoln P	Sq		

46 churches; 48 occurrences

Frequency of occurrence of types

Square (Sq)	40
Chamfered (Ch)	6
Special (Sp)	2

Bosham, Earl's Barton, Haddiscoe, Jarrow, Mwearmouth, Winterton.
Barnack (Fig. 696), Sompting (Fig. 697)

All the string-courses are of stone except for those at Bardfield (flint) and Colchester (tile).

TABLE 2. *External string-courses on the body of churches*

1. Avebury	n	Ch	9. Dymock	n	Sc	15. Paxton	n	Ch
2. Barholm	n	Sq	10. Hambleton	c	Sq	16. Repton	c	Ch
3. Bibury	n	Sq	11. Headbourne	n	Md	17. Staindrop	n	Ch
4. Boarhunt	c.	Sq	12. Milborne	c	Md	18. Stanton L	p	Sq
5. Bradford	n, c, p	Sq	Milborne	p	Sq	19. Woolbeding	n	Sq
6. Corhampton	n	Sq	13. Minster	n	Sq	20. Worth	c, p	Sq
7. Daglingworth	n	Ch	14. Mwearmouth	n	Ch	Worth	n	Ch
8. Deerhurst M	n	Md	Mwearmouth	p	Sc, Ch	21. Wroxeter	n	Sq
Deerhurst M	c, p	Sq						

21 churches; 30 occurrences

Frequency of occurrence of types

Square (Sq)	17
Chamfered (Ch)	8

Moulded (Md)	3
Sculptured (Sc)	2

—
30
—TABLE 3. *Internal string-courses*

(All in naves except for one, special, in the crypt at Repton)

1. Barnack	Md	4. Bradford	Sq	7. Paxton	Ch
2. Bibury	Sq	5. Cambridge	Md	8. Repton	Md, Sp
3. Bitton	Sq	6. Kirkdale	Md	9. Rothwell	Sq

9 churches; 10 occurrences (Sq 4, Ch 1, Md 4, Sp 1)

TABLE 4. *Overall frequency of occurrence of types*

	<i>Square</i>	<i>Chamfered</i>	<i>Moulded</i>	<i>Special</i>	<i>Total</i>
Table 1	40	6	0	2	48
Table 2	17	8	3	2	30
Table 3	4	1	4	1	10
	—	—	—	—	—
Total	61	15	7	5	88
Percentage	69	17	8	6	100

String-courses were also used on the interior walls of buildings, though less often than outside, and clearly for constructional or aesthetic reasons rather than for protecting the walls against damp. It will be seen from Table 3 that string-courses have survived internally in only nine of the buildings under consideration in this book, by contrast with external survivals at sixty-six. Moreover it will be seen that, of the nine churches with internal string-courses all but two (Bitton and Kirkdale) also have external ones.

In addition to the churches listed in Tables 1 to 3 there are important surviving string-courses on the interior walls of the nave (and elsewhere) at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Vol. I: 97-8) and on the originally external walls of the nave at Edenham (Vol. I: 227), but those two churches have been omitted from the body of this volume for the reason stated at the beginning of Chapter 3 (p. 766). It should also be noted that several string-courses which were originally on the external walls of aisleless naves have later been enclosed within the church as a result of the building of lateral porticus in Anglo-Saxon times, as at Deerhurst St Mary; or the addition of aisles in later times, as at Hambledon. These are treated as external string-courses and are therefore shown in Table 2.

courses are usually between 6 and 8 in. in height, and they may project from the face of the wall by as little as 2 in., and seldom more than 4 in. A notable exception is provided by the two levels of string-courses at Hough-on-the-Hill, both of which project more than 7 in. on their upper face and about 5 in. below. There are, on the other hand, some string-courses which project hardly at all from the lower face of the wall, as may be seen on some of the Lincolnshire towers at the level where the belfry stage is set back from the stage below.

As a rule the stones are fairly carefully dressed both above and below to the shape of the string-course, but occasionally, and especially at the quoins, the string-course may be formed by cutting back parts of the surface of stones which are much taller than the projecting feature, as may be seen at Hough and at Bradford. Attention has already been directed to the unusual square string-courses at Bardfield and Colchester which do not make any use of dressed stone.

Table 4 shows that the plain square profile is used on sixty-one of the surviving total of eighty-eight string-courses, representing 69 per cent and thus justifying the claim that this was the usual profile in Anglo-Saxon times.

SECTION 2. DETAILED STRUCTURE OF STRING-COURSES

PLAIN SQUARE STRING-COURSES

The individual stones of string-courses are usually of considerable length, running for as much as 3 ft or more along the wall, and thus serving, as has been suggested above, to give considerable bonding of the structure. Moreover in the few places where it has proved possible to determine the depth to which they penetrate into the thickness of the wall it has been a foot or more. The string-

MORE ELABORATE TYPES OF STRING-COURSES

We should now consider the various types of elaborated string-courses in amplification of the summarised accounts that are given in Tables 1 to 4; and for this purpose it will be best to consider internal and external usage together, in order to avoid unnecessary repetition. The general observations that have been made above about length and depth of stones for plain square string-courses apply also to those with chamfered profile, but those with moulded or sculpture profiles often have rather greater vertical height, and the moulded

TABLE 5. *Chamfered string-courses*(a) *Plain chamfers*

Avebury	n	17	Haddiscoe	t	17, 25, 33
Bosham	t	17, 32*	Mwearmouth	t	32
Daglingworth	n	15≠	Paxton	n(int) 16; (ext) 22	
Earl's Barton	t	38, 50	Winterton	t	32, 40, 46

(b) *Hollow chamfers*

Earl's Barton	t	24	Mwearmouth	t	22; n 32
Jarrow	t	24	Repton	c	15*
			Staindrop	n	22

* Chamfered above, ≠ quirked chamfer

The numbers denote heights above ground, in ft

ones sometimes project rather more from the surface of the wall.

Chamfered string-courses. In most cases the chamfered profile is formed from a plain square profile by sloping off the lower corner, usually in a straight line, but at five places with a hollow profile as listed in Table 5(b). The only two exceptions to the general rule of chamfering the lower angle are on the chancel at Repton and on the upper string-course of the tower at Bosham, both of which are marked with asterisks in the table. At Daglingworth the string-course has a quirk as well as a chamfer, and it acts as an eaves-course for the roof of the nave (Vol. I: 186). All the chamfered string-courses are external except for those along the interior walls of the nave at Great Paxton where there are also string-courses at a higher level along the exterior faces of the walls. The positions and heights (in feet) are shown in Table 5.

Sculptured string-courses. The only early sculptured string-course known beyond doubt to be *in situ* is on the west porch at Monkwearmouth. It is now weathered beyond recognition, but a drawing made in 1893 is copied in Vol. I: 438. Elaborately carved sections of early string-courses in excellent condition are built into various parts of the church at Breedon-on-the-Hill, but it has not been established with certainty that any are *in situ*. They are fully described and illustrated in Clapham 1927: 219-38. Further fragments of early carved string-courses are preserved, but not *in situ*, in the abbey church at Hexham (Vol. I: 303).

Late Saxon or Saxo-Norman carved string-courses are to be seen on the naves at Dymock and Masham at heights of about 8 and 16 ft respectively. At Dymock the carving is of a somewhat

primitive wheat-ear pattern, and at Masham of diaper and interlacing.

Moulded and special string-courses. Figs. 696-7 provide a better description than can be given in words for the moulded and other specially contrived string-courses, yet a few notes are required to indicate their position and their relation to other features.

Barnack tower. Two closely similar string-courses are carried round the tower at heights of 32 and 52 ft, the upper having most probably been the eaves-course of the original tower. Each string-course is roughly 26 in. in total height and is made up of three courses of stones of which the upper and lower are narrow and project boldly while the wide central course is set back, roughly level with the main face of the wall.

Barnack nave. The very bold imposts of the tower-arch are returned across the interior west wall of the nave and the east wall of the tower as a string-course, 30 in. tall, made up of three courses of stones. The uppermost and lowest courses project boldly, and the central course is recessed very deeply within the tower-arch but less deeply as it returns into the west wall of the nave. Thus the profiles within the tower-arch and beside the lateral walls of the nave differ, as is shown in the sections while the perspective drawing shows the relationship of all the parts and also the jointing of individual stones.

Cambridge nave. As at Barnack, the imposts of the tower-arch are carried as a string-course across the interior west wall of the nave and east wall of the tower, but here the whole height of about 22 in. is

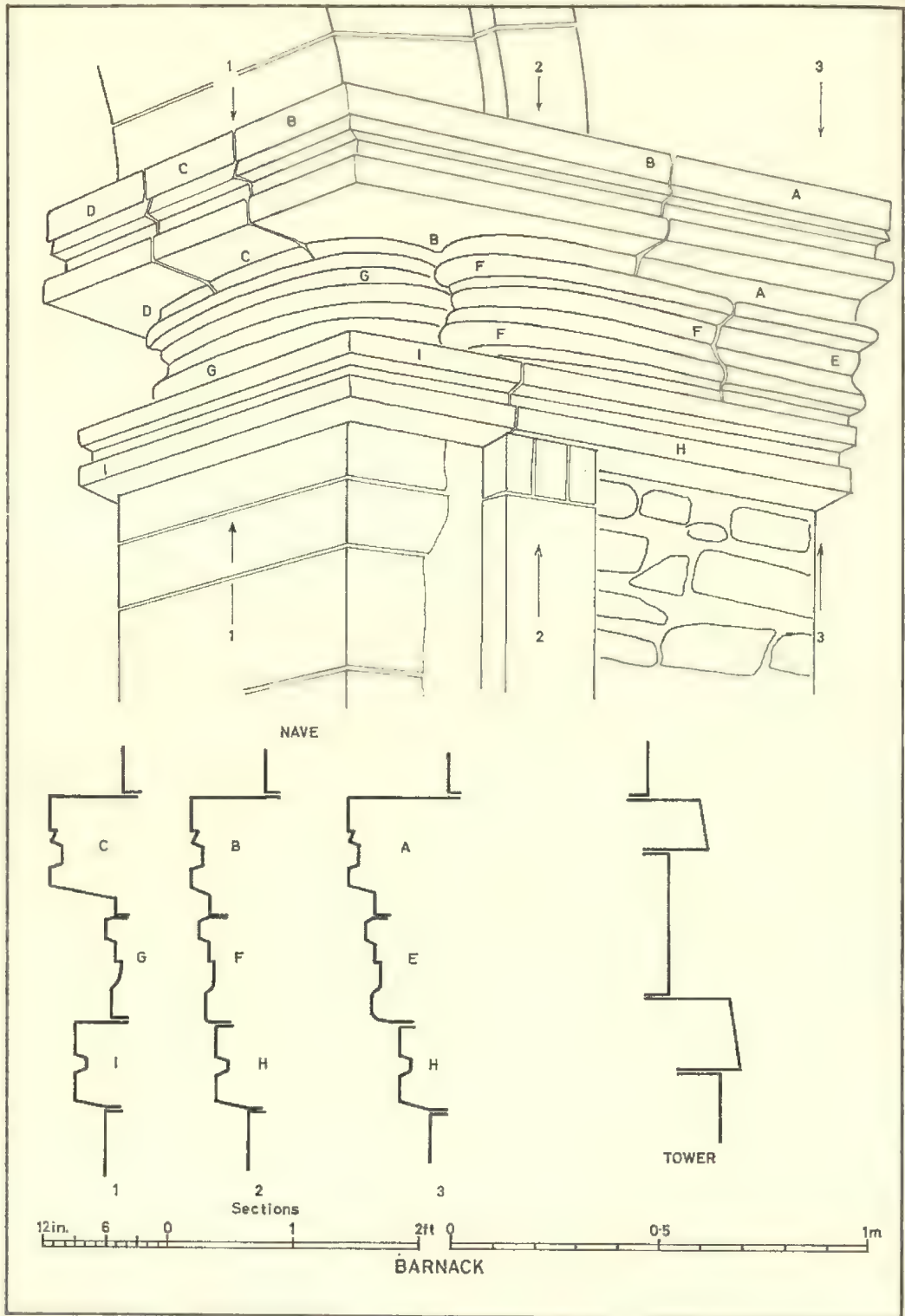


FIG. 696. THE STRING-COURSES AT BARNACK

For the interior string-course the perspective drawing at roughly the same scale as the three sections is intended to show clearly how the placing of the upper, middle and lower courses of stone has been varied in order to give a different visual impression between the soffit of the arch and the face of the wall.

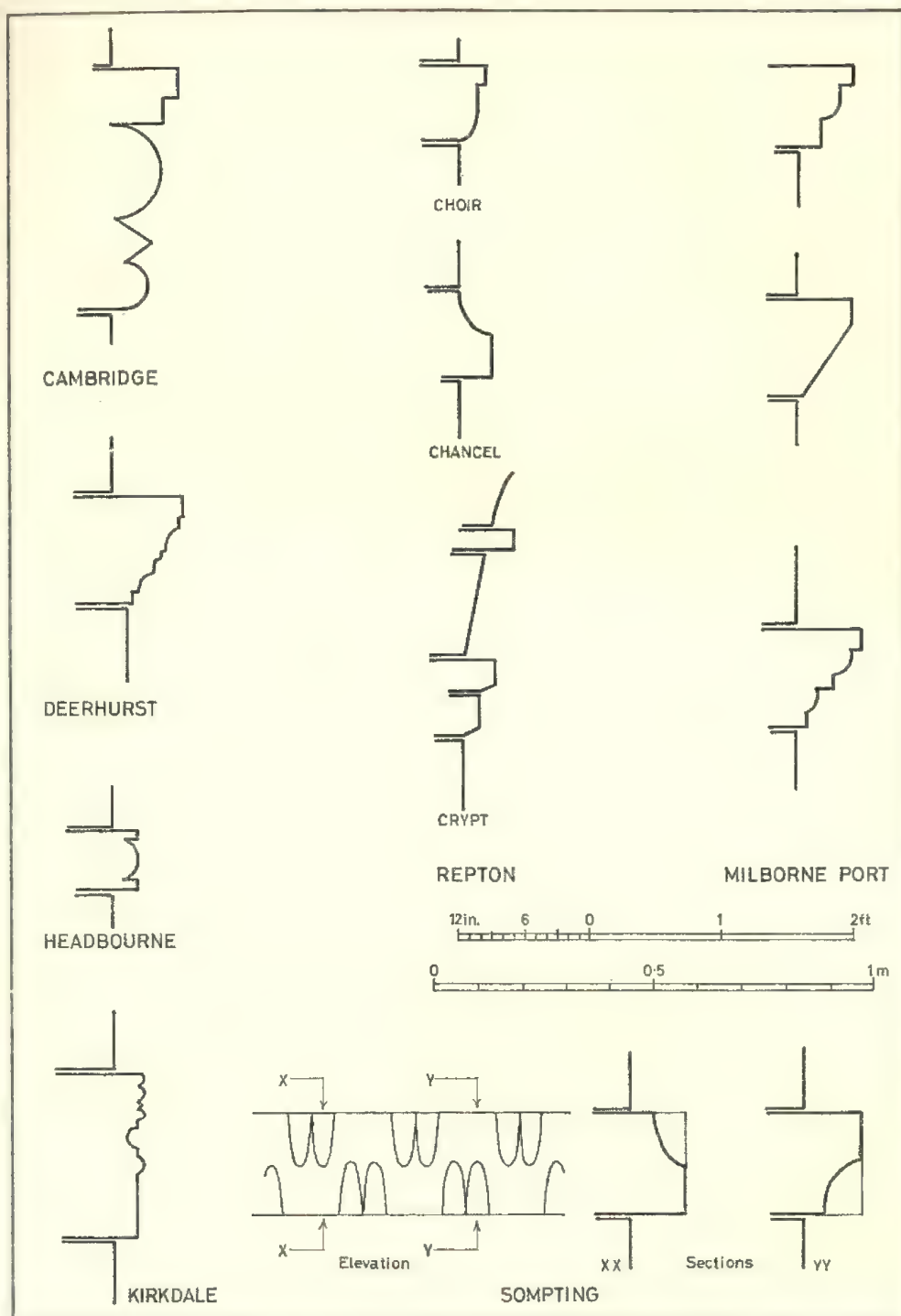


FIG. 697. SECTIONS OF MOULDED STRING-COURSES

carved on single stones. It should also be noted that the pilaster-strips beside the jambs of the tower arch are not stopped below the string-course as at Barnack but are carried across it with special mouldings of their own (Vol. I: 131).

Deerhurst, St Mary, nave. The outer walls of the nave carried a string-course 10 in. tall at a height of about 25 ft above the present ground level. The remaining fragments, two of which are in almost mint condition, define its profile precisely and indicate that it ran along the side walls from the western quoins of the nave to end on the west walls of the main north and south porticus; it was also returned round the west wall of the nave to end within the thickness of the side walls of the tower. It is not yet established with certainty whether it originally formed the eaves-course of an earlier and lower nave, but this seems very probable.

Headbourne Worthy, nave. The outer west gable of the nave carries a string-course at a height of about 22 ft, now much defaced but in some parts still well preserved. It presumably represented the base of the gable and may well also have been carried along the side walls as an eaves-course; but the walls have now been lowered to a height of about 18 ft (Vol. I: 290).

Kirkdale, nave. The surviving imposts of the destroyed chancel-arch are carried across the east wall of the nave as a string-course about 15 in. tall.

Milborne Port, chancel. Three string-courses are carried along the exterior side walls of the chancel at heights of about 12, 17 and 21 ft, as part of a system of decorative panelling with string-courses and pilasters (Vol. I: 427). The lower two courses carry the pilasters which in turn have sculptured capitals to support the uppermost as an eaves-course. In general principle the treatment closely resembles that on the chancel at Bradford-on-Avon, but it differs in detail both by the provision of sculpture and mouldings at Milborne and also because the panelling there is not carried round the east face as it is at Bradford.

Repton, nave. The lateral interior walls of the eastern part of the nave, formerly the monks'

choir, carry a string-course at a height of about 24 ft. There is nothing to show that it was originally carried across the east wall as would normally be expected. This might indicate that a wooden gallery crossed the east wall in association with the wide doorway whose jambs have survived.

Repton, crypt. The ashlar interior walls of the crypt carry a doubly stepped string-course at a height of about 6 ft above the floor. It is carried round the main walls and into the western recess but until recently it was thought that it did not appear in any of the other three recesses, but investigations in 1976 have proved its former existence round the whole of the south recess where it survives intact in areas covered by later walling, while cut back vestiges can be seen elsewhere (Taylor 1977b: 4 and 9). On the main walls, but not in any of the recesses, a further string-course of plain square section is placed about 1 ft higher, in the rubble fabric that forms part of the vaulting.

Sompting, tower. A string-course basically of square section is carried round the tower at a height of about 20 ft and is enriched by vertical depressions cut out in pairs alternately upward and downward, and slanting back towards the face of the wall.

SECTION 3. DECORATIVE AND STRUCTURAL PLACING OF STRING-COURSES

INTERNAL STRING-COURSES

There can be little doubt that the few internal string-courses which survive were intended mainly if not entirely for decorative purposes. The elaborate sculpture at Breedon would have been thrown in deep shadow had the projecting stones been used to support an upper floor, and the simple chamfered string-course at Great Paxton has many continental analogues in its position on the otherwise blank expanse of wall between the heads of the main arches and the sills of the clear-storey windows. Its purpose in relieving that blank space no doubt also explains why it is placed at so different a height from the external string-course.

Similarly the string-courses which are carried

3. DECORATIVE AND STRUCTURAL PLACING

across the end walls of naves in association with the imposts of chancel- or tower-arches have no obvious purpose except to enrich the general effectiveness of the decorative elements such as the imposts and the hoodmouldings or stripwork.

EXTERNAL STRING-COURSES ON TOWERS

In discussing the decorative application of string-courses it will be desirable to consider their relation to other features; and, since they have survived in much greater numbers on towers than elsewhere, it seems natural to consider first their location on towers.

String-courses directly supporting belfry windows. The most popular arrangement for belfry windows seems to have been to set them directly on the string-course which divided the belfry from the lower part of the tower; for we shall see that this scheme was followed in more than half of the towers considered in this chapter, as listed in Table 6. Moreover the number is still further increased if we include a further group listed in Table 7 where the belfry windows are only slightly separated from the string-course. To the bare lists of names in Table 6 it should be added that at Barton-on-Humber both the original and the later belfry windows were placed directly on string-courses whereas at Appleton-le-Street this was true only for the later and upper belfry.

It will be noticed that single belfry windows at Bardfield and Colchester appear in this list because the lower range is placed on a string-course, while they also appear in Table 8 because their upper ranges are remote from any string-course.

Belfry windows close to but not directly on string-courses. In a smaller group of towers, named in Table 7, the belfry windows do not use the string-course as their sills but nevertheless can be regarded as being visually connected with it since the separation is not more than one or two courses of masonry. In the case of the Northumbrian group, the outlining frame of stripwork serves to give a further link to the string-course in spite of the small separation.

Belfry windows remote from any string-course. By contrast to the thirty-five towers listed in Tables 6 and 7 with belfry windows closely related to a string-course there are seven towers listed in Table 8 in which the belfry windows are widely separated from any string-course. At Bardfield, Barnack and Colchester the belfry windows are single; at Bosham, Carlton and Hovingham they are double; and at Sompting they are of both types.

Other features placed on a string-course. In the main body of some towers, below the belfries, there are string-courses which are directly associated with

TABLE 6. *Belfry windows placed directly on a string-course*

1. Alkborough	10. Colchester (lower)	18. K Hammerton
2. Appleton (upper)	11. Earl's Barton	19. Lincoln M
3. Barton (both)	12. Gientworth	20. Lincoln P
4. Bardfield (lower)	13. Haddiscoe	21. Marton
5. Bolam	14. Harmston	22. M Fryston
6. Bracebridge	15. Harpswell	23. Rothwell
7. Branston	16. Heapham	24. Waithe
8. Cambridge	17. Hornby	25. Weybourne
9. Clee		26. Winterton

TABLE 7. *Belfry windows close above string-courses*

1. Appleton (lower)	4. Herringfleet	7. Ovingham
2. Billingham	5. Langford	8. Scartho
3. Bywell A	6. Mwearmouth	9. Wharham S

TABLE 8. *Belfry windows far from a string-course*

1. Bardfield (upper)	3. Bosham	6. Hovingham
2. Barnack	4. Carlton	7. Sompting
	5. Colchester (upper)	

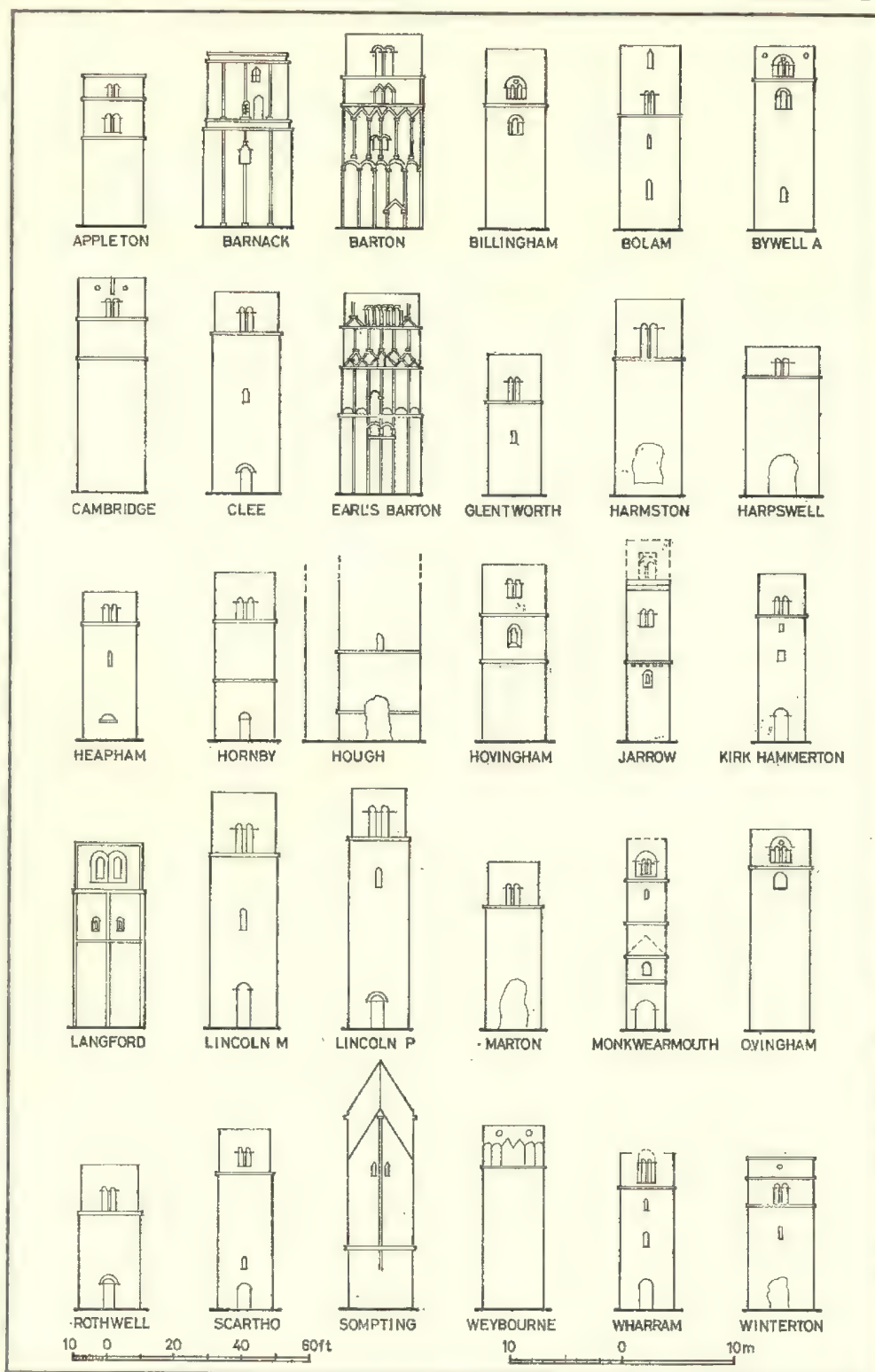


FIG. 698. REPRESENTATIVE ELEVATIONS OF TOWERS WITH STRING-COURSES
The towers with string-courses of rubble are illustrated in Fig. 688 (p. 872): Bardfield with flint rubble and Colchester with tile.

doorways, windows, sculpture, or decorative panelling. These are best considered in turn, since some towers contain more than one feature in association with the string-courses.

Barnack. The lower string-course carries tall panels of sculpture on each of the three free-standing faces of the tower, and also a triangular-headed west doorway and pairs of round-headed north and south windows. Moreover the pilaster-strips of the upper storey have projecting bases which rest on the string-course.

Colchester. Tall round-headed blind recesses on the north and south faces of the tower rest on the lower string-course which also serves as imposts for the western doorway and as a support for two double-played windows which flank it; and the vestiges of panelling by pilaster-strips rest on the upper string-course (Fig. 688 of Chapter 8).

Earl's Barton. The lowest string-course originally supported a south and a west doorway of which the latter survives only in part while the former is still complete. The second string supports gabled openings in each of the three free-standing faces, and the third supports the four multiple belfry windows. In addition, all three are intimately linked into the elaborate system of pilaster-strips which decorate all faces of the tower.

Haddiscoe. The round tower has three string-courses each of which serves a logical purpose: the uppermost carries the four belfry windows and each of the lower ones carries three small windows.

Hough-on-the-Hill. Each of the two string-courses supports round-headed windows in the side walls; there are two on the upper floor but only one, to the north, on the ground floor because a large later doorway and window have destroyed the original arrangements on the south.

Langford. Three completely surviving string-courses form a simple system of rectangular panelling in conjunction with raised pilaster-like quoins and a single central pilaster-strip in each of the side faces of the tower.

Stowe-nine-Churches. On the east and west faces of the tower the string-course supports two pilaster strips flanking the medieval belfry windows which probably replace Anglo-Saxon openings (Vol. II: 594).

Weybourne. Stripwork panelling in flints rises from the string-course on either side of the gabled double belfry windows.

EXTERNAL STRING-COURSES ON THE BODY OF THE CHURCH

Decorative panelling. As with towers, string-courses in association with decorative panelling also appear on naves and chancels. The most elaborate examples are at Bradford-on-Avon and Milborne Port for both of which there were links with Shaftesbury Abbey in Anglo-Saxon times (Vol. I: 428). It should particularly be noted that at these two places the pilasters are provided with capitals which are quite carefully formed even if of very simple trapezoidal shape. Capitals are of rare occurrence in Anglo-Saxon decorative panelling and are usually of the simplest rectangular shape both in elevation and section as at Barton-on-Humber and Earl's Barton. The only other shaped capitals that have survived in this connection are those below the eaves-course at Repton and at the springing of the round arches on the chancel at Wing.

Seating for windows. At Milborne Port, Great Paxton and Worth, Anglo-Saxon windows rested directly on the surviving string-courses. At other places listed in brackets in Table 10 it is probable

TABLE 9. *Decorative panelling carried on string-courses*

1. Bradford	n, c, p	3. Dymock	n	6. Stanton L	p
2. Deerhurst M	c	4. Milborne	c	7. Worth	n, c, p
		5. Repton	c		

TABLE 10. *Windows carried on string-courses*

1. (Deerhurst M)	3. (Minster)	5. (Repton)
2. Milborne	4. Paxton	6. Worth

that there was a similar association but the complete or partial destruction of windows makes it impossible to claim this with certainty.

At Deerhurst no original windows have survived to light the nave, but large medieval windows occupy places where original windows could have been placed with their sills directly on the broad moulded string-course. At Minster-in-Sheppey the large partially surviving windows of the nave almost certainly rested on the string-courses of which vestiges survive on both lateral walls at a height of about 16 ft (Vol. I: 430). No original windows have survived in the chancel at Repton but heads of windows are preserved in the churchyard, and the Early English lancets that were cut through the side walls of the chancel indicate the places where the original windows most probably stood, with their sills on the string-course.

It is of particular interest to contrast the logical placing of windows at Milborne Port with the strangely irrational treatment at Bradford-on-Avon where the west window of the north porticus has caused the partial destruction of a pilaster-strip and the two south windows are placed within panels but neither centrally nor seated on a string-course. We have drawn attention above to the links which these two places had with Shaftesbury abbey as a possible explanation of the similarities in the design of their panelling; but the marked difference in treatment of windows seems to pose a problem. The solution might be that Milborne was from the first designed as a church and was provided with windows in the normal way whereas Bradford was designed as a reliquary chapel and was not at first equipped with windows at all. In this connection we know that one of the purposes of the gift of the estate at Bradford and its monastery to the nuns of Shaftesbury was to provide a refuge in time of danger from the Danes and a hiding place for the bones of the blessed Edward (Kemble no. 706).

Seating for sculpture. Two sculptured roundels have survived *in situ* in the exterior south wall of the nave at Edenham (Vol. I: 227) seated on a plain square string-course at a height of about 15 ft. This arrangement is similar to the placing of the sculptured panels higher up on the tower at Barnack only ten miles distant.

Eaves- and gable-courses. In addition to the few instances already noted of eaves-courses on towers, there are several surviving eaves-courses elsewhere on churches; and several string-courses run across the gables of naves and chancels. To the bare lists of names in Tables 11 and 12 it should be added that the most important of all these examples is Bradford-on-Avon where the eaves-courses on the side walls of the nave and chancel are integral with the gable-courses across their ends, and where the gable-course on the nave carries vestiges of upright pilasters. It should also be noted that although Baldwin Brown recorded a pilaster and string-course on the west gable of Kirkdale church, nothing of the sort now survives, and we gave reasons for believing that there never was any such feature in stone (Vol. I: 358).

SECTION 4. DISTRIBUTION IN SPACE AND TIME

DISTRIBUTION IN SPACE

The large number of surviving string-courses on west towers, as noted in Table 1, naturally gives a concentration in the east and north as we have noted for towers in Chapter 9; but Tables 2 and 3 show a marked preponderance of churches in the south and west. It can therefore be seen without the aid of a distribution map that string-courses are to be found in most parts of the country.

TABLE II. *Eaves-courses*

1. Bibury	n (probable)	3. Daglingworth	n	6. Staindrop	n (probable)
2. Bradford	n, c, p	4. Hambledon	c	7. Wroxeter	n
		5. Milborne	c		

TABLE 12. *Gable-courses*

1. Boarhunt	c	3. Corhampton	n	5. Mwearmouth	n
2. Bradford	n, c	4. Headbourne	n	6. Woolbeding	n (vestige)

DISTRIBUTION IN TIME

Sculptured string-courses. There are good reasons for believing that the carved string-course along the west front at Monkwearmouth is not much later than the original part of the church; and the richly carved stones at Breedon are generally accepted as being mainly of the eighth century. There are also early fragments of string-courses at Hexham (Cramp 1974: 172-9, especially 176). By contrast with these early examples, there are carved string-courses of late-Saxon or Saxo-Norman date at Dymock and Masham.

Chamfered string-courses. The earliest of the hollow-chamfered string-courses are probably those on the west wall of the nave at Monkwearmouth, followed by the vestiges on the sides of the porch (later tower) at Jarrow. Recent work at Repton suggests that the hollow-chamfered string-course round the chancel belongs to the period before the Danish invasion, perhaps early in the ninth century. By contrast, the chamfered string-courses at Had-discoe, Great Paxton, and Winterton are in buildings which would be accepted without question as belonging to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era.

Moulded string-courses. Recent work at Deerhurst St Mary suggests that the great moulded string-course is not later than the middle of the Anglo-Saxon era, and I have given reasons elsewhere for believing that the west tower at Barnack, with its two external string-courses and its elaborately moulded internal one, belongs to the pre-Danish period, perhaps early in the ninth century (Taylor 1968c: 16 and 1970b: 38). Other moulded string-

courses, such as those at Headbourne Worthy and Milborne Port are in settings which suggest dates near the end of the era.

Plain square string-courses. None of the churches with square string-courses would confidently be claimed as belonging to the early period except for Bradford-on-Avon which was so claimed (Jackson and Fletcher 1953) but has recently been contested (Mercer 1966 and Taylor 1973b). Among the towers, which contain the majority of these simple string-courses, there are several in each of the three groups described in Chapter 8 as representing a time-sequence which overlapped the Norman Conquest and extended back for a considerable period before it.

Summary. String-courses therefore seem to have been used throughout the Anglo-Saxon era; there are sculptured and hollow-chamfered examples from the earliest period; there are chamfered and moulded examples from the middle period; and there are sculptured, chamfered, moulded, and square examples from the latest period. It would be unwise on the present evidence to use any particular profile as determining a specific date unless it was supported by other evidence.

SECTION 5. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

In sharp contrast to the massive preponderance of plain square string-courses in Anglo-Saxon England there are few if any survivals of this simple type in churches of our period on the Continent. The normal profiles, whether inside or

Continental string-courses

<i>Carolingian period</i>		<i>Ottonian period</i>	
Moulded:		Chamfered:	
Seligenstadt, Einhard's church*		Ottmarsheim	Grodecki 1973: 17
Aachen, Palace chapel	Hubert <i>et al.</i> 1968: 40-1	Hildesheim, St Michael*	ibid: 2
		Hollow chamfered:	
		Nivelles, St Gertrude*	ibid: 36
Sculptured:		Gernrode, St Cyriac	ibid: 8
Lorsch, Torhalle	ibid: 60-1	Moulded:	
		Essen, Holy Trinity	ibid: 23

* These three churches illustrate the placing of an internal string-course, as at Great Paxton, to relieve the otherwise bare space between the clearstorey windows and the tops of the arches of the main arcade.

outside, seem to have been chamfered, hollow-chamfered or moulded. Moreover, as might be expected from the strong classical revival under Charlemagne, mouldings show a much closer approach to classical models than any of the Anglo-Saxon examples except those at Deerhurst and Milborne Port. Also, there seem to be few examples of the strangely barbaric mouldings like those by the tower-arch at Barnack, except perhaps in Spain, e.g. Santa Maria de Melque (Conant 1959: pl.21). These are obviously wide generalisations and in support of them only a brief list is attached, chosen out of a very much larger number of examples which we have visited. The list has been chosen with the object of securing that almost all the examples can be studied with good published photographs by reference to only two volumes of a well-known popular series.

One very marked discrepancy between English and continental decorative practice in the Ottonian period deserves special mention; namely the complete absence in this country of the so-called

Lombard bands by contrast with their great popularity on the Continent, particularly throughout Germany but also in Switzerland and the Low Countries. These rows of small blind arches supporting string-courses from below are very distinctive features on many well-known churches as widely distributed as the abbey at Romainmôtier, St Mary at Reichenau, the Cathedrals at Essen and Speyer, St Gertrude at Nivelles, St Ursmer at Lobbes, St Sauveur at Susteren, several churches in Cologne and scores of others. It is a very distinctive fashion, and one that could very easily be copied; its complete absence from England argues either for a less close contact than has often been assumed with the Ottonian empire or for some special dislike of this feature by English builders and patrons. For example, the general design of the side faces of the tower at Langford is remarkably similar to that of the great westwork at Cologne, St Pantaleon, except for the absence of Lombard bands below the string-courses at Langford.

CHAPTER II

PILASTER-STRIPS

SECTION I. CLASSIFICATION AND LOCATION

Having considered the use of horizontal string-courses for the strengthening and decorative enrichment of buildings, it is natural to turn next to the vertical division of buildings by pilaster-strips. Although there are fewer survivals of these we shall see that there are more varieties of construction than for string-courses; we shall also see that they present a rather different pattern of use on churches, and a distinctly different pattern of distribution throughout the country.

PILASTER-STRIPS OF DRESSED STONE AND OF FLINT-RUBBLE

Turning first to varieties of construction, the places of survival of the two main types of pilaster-

strips are set out in Tables 1 and 2 where it will be seen that the more popular type, which is formed of dressed stone, has survived at thirty-two churches whereas the less popular type, formed of the same flint-rubble as the main fabric of the wall, has survived at only eleven. However even these eleven churches teach an important lesson to which reference has already been made in connection with round towers, since they show that the builders were able to make durable salient angles without any reliance on dressed stone.

It should next be noticed in Table 1 that even the first type, of dressed stone, has three variants, in the first of which the stones are laid alternately upright and flat (long-and-short), while in the second they are laid consistently with their longer sides upright, and in the third with the longer sides laid flat as in the main coursing of the wall.

TABLE I. *Stone pilaster-strips*

1. Alton	U	n	11. Cambridge	U	t	22. Langford	U	t
2. Barholm	U	n	12. Coln Rogers	LS	n, c	23. Milborne	Cs	c
3. Barnack	LS	t	13. Corhampton	U	n, c	24. Repton	U	c
4. Barrow	LS	c	14. Cricklade	U	n	25. Somborne	U	n
5. Barton	LS	t	15. Deerhurst M	U	c	26. Sompting	LS	t
6. Bibury	LS	n, c	16. Dymock	Cs	n	27. Stanton L	LS	n, p
7. Boarhunt	U	c	17. Earl's Barton	LS	t	28. Stowe-nC	U	t
8. Bradford	Cs	n, c, p	18. Elmham N	Cs	n, c	29. Tichborne	Cs	c
	U	n, c, p	19. Geddington	U	n	30. Wing	Cs	c
9. Breamore	LS	n	20. Hambledon	U	n	31. Woolbeding	U	n
10. Brixworth	Cs	c	21. Headbourne	U	n, c	32. Worth	LS	n, c, p

32 churches, 45 occurrences

Frequency of occurrence of types

Place	Long-and-short	Upright	Coursed	Total
Tower	4	3	0	7
Nave	5	10	3	18
Chancel	4	6	6	16
Porticus	2	1	1	4
	—	—	—	—
	15	20	10	45
	—	—	—	—

Except in the coursed variety, the individual stones of the pilaster-strips are usually of considerable length.

Whether pilaster-strips are of stone as in Table 1 or of flint-rubble as in Table 2 they generally project about 3 in. from the face of the wall, and their lateral width is seldom more than 1 ft or less than 6 in. It is not usually possible to determine how deeply the stone pilasters penetrate into the body of the wall, but in three examples where this has been possible the depths have been about 1 ft (see p. 925 below).

It will be seen from Table 1 that dressed stone pilaster-strips have survived on only seven towers by contrast with thirty-eight survivals on other parts of churches. This constitutes one of the marked differences in patterns of use as compared with string-courses, for which there are more survivals on towers than elsewhere on the church. Even if the eleven survivals of pilasters of flint-rubble are brought into the comparison from Table 2, the frequency of survival of pilaster-strips on towers remains markedly less than on the body of the church.

The pilasters on six of the seven towers have been illustrated in Fig. 698 of Chapter 10, at a small scale which allows the general pattern to be seen but does not permit the jointing of the stones to be indicated even in outline. A few examples of the use of pilasters on the main walls of churches are illustrated at a larger scale in Figs. 699 and 700 of this chapter, where the choice of examples has been made not only to show the wide varieties of decorative use but also a certain amount of the detail of the jointing of the stones and their arrangement in accordance with the varieties of usage described above.

It should be noted that Dunham Magna is the

only place where flint pilaster-strips have survived in the interior of churches; they are used to form a decorative panelling along both side walls of the nave, and dressed stone is used for their decorative capitals (Vol. I: 220). On five towers flint pilasters are used to form decorative panelling: Guildford, Haddiscoe Thorpe and Tasburgh, and vestiges at Colchester and Kirby Cane; on the remaining five towers they are used only for the somewhat functional purpose of covering the re-entrant angle of junction with the nave.

We have noted that with the single exception of Dunham all the pilaster-strips recorded in Tables 1 and 2 are used externally; but we shall return in Chapter 12 to the consideration of stripwork round openings in which one important constituent part could be described as a pilaster-strip beside each jamb of the opening. We shall see that there are many survivals of this type of pilaster-strip within churches, as well as outside, and that they are almost all of dressed stone.

PILASTER-BUTTRESSES

Although they represent a somewhat separate type from the mainstream of pilaster-strips it seems best to consider the small group of pilaster-buttresses in the same chapter. Whereas the normal pilaster-strips are much shallower in projection than in width, the pilaster-buttresses are roughly 1 ft square in plan and therefore give a greater visual effect of providing additional support for the wall. The five surviving examples are built almost wholly of Roman tiles and those at Canterbury St Augustine's are established on primary evidence as belonging to the period of St Augustine himself. It is not yet possible to be dogmatic about the dates of the other churches in Table 3, but they have

TABLE 2. *Flint-rubble pilaster-strips*

1. Colchester	t	5. Guildford	t	8. Norwich J	t
2. Colney	t	6. Haddiscoe T	t	9. Roughton	t
3. Dunham	n	7. Kirby Cane	t	10. Tasburgh	t
4. Framingham	t,c			11. Witton	t

11 churches, 12 occurrences (10t, 1n, 1c)

TABLE 3. *Pilaster-buttresses*

1. Bradwell	n	3. Canterbury M	n,c	4. Canterbury P	n,p
2. Canterbury A	p			5. Reculver	n,p

5 churches 8 occurrences (n4, c1, p3)

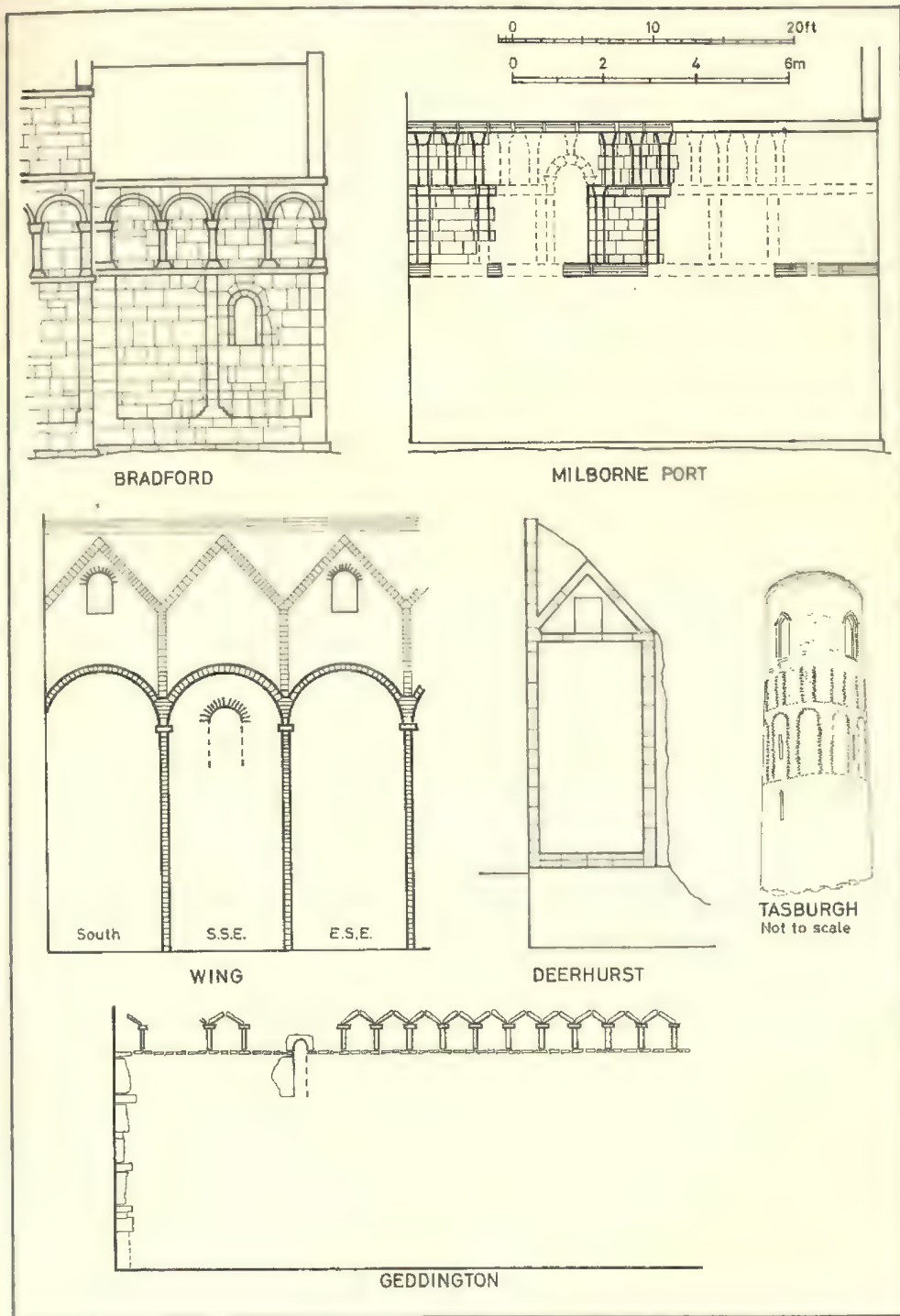


FIG. 699. PILASTER-STRIPS (1)

long been generally accepted as belonging to the first period. It is unfortunately not possible to form any clear idea of the decorative effect of these pilaster-buttresses because there are no complete survivals and no evidence about how they were integrated into the general pattern of the wall, for example by carrying an eaves-course or any similar feature.

Having now listed the surviving examples of the two main types of pilaster-strips and the loosely related class of pilaster-buttresses, it is desirable to consider in more detail the varieties of construction of the two main classes, and to illustrate some of the more important differences by diagrams.

STONE PILASTER-STRIPS

In the main the stone pilaster-strips, whether of the most popular upright type or of the slightly less popular long-and-short type, consist of tall blocks of stone; and it is only in the coursed type, which accounts for only ten out of the total forty-five occurrences, that the stones are uniformly broader than they are tall. Moreover it is only in conjunction with three instances of the coursed type (Bradford, Dymock, and Milborne) that we find buildings of quasi-ashlar fabric. In this connection it is also worth noting specially that Bradford is unique in having an almost uniform series of upright stones for the pilasters of the upper tier of panelling by contrast with the coursed stones of the lower tier. Moreover, apart from this special case of Bradford, the upright and the long-and-short pilasters are used only in conjunction with rubble fabric; and coursed pilasters are used in conjunction with rubble fabric at Brixworth, North Elmham, Tichborne and Wing.

It should next be noted that in both the upright and the long-and-short type the tall upright stones may sometimes be carefully dressed to the exact width of the pilaster-strip, as is shown for the apse at Deerhurst in Fig. 699, or may be fairly rough blocks in the body of the wall but carefully dressed over the area which projects, as is shown for some of the stones at Worth in Fig. 700. When the main surface of the wall is covered with plaster, as is the case at Woolbeding, it is not possible to say to which of these types the stones belong.

At Wing, as shown in Fig. 699, the pilasters at the angles of the polygonal apse are linked by semicircular arches formed of small rectangular stones like those of the coursed pilaster-strips. All of these stand forward about 3 in. from the face of the wall, but the upper system of gabled arcading which is shown in thinner outline lies almost if not quite flush with the face of the wall, and can scarcely be discerned on the northern faces of the apse. It will be seen that the lower pilasters have plain rectangular imposts and elaborately contrived springings for the round arches. At Deerhurst, on the other hand, there is no provision of imposts or capitals at the top of the pilasters, but the gabled panel above is enriched with a rectangular slab carved to show an angel.

Except for the perspective sketch of Tasburgh, the diagrams are at a uniform scale in order to give the best possible visual impression of the decorative effects of the various treatments. Attention should be directed to the logical integration of windows into the panelling at Milborne and Wing by contrast to the somewhat random placing at Bradford and the destructive intrusion of the Anglo-Saxon window through the panelling at Geddington (Vol. I: 248). At Worth it will be noted that the window is logically placed on the string-course but is not in any satisfactory visual relation to the pilaster-strips below. As far as is possible on the comparatively small scale of Figs. 699 and 700 the jointing of stones has been shown on the pilasters, except on D and E of Woolbeding for which information was not available.

FLINT-RUBBLE PILASTERS

The decorative effect of panelling with flint pilasters is shown in the perspective sketch of Tasburgh in Fig. 699, and has been illustrated for the interior panelling at Dunham in Vol. I: 219. It seems self-evident that this type of panelling must have been devised and used only for decoration since it cannot give the wall any additional strength, nor could it have helped in the work of erection. Indeed by requiring additional operations during the course of building and by providing a lodging for water during bad weather, this decorative treatment could be regarded as having an adverse constructional effect.

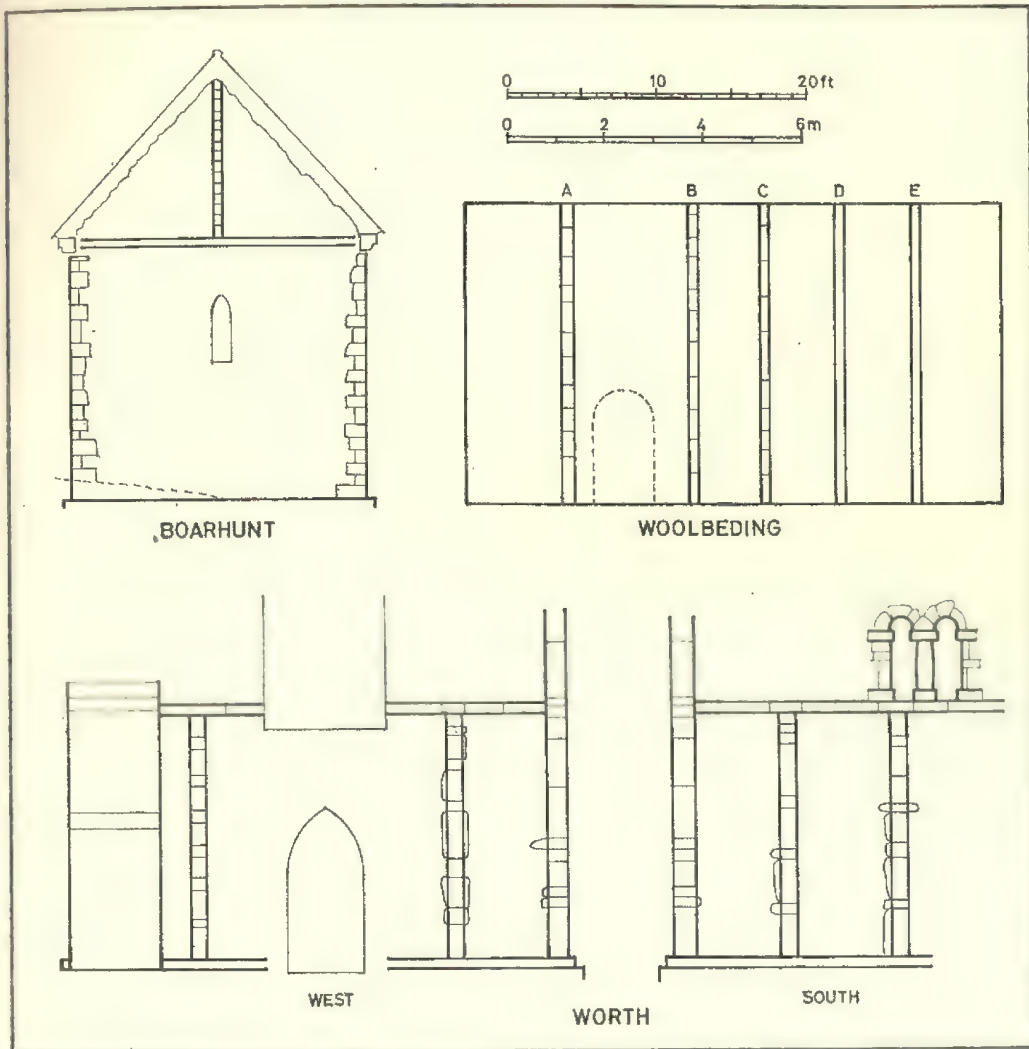


FIG. 700. PILASTER-STRIPS (2)

DISTRIBUTION IN SPACE

The distribution-map (Fig. 701) shows a remarkable concentration of the churches with pilaster-strips in the southern half of England. With the single exception of Barton-on-Humber there are no surviving pilaster-strips north of the Wash; and even including Barton there are none north of the Humber. In this connection we should note that although Baldwin Brown refers to the most northerly pilaster-strip as having run up the west gable at Kirkdale (Brown 1925: 463) there is no such feature now and we have given reasons for believing that there never was (Vol. I: 358). From

the points of view both of date and space-distribution, however, it should be recorded that limestone pilaster-strips and balusters were found in Professor Rosemary Cramp's excavations at Monkwearmouth. Unfortunately these were not *in situ* but it seems most likely that they were associated with a pre-Viking monastic building close beside which they lay dumped in a pit (Cramp 1969: 37 and 56). With the single exception of Guildford, all the flint pilaster-strips are confined to East Anglia; and pilaster-buttresses have survived only in Kent and Essex.

We shall see in Chapter 12 that the derivative use of stone pilaster-strips as part of stripwork

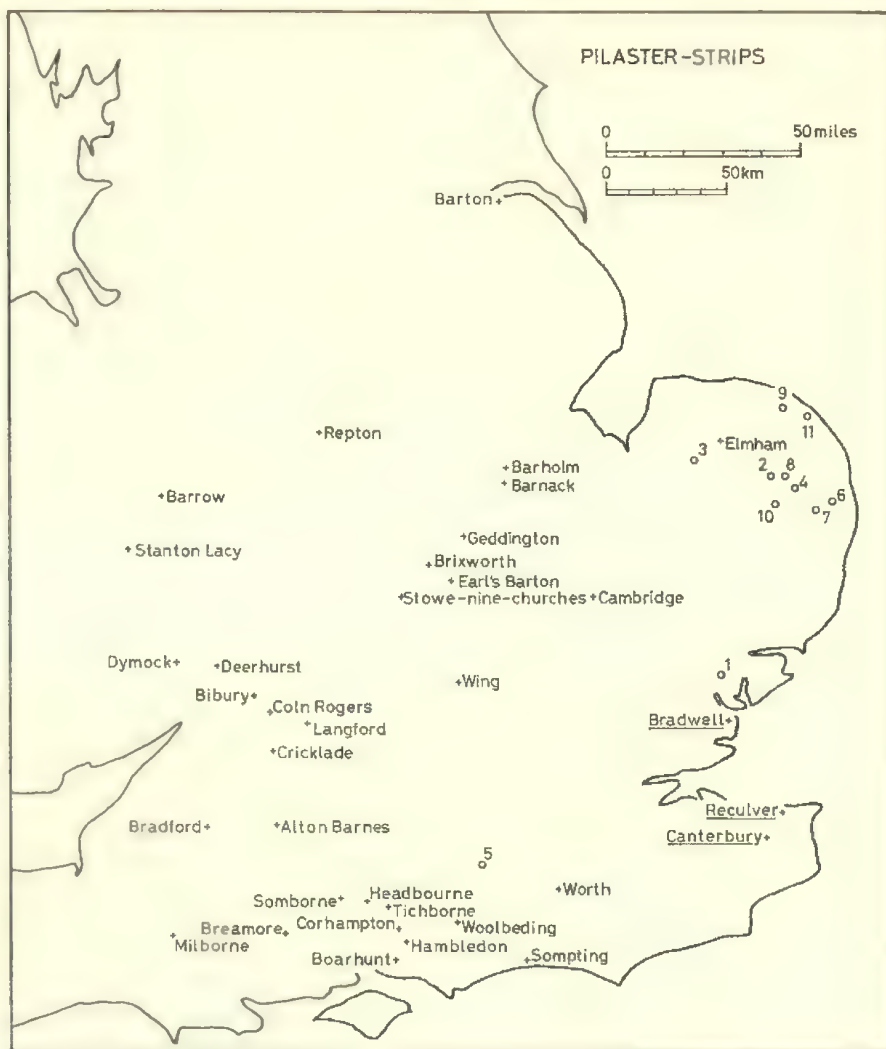


FIG. 701. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF PILASTER-STRIPS

Stone pilaster-strips are shown by names alone. Pilaster buttresses are shown by names underlined. Rubble pilaster-strips of flint are shown by the numbers used in Table 2.

round openings is not limited to this southern part of the country, and we shall discuss there the bearing that this differential treatment might have on the vexed question whether stone pilaster-strips were used primarily for decorative or for constructional purposes. But if at present we confine our attention to the thirty-two churches with surviving stone pilaster-strips as shown in Fig. 701, we see that they lie in regions where good building stone was by no means absent but in which the churches of our period are almost all built of rubble rather than ashlar, the only exceptions being the

quasi-ashlar at Bradford-on-Avon, Dymock, and Milborne Port.

DECORATIVE SYSTEMS

Before passing to the consideration of continental analogues it is worth reviewing the English pilaster-strips again to see if their decorative patterns can be grouped into distinctive types which might show links with continental practice.

Flint-rubble pilasters. We have seen the decorative use of pilasters of flint-rubble on the towers at

Haddiscoe Thorpe and Tasburgh, and internally at Dunham Magna. In all three cases the decoration is in the form of recessed blind arcading, but on the towers there are two superimposed tiers of panelling whereas the interior decoration is at a single level. Apart from this substantial difference, there are differences of detail in that the panels are much taller on the towers than in the nave at Dunham; and enrichment is provided for these internal panels by stepped bases and simply carved capitals on the pilasters, whereas the exterior panelling on the towers has no such elaboration.

Dressed stone pilasters. Two-tier systems are found on the body of churches at Bradford, Milborne and Wing, and on the towers at Barnack and Barton; while the system on the tower at Earl's Barton can perhaps be regarded as having three tiers. At Bradford the upper tier is laid out systematically with two bays to each bay of the lower tier whereas at Milborne the system seems to have been less regular but roughly three to one; at Wing and on the towers the upper tiers have the same spacing as those below, but at Barton the spaces of the upper tier are placed above the pilasters of the lower tier. Attention has already been directed to the logical placing of windows at Milborne and Wing in relation to the arcading; and it could also be said of Barnack, Barton and Earl's Barton that doorways, windows and decorative panels are integrated into the system of panelling, even if in some cases this has required minor irregularities of the spacing between pilasters. There is very little use of capitals or bases on these pilasters; the most consistent use is at Bradford, and the most elaborate is perhaps in the splayed pseudo-capitals which serve as the springings for the arches at Wing above small rectangular imposts on top of the lower pilasters. After these comparatively few systems of decorative panelling at more than one level, the remaining churches with pilaster-strips show little attempt at decorative treatment apart from the small-scale gabled arcading at Geddington which seems to have represented an enrichment just below the eaves of the nave. Indeed in most of the other churches the pilasters are now distributed in a rather random fashion, and there seems little likelihood that this could be the result of the loss of others which

would change the present irregularities into a regular pattern. A clear system is discernible at Repton and Worth; and the single surviving bay of the apse at Deerhurst suggests a system not unlike that at Wing, but even if the pilasters on the south face of the nave at Woolbeding owe the principal irregularity of spacing to the former existence of the blocked doorway as shown in Fig. 700, yet the spacing on the north face is even more irregular and cannot be fitted into a matching pattern. At Repton quite elaborate capitals have survived on the pilasters on the north and south of the chancel, most probably to support an eaves-course; but the tops of the pilasters on the east face have been destroyed and it is no longer possible to be sure what was the decorative arrangement as a whole.

SECTION 2. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

Before discussing the purpose and origin of pilaster-strips in England it will be desirable to consider the extent to which the various English types were also used on the Continent, and for this purpose it will be necessary to spread the continental survey fairly widely both in time and space. It can be said at once that there are remarkably few if indeed any close equivalents of the pilaster-strips of tall and narrow upright stones which form the most distinctive English type. The pilasters of rather wider stones laid in an alternating long-and-short fashion have several analogues on the continent, but mostly with almost squared rubble in the main fabric of the wall rather than the much rougher rubble that is usual in England. There are no precise equivalents for the East Anglian panelling with pilasters of flint, but in continental churches of fairly rough stone we shall see a widespread and somewhat analogous use of decorative panelling formed by recessing blind arcades into the main face of the wall without any use of dressed stone; but all the continental examples are on a grand scale by comparison with the small arches used in England. Finally, we shall see examples of pilaster-buttresses of square cross-section similar to those of the early Kentish churches, but in settings of considerably earlier and later dates.

Representative examples of all these types are shown in Fig. 702 in which the same smaller scale has been used as for the English towers in Fig. 698 of Chapter 10 because the continental examples are mostly on large buildings. It will be seen that two-tiered decorative systems that could fairly be claimed as belonging to the same general programme as Bradford and Milborne are found on the so-called Torhalle at Lorsch and on the western stair-turrets at Gernrode, both of which illustrate the three-to-one pattern of Milborne. Two-tiered one-to-one systems are illustrated on the westwork at Cologne St Pantaleon and on the chancel at Gernrode; but of these examples it should specially be noted that while Cologne has coursed pilasters of shallow projection, Gernrode has roughly square pilaster-buttresses on the tall lower storey, and circular free-standing columns on the much shorter upper storey. Cologne St Pantaleon has also been used to illustrate the use of tall blind arcading on the nave, as a single representative of many examples of this use of pilasters on churches in the Rhine and Meuse valleys; only the merest vestiges survive at St Pantaleon as the basis for this commonly accepted restoration of the nave, but there are complete survivals at Nivelles, Celles, Hastière, and many other places. A very much earlier two-tiered one-to-one system is illustrated by San Vitale at Ravenna where the faces of the main walls of the basic octagon are divided by wide pilasters and a horizontal string-course; the logical placing of the windows should be noted and also the wide blind arch which carries the window in each face of the upper octagon or lantern. This custom of setting windows within a wide recess has already been noted in Chapter 7 in Carolingian windows, and it is illustrated once more in that context in Fig. 702 where we show three faces of the upper octagon or lantern of the palace chapel at Aachen in order to draw attention to the pilaster-buttress placed close to each angle. These pilasters are of coursed stone, not unlike those at Tichborne, but here at Aachen they are used in a wall of coursed ashlar by contrast with the flint walling at Tichborne.

It will be seen that while this representative sample of continental pilaster-strips provides a number of reasonably close parallels to the general decorative use of pilaster-strips in England there is

no close similarity in constructional detail. The closest parallel is to be seen in the stair-turrets at Gernrode where the arrangement of stones is comparable with that of several English examples; for a larger-scale drawing see Taylor 1970b: 33. In none of the examples illustrated is there any use of the long-and-short placing of stones which is a very common type in England; indeed a wide search of Carolingian and Ottonian buildings has provided only two close parallels, at Konrad II's Benedictine abbey at Limburg in the Hardt, near Speyer, begun in 1025 and dedicated in 1042, and in the church of St Lucius at Werden, near Essen, begun in 995 and finally consecrated in 1063 (Taylor 1970b: 33-5).

Referring again to Fig. 702 it will be seen that the general design of the westwork at St Pantaleon is similar to the panelled treatment of the axial tower at Langford (Fig. 698 of Chapter 10), but that a marked divergence of detail is the use of the so-called Lombard bands of small blind arches below the two string-courses. These Lombard bands were used very widely in the Ottonian period as may be seen in the following brief list of representative examples: Romainmôtier in Switzerland; Trier cathedral and Limburg in the Hardt, in Germany; Tournus in France; Noli, Acqui and Lomello in Italy; and Cardona in Spain (all illustrated in Grodecki 1973). It might be asked why it is necessary to mention these continental examples of Lombard bands when we have seen that there are no examples of their use in England; the answer is that contrasts can often be as important as similarities in the understanding of history; and we shall see in the next section that the total absence of Lombard bands in England by contrast to their widespread use in association with pilaster-strips on the Continent during the Ottonian period has an important bearing on the validity of claims that have been made that the inspiration for Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips came from the Rhineland.

SECTION 3. ORIGINS, PURPOSE AND DATING OF PILASTER-STRIPS

HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION

As a basis for our study of the controversial subject of the origin and purpose of the English pilaster-

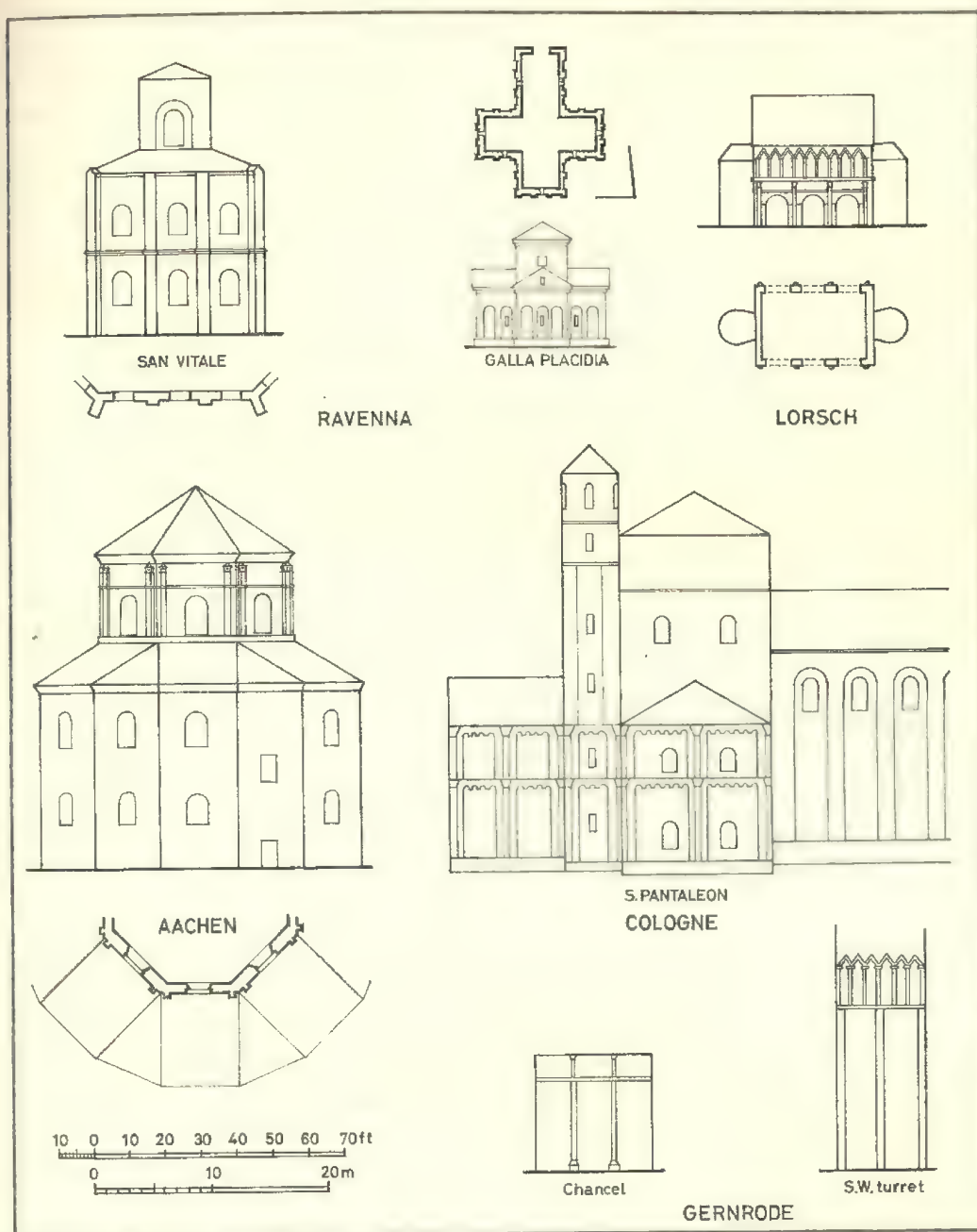


FIG. 702. CONTINENTAL EXAMPLES OF PILASTER-STRIPS

These drawings are only approximately to scale, being based in part on photographs and in part on other drawings at widely different scales. The stilted apsidal chancel and circular stair-turret at Gernrode are both shown as if opened out into flat walls. The elevations of Cologne, St Pantaleon are very largely restorations; the others are of fully surviving buildings. The so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna has been drawn for simplicity with a rectangular plan, but the angle of 85° beside it represents the degree of irregularity.

strips, and of the dates during which they were employed, it will be helpful to record in outline the results of earlier studies. Attention was first called to the distinctive appearance of Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips by Thomas Rickman in 1817; and in 1836 he included them, under the name of ribs or rib-stones, amongst the features which he regarded as characteristic of towers such as Barton-on-Humber, Earl's Barton and Barnack (Rickman 1836: 34 and 38). The origin and purpose of pilaster-strips were considered in detail by Sir John G. Wilkinson in 1863 in relation particularly to Roman ruins in Tunisia. He gave examples to show how Roman buildings of rubble had been strengthened by the use of tall stone pilasters, and how the progress of decay had been limited by them. He came to the conclusion that the somewhat similar pilasters of Gernrode and Lorsch in Germany, and those of the Anglo-Saxons were all derived from Roman models (Wilkinson 1863: 48-9). Unfortunately Wilkinson's careful work has long passed almost unnoticed by other writers.

In two important papers at the end of last century J. T. Micklethwaite covered a wide field and referred only briefly to pilaster-strips which he called ribwork. He concluded that they were related to long-and-short quoins and that, since neither of these features appears in the earlier group of churches, 'we may infer that buildings in which [they are] found are later than the others, although we may not be able to say at what date this fashion came in' (1896: 338). He did not suggest from what source the Anglo-Saxons might have borrowed this feature, but instead he posed the question 'Whence came the long and short ribwork?' He noted that it had been claimed as a degenerate descendant of pilasters in Roman architecture, but he advanced the difficulty that it is not found in the earliest buildings which are nearest to that influence (1898: 346).

Baldwin Brown considered the subject afresh in 1903 and again in 1925, comparing the English pilaster-strips directly to the *lisenen* of the Rhineland and Saxony. He regarded these as being too narrow and too slight in projection to add any strength to the wall and he therefore thought that they, and the English pilaster-strips, were used 'for the sake of decorative effect'. He regarded Italy as

the ultimate place of origin but said that 'The Rhinelanders made them their own and it was from this source that they passed to Anglo-Saxon England' (Brown 1925: 239). These views were reaffirmed and strengthened by Clapham (1930: 108-9). It should, however, be borne in mind that it is illogical to dismiss the ability of the pilaster-strips to add strength to the wall just because they are narrow and of slight projection. The steel or reinforced concrete frames of modern buildings are narrow and usually do not project at all, and yet they provide almost all the strength of the buildings. It would be wiser to remember Wilkinson's observations on the rubble-built walls in Roman Tunisia and to accept his evidence that the stone pilasters added both strength and durability. At the same time we need not deny that the builders who used them, whether in Roman or later times, also had clearly in mind their decorative effect.

More recently Jackson and Fletcher claimed that both Baldwin Brown and Clapham had been wrong, and that the Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips had been developed in England, and for a functional purpose, particularly to strengthen the walls and to confine any settlement or decay to one bay. They illustrated this contention with photographs, one of which showed how a settlement at Barnack had been confined to one bay by the support of the adjoining pilaster (Jackson and Fletcher 1949: 15 and pl.ix). In view of this evidence it might be felt that the structural function of pilaster-strips had been proved beyond doubt, but it has later been asserted that this conclusion 'seems difficult to accept on the evidence presented', and that the only way to settle whether the work is structural or decorative is 'to determine the depth of penetration of the strips into the wall' (Fisher 1969: 117-18).

THE FUNCTIONAL AND DECORATIVE PURPOSES OF PILASTER-STRIPS

The remainder of this section represents my own views, substantially in the form in which they were published some years ago (Taylor 1970b) but varying and abbreviating the detailed arguments and slightly amending some of the conclusions in the light of further experience. In particular it should

be emphasised that the structural advantages claimed for stone pilaster-strips are not limited to the long-and-short variety but apply with equal force to the upright variety and almost equally to the coursed variety. Moreover my strong belief that the stone pilasters were used with a clear understanding of their structural value does not imply any doubt that the builders also had in mind their decorative possibilities. We turn then to the evidence and my interpretation of it.

The depth of penetration of pilaster-strips. There are not many buildings for which it is possible to determine the depth to which stone pilaster-strips extend into the body of the walls, but this has been possible at three places. In St Sampson's church at Cricklade the pilaster-strip on the south wall is 11 in. wide, it projects about 2 in. from the face of the wall and it penetrates at least 11 in. deep into the wall (Taylor 1961b: 16). At Earl's Barton, the jambs of the first-floor south doorway form part of the main system of pilaster-strips, which can be seen to extend through the opening to a depth of about 12 in. (Vol. I: 225, Fig. 100). Finally at Deerhurst St Mary two pilaster-strips of the ruined apse are partially exposed; both can be seen on the site and one in the photograph published by Baldwin Brown (1925: 219); the exposed depths exceed 1 ft.

Protection against decay. In the majority of churches which are listed in Table 2 the main fabric of the walls consists of smallish rubble; indeed the only notable exceptions are the quasi-ashlar walls at Bradford-on-Avon, Dymock and Milborne Port. Both Wilkinson (1863) and Jackson and Fletcher (1944 and 1949) have drawn attention to the important purpose which pilaster-strips of upright stones can serve in such walls by preventing minor erosion of the fabric in one panel of the wall spreading to an adjoining panel; and both have correctly emphasised that this depends not on any projection of the pilasters forward from the face of the wall but only on their penetration into it.

Pilaster-strips as aids to building. It should not be thought that support against future decay is the only functional purpose that can be served by carefully laid stone pilaster-strips and quoins in walls of rough rubble, nor that this long-term

consideration was uppermost in the minds of the builders. In my opinion, the most important consideration that led to the use of these pilaster-strips was to provide help in the immediately practical problem of securing straight and upright walls when working with rough rubble. Evidence of the need for help of this sort can be appreciated by remembering that even to this day walls of flint are seldom built without the help of fairly closely spaced piers of brick, between which the panels of flint are filled in, either by eye or with the help of rods or string. For a fuller treatment of this aspect see Taylor 1970b: 27-32.

THE ORIGINS OF STONE PILASTER-STRIPS

The evidence set out above provides the basis for considering whether stone pilaster-strips were developed by the Anglo-Saxons to meet a practical need, or whether they were copied from elsewhere as representing a desirable decorative fashion. We have seen that Baldwin Brown and Clapham were strongly in support of the second explanation and were clear in their opinion that the fashion was imported from the Rhineland. But against this explanation we have seen that there are no close continental parallels for the Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips of tall narrow upright stones, nor even many parallels for the wider ones of alternating long-and-short stones. Moreover we have seen that throughout the Ottonian period, when Baldwin Brown and Clapham thought the fashion was being copied from the Continent, there was a very widespread, almost universal, continental practice of using Lombard bands in association with pilasters, in complete contrast to the total absence of this enrichment in England. For these reasons it seems to me unlikely that we should look to the Ottonian Rhineland for the origin of the Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips.

On the other hand, the very real services which stone pilaster-strips provide, both for simplifying the erection of rubble walls and also for ensuring their durability, make it reasonable to think that an inventive race of builders would develop them or would copy them directly or by adaptation from Roman remains in this country. In this connection it is relevant to note that just such an origin was suggested for long-and-short quoining by

Baldwin Brown who regarded it as a development of the alternating upright and flat stones in Roman openings such as the re-used chancel-arch at Escomb (Brown 1925: 52-5 and 256-7). Our own observations agree with his that long-and-short quoins are not used on the Continent; and we believe that, just as this distinctive type of quoining was invented or developed by the Anglo-Saxons from a Roman building in England so also they invented or developed their distinctive pilaster-strips of upright or long-and-short stones. In this connection it is of interest to note that of the ten churches in Table 1 with long-and-short pilaster-strips all but Barrow and Stanton Lacy also have long-and-short quoins.

Stripwork round openings. In Chapter 12 we shall see that the very characteristically Anglo-Saxon practice of framing doorways and other openings by carrying plain stripwork up beside each jamb and round the head has no analogue on the Continent, as was indeed pointed out long ago (Brown 1925: 225). We have already noted that the stripwork beside the jambs is simply another manifestation of the Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips; but it is now important to consider one special example of its use in the south doorway of the tower at Barnack which is illustrated in Fig. 657 of Chapter 6 (p. 806). This doorway, with indeed the whole tower in which it stands, is of prime importance in the study of the development of pilaster-strips and also of long-and-short quoining. The jambs of the doorway are a splendid example of the use of through-stones laid with alternating upright and flat stones in the technique which we know to have been in use in the earliest Anglo-Saxon buildings in Northumbria such as the doorways at Monkwearmouth and the chancel-arch at Escomb. But unlike their early counterparts in Northumbria the stones of the jambs at Barnack have been enriched by the provision of protruding sections which form the stripwork beside the opening. It will be seen in the figure how this stripwork, being in part formed in the alternating upright and flat stones of the jambs, provides a perfect example of that alternation in pilaster-strips; and it will be noticed that the adjoining pilaster-strips do not show a similar regular alternation until they rise above the level of the door-

way. This might be regarded as a random coincidence; but in Chapter 13 we shall see that exactly the same thing is true of all four surviving quoins at Barnack and most of the pilaster-strips. It seems unlikely that there could be so many random coincidences; and the evidence therefore strongly suggests that the builders were inspired by the doorway to change the technique they were using both in the quoins and in the pilaster-strips, so that from this level up to the top of the building these followed the same regular alternating pattern as in the doorway.

In Chapter 12 we shall see other examples of the evidence which is given by stripwork round openings in support of the thesis that pilaster-strips as we know them in Anglo-Saxon England were developed from local inspiration and were not an importation.

THE DATING OF PILASTER-STRIPS

Pilaster-buttresses are found on the scanty remains of the earliest Kentish churches; but the stone pilaster-strips of Table 1 do not appear on any churches that can reliably be claimed as belonging to the earliest period. The recent investigations at Repton have given support to the belief that the chancel is part of the mausoleum of King Wiglaf (d.840) and that the passages to the crypt represent modifications made for the admission of pilgrims to the shrine of St Wystan (d.850). If this interpretation of the important remains at Repton can be established with certainty, the pilaster-strips of upright stones on the chancel would be dated to before 840. As has been said above, it is my belief that the long-and-short pilaster-strips at Barnack represent the first development of that technique; and I have given reasons elsewhere for believing that they date from before the Danish invasion of 870 (Taylor 1970b: 38 and 1968c: 16). Stone pilaster-strips of the upright and long-and-short types continued in use to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era as can be seen from their appearance in Table 1 on churches such as Sompting, Stanton Lacy, and Langford.

Stone pilaster-strips of the coursed type are found in settings such as Tichborne and Milborne Port which can reliably be claimed as belonging to the latest part of the era. They have been claimed

as being early at Bradford-on-Avon (Gilbert 1967: 44) but it is my belief that the main body of that important church (including the pilaster-strips) was erected at a time not far removed from the year 1000 (Taylor 1973b: 166).

Flint-rubble pilaster-strips, whether part of a decorative panelling or simply used at the junction between tower and nave all belong to churches in the latest part of the Anglo-Saxon period.

SUMMARY

The stone Anglo-Saxon pilaster-strips are an indigenous development rather than a copy of

continental models; they serve a distinct structural purpose in aiding the erection of walls of flint or stone rubble and in protecting them from subsequent failure; and they are analogous in technique to through-stone jambs of alternate upright and flat Escomb fashion from which they probably received their inspiration as may be seen at Barnack. They do not appear in the earliest part of the period but at Repton, Barnack and possibly elsewhere they began to be developed in the ninth century, after which they persisted to the end of the period. They were used mainly in conjunction with buildings of rough rubble construction and only in regions south of the Humber.

HOODMOULDINGS AND STRIPWORK

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

In England, from the time of the Normans until after the Tudors, hoodmouldings were one of the most regular accompaniments of all forms of arches, at first especially over doorways or windows, but later also regularly used over the great arches in arcades or leading to towers or chancels. For the doorway or window, the hoodmoulding has an obvious practical purpose in catching any water that has run down the face of the building and in directing it to the sides of the opening, for the better protection of the building or of people using it. This practical purpose is emphasised in Gothic mouldings by their deeply undercut profiles and by the dripstones in which they usually end, with shapes which are not only ornamental but are also directly purposeful in throwing water clear of the building. For interior arches, the hoodmouldings do not seem to have any obvious practical use, but they are widely used in England, and their decorative profiles are of considerable interest.

From the twelfth century onward it is therefore true to say that in England every arch may usually be expected to have a hoodmoulding; and although there are more exceptions to this rule on the Continent than in England yet even there hoodmouldings are widely used in Romanesque and later periods.

But in the pre-Romanesque period, there is a sharp difference between English and continental practice, because there is an almost complete absence of hoodmouldings on the Continent whereas we shall see that they (or the more developed form of stripwork) are to be found on about one-third of the English churches under consideration in this volume. Thus there seems good ground to believe that hoodmouldings were developed by the Anglo-Saxons for decorative

and functional reasons and that this development secured such great popularity in the Anglo-Norman period that thereafter it became almost an essential feature in England. It is of interest to note that, at any rate on interior arches, hoodmouldings are less regularly used in the Norman period than in the Gothic periods when the cross-sections had become more elaborated for the practical utility of the external arches and therefore more directly decorative for the internal ones.

The Anglo-Saxons also invented a very distinctive elaboration of hoodmouldings by carrying them down vertically beside the jambs so as to produce the feature which Baldwin Brown called 'stripwork round the openings' but for which we have consistently used the much shorter but yet fully distinctive name 'stripwork'. We shall see that stripwork is found in forty-six of the churches under consideration in this volume, and hoodmouldings in thirty. It is interesting to speculate on the reasons why in Norman and later times there was no continuation of stripwork as an elaboration of hoodmouldings in spite of the growing popularity of the hoodmouldings themselves; it may be that the reason is to be found in the development of recessed orders of arches and the consequential elaboration of shafts beside the openings to support the several orders. In other words, whereas the Anglo-Saxons may have been attracted to the use of stripwork to form a complete frame for doorways and windows, Norman and later designers felt no need to continue hoodmouldings down beside the jambs because the openings were already adequately framed not only by a hoodmoulding and several orders of arches over their heads but also by several orders of shafts beside their jambs.

The origins of the Anglo-Saxon use of hoodmouldings and stripwork also deserve special

mention. Baldwin Brown recorded expressly that in the later part of the era the use of stripwork round openings was 'one of the commonest and most enduring features of Saxon buildings'; moreover, while he went to considerable pains to find evidence for suggesting that vertical stripwork had its origins in the *lisenen* of the Rhineland, he stated clearly that 'the bending of it round the arch in our Saxon fashion is not found abroad and is of native origin' (Brown 1925: 225). My studies confirm Baldwin Brown's view that neither the simple hoodmouldings of plain square cross-section nor the corresponding stripwork can be found in continental buildings of our period and that they are therefore of native origin; but it is also my belief (as stated in Chapter 11) that the narrow vertical pilaster-strips are likewise of native origin and are not derived from the Rhineland.

The places listed in Tables 1 and 2, and shown on the distribution maps of Figs. 703-4 indicate very clearly that the desire for hoodmouldings and stripwork was felt throughout Anglo-Saxon England and was not confined to any particular district. Moreover there are few if any occurrences on parts of buildings that are accepted as belonging to the earliest parts of the era; for both at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth the hoodmouldings occur on upper parts of the tower; and most writers who

claim Bradford-upon-Avon as an early building regard the stripwork as a later addition. On the other hand, most of the churches listed in Tables 1 and 2 would generally be accepted as belonging to the later part of the Anglo-Saxon era, and therefore there would seem to be little quarrel with Baldwin Brown's belief that stripwork flourished particularly in the later part of the era. At the same time, however, we shall see that these features are not confined to the latest part of the era and that at Barton-on-Humber they occur both on the earlier part of the fabric and also on the upper part of the tower which we have come to regard as a considerably later addition, but still Anglo-Saxon.

The tables include four places (Barton, Dunham, Stow and York) at which both hoodmouldings and stripwork have survived. They exclude the modern hoodmoulding over the doorways of the towers at Lincoln St Mary and Lincoln St Peter, but they include the latter church because of the hoodmoulding over the upper west window of its tower. At most of the places listed in these tables the hoodmouldings or stripwork have survived in fairly complete condition; but at a few places of which special mention is made in Section 2 the remains are vestigial, and at Wareham Lady St Mary there is no surviving fabric, but only the evidence of drawings.

TABLE 1. *Churches with stripwork*

1. Barnack	12. Colchester	24. K Hammerton	36. Skipwith
2. Barrow	13. Corhampton	25. Langford	37. Stanton L
3. Barton	14. Diddlebury	26. Laughton	38. Stow
4. Bessingham	15. Dover	27. Ledsham	39. Stowe-nC
5. Billingham	16. Dunham	28. Lewes	40. Strethall
6. Boarhunt	17. Earl's Barton	29. Lusby	41. Tedstone
7. Bradford	18. Guestwick	30. Middleton	42. Weybourne
8. Brigstock	19. Haddiscoe	31. Mwearmouth	43. Wharram S
9. Britford	20. Headbourne	32. Ovingham	44. Wittering
10. Bywell A	21. Herringfleet	33. Paxton	45. Worth
11. Cambridge	22. Inglesham	34. Sherborne	46. York
	23. Jevington	35. Shoreham	

TABLE 2. *Churches with hoodmouldings*

1. Alkborough	8. Corbridge	16. Limpley	24. Stow
2. Barton	9. Corringham	17. Lincoln P	25. Wareham L
3. Bitton	10. Deerhurst M	18. Miserden	26. Wareham M
4. Bracebridge	11. Deerhurst O	19. Norton	27. Wing
5. Branston	12. Dunham	20. Pattishall	28. Winterborne
6. Carlton	13. Glentworth	21. Rothwell	29. Wootton
7. Clee	14. Hadstock	22. Scartho	30. York
	15. Jarrow	23. Stanley	



FIG. 703. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF STRIPWORK

The eleven examples of stripwork round belfry windows are distinguished by underlining.



FIG. 704. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF HOODMOULDINGS

SECTION 2. PATTERNS OF USE
OF HOODMOULDINGS OR
STRIPWORK

In earlier chapters we have seen that hoodmouldings and stripwork are widely used throughout the country on doorways and on major arches but that by contrast there are few examples of their use on ordinary windows and that their use on belfry openings is limited to certain districts. It is desirable now to collect into a single place the details which are otherwise scattered in several chapters, and thus to show more clearly how the popularity of these features varied with different groups of arches and in different districts, and also to make some tentative steps towards an understanding of the dates when they were used.

USE ON WINDOWS (EXCLUDING WINDOWS
OF THE BELFRY TYPE)

Stripwork is used on windows only at Barnack. All three windows of the tower are completely framed, but only on the gabled west window does the stripwork form an integral part of the elaborate panelling of the tower. The west and south windows are illustrated in the plates of Vol. II (Fig. 371).

Hoodmouldings are used on windows at four places; three of the windows are single-splayed and one double-splayed, at Jarrow. In the tower at Glentworth the hoodmoulding over the south window is of plain square section but is enriched with simple palmette leaves; in the tower at Lincoln St Peter the hoodmoulding over the west window is of half-round section with simple ornament not unlike billets (Vol. I: 396); and in the south transept at Stow the hoodmoulding over the south window is chamfered and is enriched with palmette leaves (Vol. II: 587). The double-splayed north window of the tower at Jarrow has a hoodmoulding which is chamfered above and notched below (Vol. I: 346). Except for Lincoln these windows are also illustrated in the plates of Vol. II (Figs. 469, 499 and 588).

USE ON BELFRY OPENINGS AND ON
DOUBLE WINDOWS OF THE BELFRY TYPE

Stripwork has survived round belfry openings at eleven places recorded in Table 3, and distinguished in Fig. 703 by underlining. Six of these are in Northumbria, four in East Anglia, and a rather special example is at Barton-on-Humber. The individual lights of all the Northumbrian examples are round-headed, while those in East Anglia and at Barton are gabled. In the Northumbrian group the stripwork is carried in a single sweep across the openings, to enclose a large semicircular typanum over the individual lights, as shown for Monkwearmouth in Fig. 705. At Barton and in the East Anglian group except for Herringfleet the stripwork follows the gabled heads of the individual lights so as to form a roughly M-shaped frame, as shown for Barton in Fig. 705. All the stripwork is of plain square section except at Haddiscoe where it is ornamented with billets.

Hoodmouldings have survived over belfry openings only at Barton, and there only in the later and uppermost belfry; but there are three examples of the use of hoodmouldings over double windows of the belfry type, one at the west of the nave at Deerhurst St Mary and two in the north and south windows of the original tower-nave at Barton. It should specially be noted that throughout the early tower at Barton and also at Deerhurst all these mouldings are of plain square section whereas the hoodmouldings of the later and upper belfry at Barton are of half-round section. The tower at Barton is of such importance as to require separate illustration (Fig. 706). It should also be noted that hoodmouldings on openings of the belfry type are all used to outline the heads of the individual lights and that there is no surviving instance of a hoodmoulding that frames the whole multiple opening as does the Northumbrian stripwork.

USE ON DOORWAYS

Stripwork. The twenty-two churches at which stripwork has survived in whole or in part around doorways are named in Table 4 where the posi-

TABLE 3. *Stripwork round belfry openings*

1. Barton	4. Bywell A	7. Mwearmouth	10. Wharram S
2. Bessingham	5. Haddiscoe	8. Ovingham	11. York
3. Billingham	6. Herringfleet	9. Weybourne	

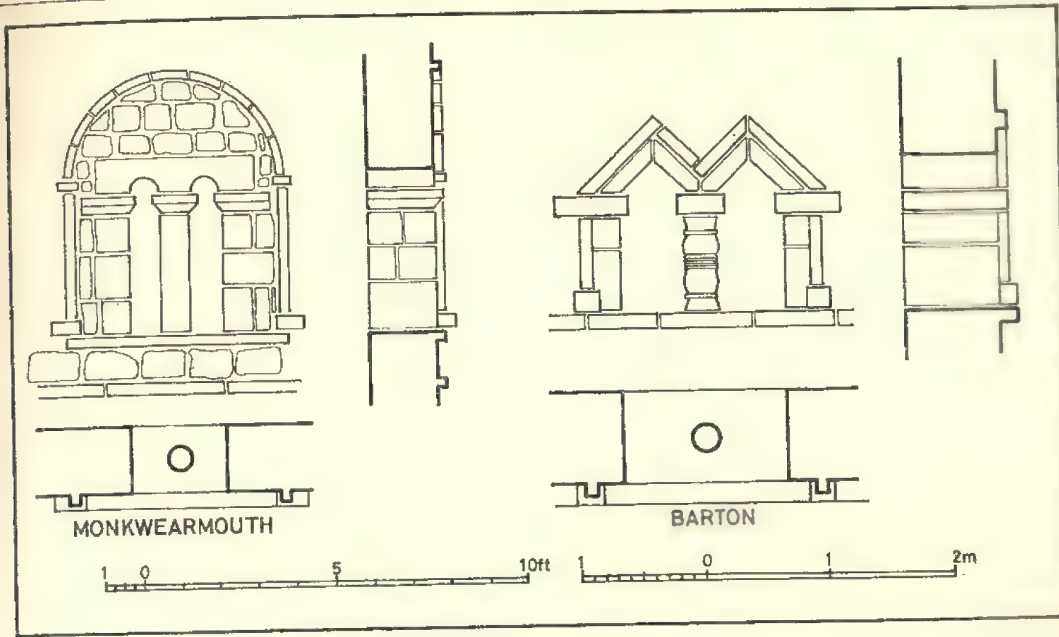


FIG. 705. THE TWO TYPES OF STRIPWORK ROUND BELFRY WINDOWS

tions of the doorways are also specified using the symbols explained in Section 2 of Chapter 6. In all cases the stripwork is used only on the outer face of the doorway; it might be felt that this was an essential consequence of the Anglo-Saxon habit of hanging the door against the inner face of the wall, where in several cases a door still hangs and where in other cases early-looking pivots still survive; but stripwork is used on rebated doorways, as at Ledsham, where the door no doubt always hung in the thickness of the wall.

It will be seen from Table 4 that most of the doorways (twenty-three out of thirty) are at ground-level but that there are upper doorways with stripwork at Billingham, and Bywell St Andrew, and five at Earl's Barton. We should also specially record that at Barnack, Barton-on-Humber and Earl's Barton the doorways form an integral part of the elaborate panelling of the

towers as is shown in Fig. 657 of Chapter 6 for Barnack, Fig. 706 of this chapter for Barton and Fig. 99 of Vol. I for Earl's Barton.

Stripwork round doorways is almost always of plain square section and of long stones. The principal exceptions to the use of stone are the use of brick at Colchester and its use along with stone in the vestigial remains at Dover; the principal exceptions to the use of a plain square cross-section are at Bradford-on-Avon where there are triple mouldings on doorway nN; at Dunham (Vol. I: 219) where the strips are notched; at Inglesham where they are of half-round section; at Ledsham where they are enriched with vine-scroll which is mainly modern restoration but seems to have original survivals (Vol. I: 380-1); at Lewes where the stripwork and its imposts are triply moulded (Vol. I: 387); and at Stanton Lacy where the pilasters are square but the arch is moulded (Vol. II: 570).

TABLE 4. *Stripwork round doorways*

1. Barnack	tS	8. Diddlebury	nN	15. Laughton	NpN
2. Barton	tS, tN	9. Dover	nS	16. Ledsham	tS
3. Billingham	t2S	10. Dunham	nW	17. Lewes	not in situ
4. Bradford	nS, nN, NpN	11. Earl's Barton	tW, t1W, t1S	18. Middleton	tW
5. Bywell A	t2S		t2N, t2S, t2W	19. Sherborne	NpW
6. Colchester	tW	12. Headbourne	nW	20. Shoreham	nN
7. Corhampton	nN	13. Inglesham	nS	21. Stanton L	nN
		14. K Hammerton	nS	22. Tedstone	nN

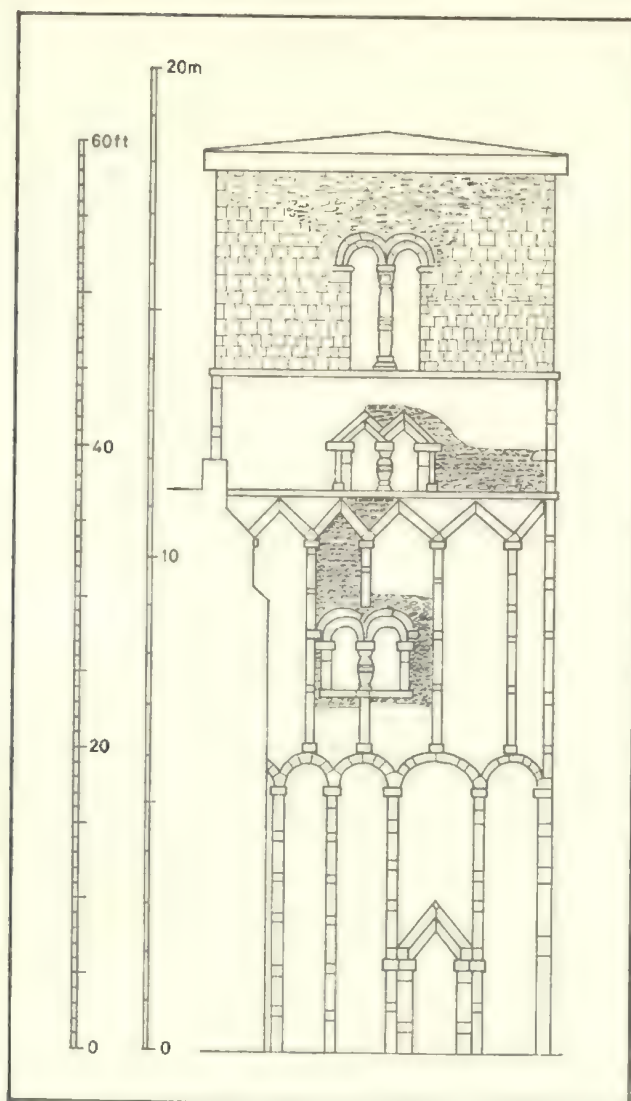


FIG. 706. THE TOWER AT BARTON-ON-HUMBER

This tower is perhaps the most important example of the use of stripwork and hoodmouldings in association with overall panelling by pilaster-strips.

Table 4 differs from Chapter 6, Tables 23 and 25, by including the doorway not *in situ* at Lewes and the vestigial remains at Shoreham and Tedstone. It will be seen from Fig. 703 that the churches concerned are widely distributed over the country from north to south and east to west.

Hoodmouldings. It will be seen from Table 5 that simple hoodmouldings represented a less fashionable and widespread treatment for doorways than the use of a complete frame of stripwork, but that the sixteen places where they have survived (apart

from the somewhat dubious example at Corbridge) indicate popularity in the area from Lincolnshire across the midlands to the south-west, with a special vogue at Deerhurst. Moreover although the modern hoodmouldings at the two Lincoln churches have been excluded from Table 5, the Willson drawing reproduced in Fig. 661 of Chapter 6 indicates that at St Peter there were vestiges of a simple hoodmoulding before the Victorian restoration. With the exception of the two upper doorways at Deerhurst it will be seen that all the examples of hoodmouldings are over

TABLE 5. *Hoodmouldings over doorways*

1. Alkborough	tW	7. Deerhurst O	nN	12. Rothwell	tW
2. Bracebridge	tW	8. Hadstock	nN	13. Scartho	tW
3. Branston	tW	9. Limpley	nS	14. Stanley	nN
4. Clee	tW	10. Miserden	nN, nS	15. Wareham M	nN
5. Corbridge	tW	11. Pattishall	not <i>in situ</i>	16. Winterborne	nN, nS
6. Deerhurst M	tW, tC, nW, t2W, t2E, SpS				

ground-floor openings; moreover the eastern upper doorway at Deerhurst represents a later modification of a two-light window.

The use of a plain square section is less uniform in hoodmouldings over doorways than is the case for stripwork; half-round or double-chamfered sections are used at Alkborough, Bracebridge and Winterborne; vestiges of saltires can be seen on the remains at Corbridge; and there is well-preserved honeysuckle ornament on the moulding at Hadstock. The doorway at Branston needs special mention for its head is elaborately moulded and the hoodmoulding is notched on either side to give an effect somewhat resembling dog-tooth ornament; the tympanum below is clearly modern, but the arch and hoodmoulding are either Anglo-Saxon or else twelfth-century workmanship of the same date as the blind arcading on either side of the doorway. A special elaboration appears in the hoodmouldings at Deerhurst St Mary and at Limpley Stoke in the use of animal heads as label stops. Those at Limpley and those over the upper doorway t2W at Deerhurst might be called impressionistic in the sense that they are only roughly blocked to give the general appearance of beasts' heads; but those on doorways tC and SpS at Deerhurst are carved in detail and must be regarded as amongst the most important examples of Anglo-Saxon architectural sculpture. An unusual feature of the hoodmoulding over the round-headed upper doorway t2W at Deerhurst is that it does not follow the curve of the opening but instead follows the rectangular shape of the great

through-stone in which the curved head of the doorway is cut (Vol. I: 195).

With one exception, hoodmouldings over doorways are used only on one face of the wall, usually the outer face; and the single exception at Deerhurst St Mary is a special case in that the doorway concerned, t2E, was originally one light of the double window.

Table 5 differs from Chapter 6, Tables 23 and 25, by excluding the modern hoodmouldings at Lincoln M and Lincoln P, and by including the doorway not *in situ* at Pattishall and also the vestigial mouldings at Stanley and Wareham M.

USE OVER MAJOR ARCHES

Stripwork. By far the most impressive examples of stripwork are to be seen round the major arches in the twenty-three churches listed in Table 6, where for each place a note is given to indicate the arch or arches concerned, using the code-symbols described in Chapter 5. These arches and their stripwork are mostly well-preserved and fairly complete, but exceptions are to be noted at Lusby where only the lower parts of the jambs survive, at Paxton where only the vertical stripwork survives, and at Stow where the arches are clearly later than the jambs; moreover at Barrow, Boarhunt and Corhampton the vertical stripwork beside the jambs has been cut back, but traces are still visible; and at Dunham only vestiges of the stripwork have remained (Vol. I: 220).

At most places the stripwork is used only on one

TABLE 6. *Stripwork round major arches*

1. Barnack	TA	9. Colchester	TA	17. Paxton	LA(2)
2. Barrow	CA	10. Corhampton	CA	18. Skipwith	TA
3. Barton	TA*(2)	11. Dover	TA*(2)	19. Stow	TA*(4)
4. Boarhunt	CA	12. Dunham	TA*(1)	20. Stowe-nC	TA
5. Bradford	CA	13. Guestwick	TA*	21. Strethall	CA
6. Brigstock	TA	14. Jevington	TA	22. Wittering	CA
7. Britford	LA(2)	15. Langford	TA*(1)	23. Worth	CA, LA(2)
8. Cambridge	TA	16. Lusby	CA		

face of the wall, and this fact was used at Barton-on-Humber to indicate that the tower-nave was regarded as the most important compartment of the church since all the ornament was directed towards it (Vol. I: 55). But stripwork is used on both faces of the arches at Barnack, Britford, Cambridge, Colchester, Paxton, Skipwith, Stow, Wittering and Worth; and this might be used as an indication that at each of these places the compartments on either side of the arch were regarded as being of equal importance. At Stow the stripwork within the central tower is almost completely covered by the massive piers which carry the later tower, but enough remains visible to prove its existence (Taylor 1974c: 362).

In most cases the stripwork is of stone and of plain square section, often laid in alternating long-and-short fashion; but double stripwork (one square and one half-round) is used at Cambridge, Lusby, Skipwith, Stow and Wittering; and triple stripwork at Guestwick and Strethall; at Bradford the arch has triple mouldings but the vertical strips are of plain square section. At Guestwick the stripwork is of pebbles, at Colchester of brick, and at Dover partly brick and partly stone.

Hoodmouldings. Excluding vestigial remains at Bitton (Vol. I: 74), hoodmouldings survive, or are well documented, at the twelve churches listed in Table 7; for the destroyed nave at Wareham Lady St Mary the evidence for the former existence of hoodmouldings over the chancel-arch and the main arcades rests on drawings (Vol. II: 635). The mouldings are usually of plain square cross-section; but at Carlton and Pattishall their lower faces are chamfered; at Corringham the hoodmoulding is elaborately moulded (Vol. I: 180) and at Wareham St Martin it is half-round.

Most hoodmouldings are set back by a distance of about 1 ft from the intrados of the arch, no doubt to form a division between the radial voussoirs of the arch and the horizontal coursing of the main fabric of the wall. But at Norton,

Wing and Wootton the hoodmoulding itself is set at the arris or edge of the arch, and its stones act as the voussoirs. This is a rather strange arrangement and it was used as an argument for suggesting that, at least at Norton, the arches concerned originally had an inner order of voussoirs which were later removed (Vol. I: 467; Hodges 1894: 9). It seems, however, unlikely that such a modification would have been made at three places, and it is wiser on present evidence to accept the existing arrangement as an original feature. These arris-hoodmouldings project on both faces of the wall; but apart from York all other hoodmouldings in Table 7 project only on one face, and it is by an error that the hoodmoulding at Odda's Chapel in Deerhurst is shown on both sides of the wall (Vol. I: 210).

SECTION 3. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

As has already been said, stripwork or hoodmouldings do not seem to have been used over continental arches of this period; but there are occasional examples of structural or ornamental relieving arches which give a somewhat similar effect. The most elaborate example is to be seen at Gernrode, in the arcades of the first-floor lateral galleries, where each group of six arches is marked out as consisting of three pairs by relieving arches which sweep over each pair. The individual arches pass through the full thickness of the wall and are carried on through-stone slabs and midwall shafts as shown in Fig. 707, so that the general effect has distinct similarities to the Northumbrian stripwork round belfry windows. A somewhat similar arrangement is to be seen at Lobbes, where four small arches are set under a relieving arch. But these are surely fortuitous resemblances to hoodmouldings; and in default of further evidence from the Continent it would seem that the English usage represents a native invention.

TABLE 7. *Hoodmouldings over major arches*

1. Carlton	TA	5. Dunham	TA*(1)	9. Wareham M	CA
2. Corringham	TA	6. Norton	TA*(2)	10. Wing	CA
3. Deerhurst M	CA	7. Pattishall	CA	11. Wootton	TA*(4)
(first floor)	LA(2)	8. Wareham L	CA	12. York	TA
4. Deerhurst O	CA		ARC		

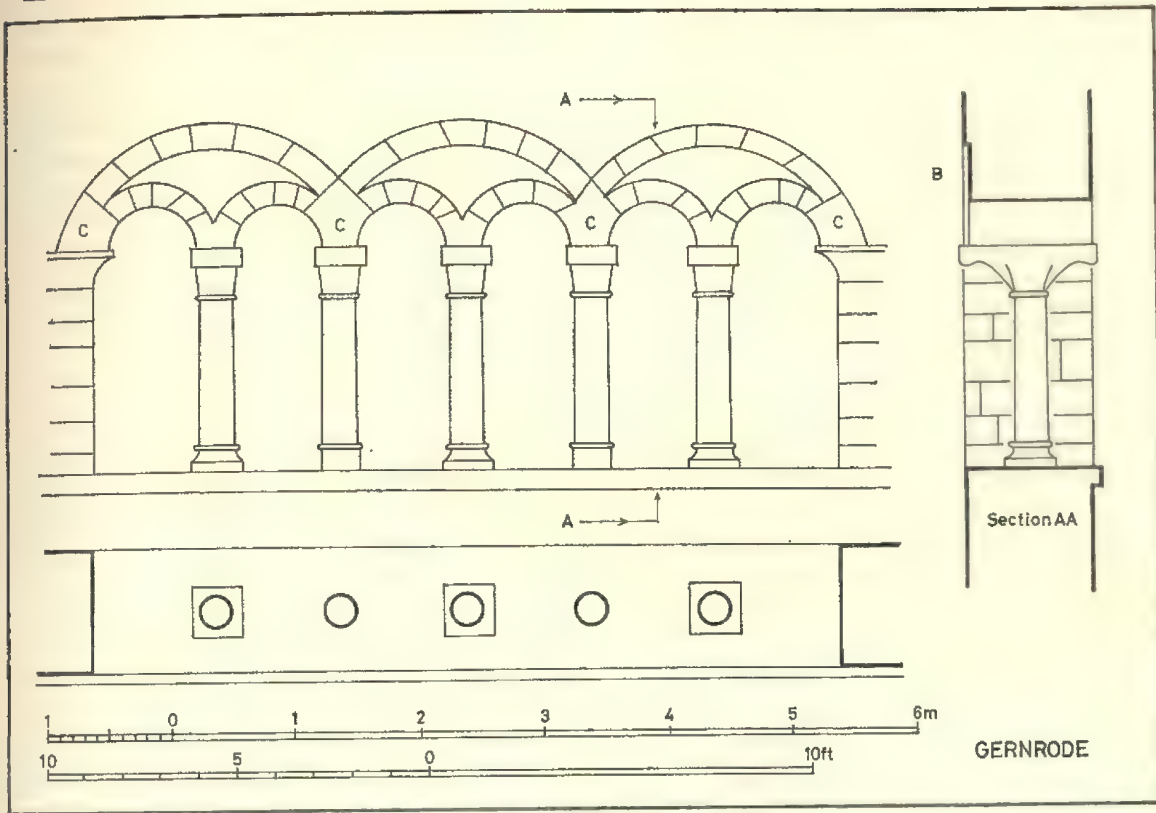


FIG. 707. RELIEVING ARCHES AT GERNRODE

The figure shows the face of the wall towards the first-floor gallery. The tympana under the relieving arches are slightly recessed as can be seen at B in the section. The springers C as well as the corbelled capitals seem to be through-stones.

SECTION 4. DISTRIBUTION IN SPACE

As a first generalisation we saw in Section 1 that the use of hoodmouldings and stripwork was not confined to any particular part of England. It will, however, be seen from Figs. 703-4 that there is only one surviving instance of stripwork in Kent, and no surviving instance of hoodmouldings in Hampshire, Kent, Sussex, or Surrey. It may be that a part of this absence from the extreme south and south-east is to be attributed to the smaller density of standing Anglo-Saxon fabric, particularly in Kent; but it is probably true to say on this evidence that hoodmouldings had their greatest density in the belt running south-west across England from Lincolnshire and East Anglia to Wessex, while stripwork covered the same area but also spread a little more widely so as to be fairly well represented in Northumbria, Hampshire and Sussex. In addition

to these general observations it is of interest to note that on the evidence of survivals there seem to have been localised fashions about the kind of openings that were most appropriate for enrichment in these ways, as can be seen from the following summaries.

Belfry openings. The use of stripwork round belfry openings is a specially localised fashion, being confined to the two separate areas of Northumbria and East Anglia except for the one appearance at Barton-on-Humber which also provides the only example of hoodmouldings over belfry openings.

Major arches. Comparison of Figs. 703-4 with Tables 6 and 7 will show that the main concentration of both stripwork and hoodmouldings in conjunction with major arches is in the belt diagonally across the country from Lincolnshire to Wessex. There is, however, one important

Northumbrian example of stripwork round the tower-arch at Skipwith, and there are several south-eastern examples scattered from Dover in the east to Corhampton and Boarhunt in the south. Isolated examples of hoodmouldings over major arches in Northumbria are provided at Norton and York, but there is a total absence from the whole of the south-east.

Doorways. Comparison of Figs. 703-4 with Tables 4 and 5 shows that for doorways as for major arches the main concentration of both stripwork and hoodmouldings occurs in the diagonal belt of the country from Lincolnshire and East Anglia to Wessex. But in addition there are important examples of stripwork round doorways in Northumbria, both at ground-level as at Kirk Hamerton, Ledsham and Middleton, and also round upper doorways in towers as at Billingham and Bywell St Andrew. In the south-east, too, there are scattered examples of stripwork round doorways from Dover in the east to Corhampton and Headbourne Worthy in the south. By contrast, hoodmouldings make no appearance over doorways in Northumbria apart from the vestiges of a rather controversial example at Corbridge; and they are absent from the south-east.

SECTION 5. DISTRIBUTION IN TIME

At this stage it is difficult to be dogmatic about the time-distribution of hoodmouldings and stripwork, but a few details can safely be added in amplification of the very general assessment given in Section 1. In the first place it can be said that there is no example of these enrichments over any opening that is certainly known to be of the earliest period as at Monkwearmouth or any that is commonly accepted to belong to that earliest period as at Escomb, Jarrow, Brixworth or Bradwell-on-Sea.

Secondly it should be noted that stripwork

occurs in the earlier parts of the churches at Barton-on-Humber and Brigstock where Anglo-Saxon work of a later period occurs in other parts; and also that it occurs at Barnack and at Britford in association with Anglo-Saxon sculpture which, while not yet precisely dated, is certainly not of a very late period; the sculpture at Britford is most likely to belong to the beginning of the ninth century (Clapham 1930: 50) and that at Barnack to the end of that century or the beginning of the tenth (Cramp 1975: 192-3).

Thirdly, stripwork appears in settings which cannot be regarded as belonging to any part other than the latest of the Anglo-Saxon era, as in the East Anglian belfries; and the same applies to the hoodmouldings of the uppermost belfry at Barton-on-Humber, and to that over the north window at Jarrow.

Finally it should be noted that except for Deerhurst almost all examples of hoodmouldings are found in settings which would commonly be accepted as late; although there is seldom any clear-cut independent evidence of date. Independent evidence of this sort is provided at Deerhurst by the important and elaborately carved animal-heads which serve as label-stops on the hoodmouldings, particularly those *in situ* at the sides of doorway SpS. In a private communication Professor D. M. Wilson states that the very distinctive elements of the ornament on these carvings, namely the ears in the form of inverted commas and the rather similar features between the ears at the top of the head, are clearly paralleled in eighth- and ninth-century English metalwork, and that to his knowledge these are never found in this precise form at a later date. Further details are given in Chapter 17 (p. 1057).

From all these facts it would seem reasonable to claim that stripwork and hoodmouldings were introduced about the ninth century and that they then continued in use to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era.

CHAPTER 13

QUOINS

SECTION 1. THE PRACTICAL USES OF QUOINING

PROTECTION AGAINST DECAY

The salient angles of any building are always particularly vulnerable to damage or decay, and therefore it has been common practice in all ages for special protection to be given to the angles, in particular by building them with dressed stone when the main body of the walling consists of rubble, or by taking special care about bonding at the angles when the wall as a whole is of dressed stone. Anglo-Saxon walls were in the main of rubble or at best of roughly dressed stone, and we shall see that even quoins of rubble have survived in over forty buildings; but about four times that number of Anglo-Saxon buildings have survived with quoins of more or less carefully dressed stone, often closely jointed and often megalithic in character.

QUOINS AS A HELP TO THE BUILDER

One of the greatest problems in building a wall of any considerable height and length is to ensure that it is straight and upright. In practice this is achieved by building upward a few feet at a time, first erecting each corner with great care, and accurately plumbed, and then aligning the wall in between with the aid of a taut string. This practice is commonplace knowledge in brickwork and ashlar masonry; but exactly the same routine can be followed when building a wall of rubble, where the task will clearly be much simplified if each corner is built with dressed stone. We have already seen that for long walls of small rubble the task can be simplified even further by the provision of intermediate pillars of dressed stone in the form of pilaster-strips.

It will also be clear that the use of dressed stones for the angles will proceed more quickly if stones of a fairly large size are used, always provided that they do not become so large as to be quite unmanageable. The very common Anglo-Saxon practice of inserting pebbles into the horizontal joints between corner-stones in the manner known as galletting is possibly to be explained as a method for making fine adjustments to their remarkably large quoin-stones during the delicate operation of ensuring that both of the two faces at the angle were vertical.

Internal quoins. Securing a straight and vertical face for the interior walls of a church can also present a problem; and in churches with interior walls of rubble it is sometimes possible to see that dressed stone internal quoins have been built in the re-entrant angles, no doubt as the first step towards laying the rubble walls with the help of strings stretched between these quoins. Similar quoins in re-entrant angles outside the church are to be seen at Stoughton beside the transepts (Vol. II: 582).

Quoins on polygonal chancels. The building of a polygonal chancel probably presented even more problems than those associated with rectangular structures, and it will be obvious that the pilaster-strips which separate the faces of the apses at Brixworth, Deerhurst and Wing would have helped in securing the proper alignment of the walls, just as was the case with the quoins of rectangular chancels. We have not listed these pilaster-strips as quoins, but it would be unreasonable not to give them this brief mention.

THE DECORATIVE VALUE OF QUOINS

The emphasis that has been given above to the practical importance of quoining should not be

taken to imply that the builders were unaware of the decorative value of regularly laid and well dressed stone quoins whether the building was of the roughest rubble or of reasonably dressed stone. The fact that many of the builders must have been aware of this decorative value is surely proven by the evidence given below about the cutting back of parts of the faces of quoin-stones so that the remainder of the quoin formed a decorative band like a narrow pilaster beside the angle of the building.

SECTION 2. THE FIVE TYPES OF ANGLO-SAXON QUOINS

We shall see in Section 3 that quoining has survived in recognisable forms at over 200 of the churches under consideration in this volume, and that with a suitable definition of types all the quoins can be placed in one of five different types. The purpose of this section is to define the types and to give a brief account of the way in which they came to be recognised and to be given their names. The three types which include all but a score of the surviving quoins were all recognised by the end of last century and two of them had been recognised and illustrated by Rickman sixty years earlier (1836: 41); but we shall see that the logical name side-alternate for the most commonly used type was not put forward until quite recently (Gilbert 1946: 159-62), for Rickman regarded this type as being so normal in medieval times that it could simply be called 'quoined work', and Baldwin Brown used the name 'Stow fashion' for megalithic quoins of this type (Brown 1925: 498).

The names here adopted for the five types are the same as those briefly described and illustrated in the introduction to Vol. I: 6-7. These names and the numbers of places at which each type occurs are as follows:

Side-alternate	97	Long-and-short	68	Rubble	44
Face-alternate	14	Random megalithic	5		

SIDE-ALTERNATE AND FACE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

In order to understand the logic of Gilbert's use of these names for two types of quoins and to appreciate why side-alternate has always been by

far the most popular type in walls of masonry it is simplest to compare and contrast the methods of laying dressed stone and brickwork in walls. Dressed stones such as are used in the body of ashlar walls or in the quoins of ashlar or rubble walls usually have the same general shape as bricks but with dimensions at least twice as great. This larger size allows them to be laid quite safely on their sides so as to economise in the use of dressed stone, whereas bricks or small blocks of rubble will normally be laid on their faces to give the necessary stability.

The stones or bricks at the corner of a building must be properly bonded into the two walls by laying successive courses with the longer edges of the stones or bricks alternately first along one and then along the other of the two adjoining walls as shown in Fig. 708. Thus the masonry quoin, where the stones are laid on their sides, can logically be called side-alternate; while the brickwork quoin can equally logically be called face-alternate because the bricks are laid on their faces.

Dressed stone is very seldom used in small blocks like bricks; and the laying of large blocks on their faces would be wasteful of the labour that is involved in dressing them. Thus it is easy to understand why face-alternate quoins are found in fewer than one-sixth of the numbers of the surviving side-alternate Anglo-Saxon quoins. But if walls are built of coursed rubble or of stones that are only very roughly dressed these may be laid on their faces and the wall may either have face-alternate quoins that are laid in the same courses as the main fabric, or else side-alternate quoins in which each quoin-stone is of the height of two or more courses of the main fabric.

It is now possible to give a formal definition of these two types of quoins in a single sentence as follows:

Side-alternate (face-alternate) quoins at the angle of two adjoining walls are formed by stones laid on their sides (faces), with the longer edges of stones in successive courses placed alternately first along one wall and then along the other.

We should note that in well finished buildings all the stones of either type of quoin will be roughly the same size and will be carefully dressed both on the exposed surfaces and even more so on the horizontal surfaces so as to provide for close and

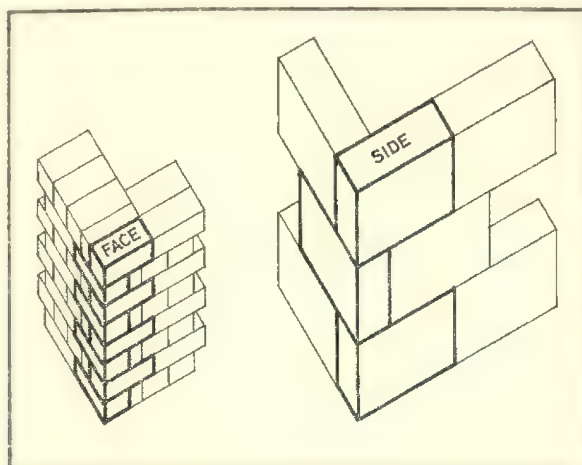


FIG. 708. THE CONTRAST BETWEEN FACE- AND SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

accurate jointing; but in less well finished buildings with lower standards of masonry they may be only roughly dressed, may vary considerably in size, and may have quite wide joints.

Both side- and face-alternate quoining were used in Norman and later times and therefore neither has any claim to be distinctive of Anglo-Saxon workmanship unless the quoin-stones are exceptionally large or unless the tooling or any other distinctive treatment of the stones can be claimed as Anglo-Saxon.

Variant forms of side- and face-alternate quoins. In the normal course of events the stones which form these quoins are laid flush with the main face of the wall, but there are a few examples of each type in which the quoin-stones have been set slightly forward and have then had parts of their surfaces cut back flush with the wall so as to leave a narrow band of uniform width standing forward like a pilaster beside the angle. If, as was often the case, the main body of the wall were to be plastered, the stones of the quoins would be hidden except for the exposed pilaster, as is shown in Fig. 709. For convenience of reference a quoin of this type may be called cut back.

LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS

The distinctive character of these quoins was recognised by Thomas Rickman who not only gave them their present name but also noticed that

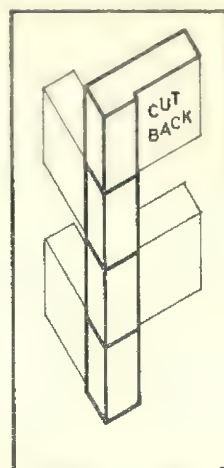


FIG. 709. A CUT BACK SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOIN

The parts of the stones shown in thin outline would usually be covered with plaster so that the quoin would show as a narrow vertical band like a pilaster.

there was a cut back variant type (1836: 42). The normal type may be defined as consisting of a sequence of tall narrow pillar-stones set in the salient angle of the two walls so that each is separated from the one above by a flat clasping stone which bonds deeply along the face of each wall and so holds the pillar-stones firmly into the angle (Fig. 710). In well finished buildings the pillar-stones and clasping stones are all square in plan, carefully dressed, and set flush with the surface of the walls.

Rickman appreciated that quoining of this type

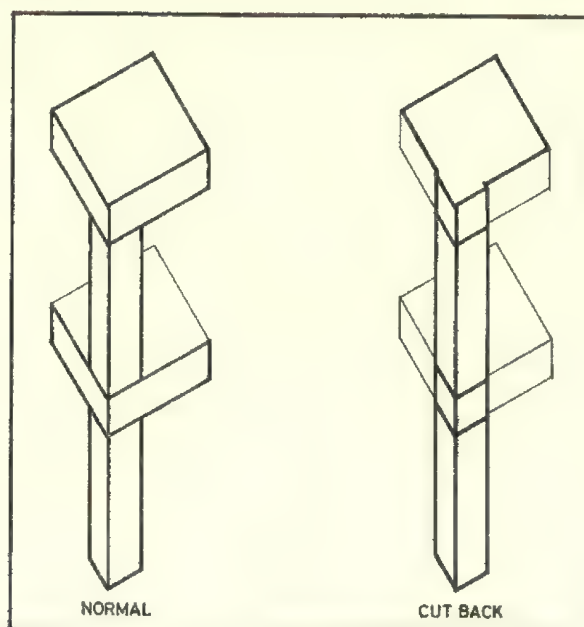


FIG. 710. LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS
This figure shows both the normal type and the cut back variant.

was not used on any building which he knew to be of Norman date, and from his observations at Barton-on-Humber and elsewhere he claimed it as an Anglo-Saxon feature (1836: 28). No evidence has subsequently been produced to suggest that this type of quoining is used in an English context after the Norman Conquest except for a few isolated examples such as the chapel in the castle at Winchester which can no doubt be attributed to Anglo-Saxon masons (Biddle 1975: 106-9). Moreover Baldwin Brown claimed that these quoins were a native product evolved from the jambs of openings lined with upright and flat stones, as at Escomb; and that they were not used until about the middle of the tenth century (Brown 1925: 256). So far as I am aware no evidence has subsequently been produced for the existence of long-and-short quoins on continental pre-Romanesque churches; and it therefore seems reasonable to accept the claim that they are an Anglo-Saxon invention. The question of date will be discussed in Section 9.

Variant forms of long-and-short quoining. The earliest variant to be noticed, and still the most common, is the cut back form; it arises by setting the exposed surfaces of the quoin-stones slightly forward from

the face of the wall and then dressing back flush with the wall all but a narrow band of uniform width on either side of the angle. By this means after the main wall has been plastered the cut back quoin is shown as a narrow clasping pilaster-buttress of stones which extend up the wall with a rhythmic pattern of longs and shorts (Fig. 710). It should also be noted that pillar-stones are seldom as carefully shaped into truly rectangular profiles as are shown here, but that cutting back is then often used to give a neat band of uniform width beside the quoins even when all the stones of the quoins are of quite irregular shapes. A modification of this variant form is unique to Earl's Barton where the quoin-stones have been set forward boldly from the main face of the wall without subsequent cutting back of any part of their surfaces, so that they stand forward from the plastered face of the tower as can be seen in the plates of Vol. II Fig. 458.

In yet another variant the pillar-stones are not square in plan, and indeed in the commonest form the quoin is wholly built of oblong stones. The uprights or longs are formed by setting these stones up on end as oblong pillars and the shorts are formed by setting them on their faces. A typical

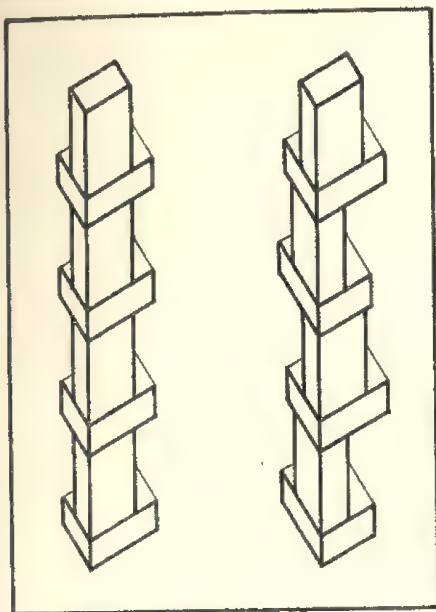


FIG. 711. LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS WITH OBLONG PILLAR STONES

Those to the left are laid regularly along one face, while those to the right are laid alternately.

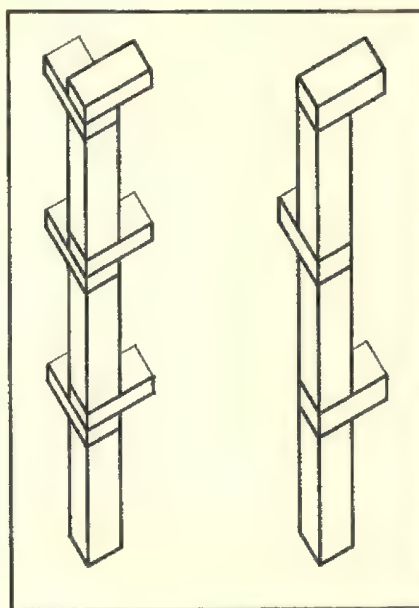


FIG. 712. LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS WITH SMALL BONDING STONES

quoin of this character has one or other, or perhaps a mixture, of the two arrangements shown in Fig. 711. We shall see that these quoins with oblong pillars are found in East Anglia where there is a shortage of good building stone.

A much more impressive variant makes use of the normal tall pillar-stones, but makes use of thin stones sometimes singly or sometimes in pairs for bonding the pillars into the wall, as shown in Fig. 712. This form is found chiefly in the extreme south; but by a strange chance it occurs also in the extreme north, at Whittingham which is the only church with long-and-short quoins north of the Humber.

RANDOM MEGALITHIC QUOINING

There remains a small group of churches whose quoins are megalithic but do not fall into any of the regular patterns described above. The large size of the stones used would itself suggest Anglo-Saxon workmanship, and for each of the churches concerned this is confirmed by quite independent evidence. It therefore seems legitimate to define these irregularly built quoins of massive stones as

constituting a separate type for which the name random megalithic quoining is adopted here as in Vol. I: 7.

RUBBLE QUOINING

In surviving Norman and later buildings all salient angles are usually faced with dressed stone even if the main fabric of the walls is of rubble. Attention was first directed by E. L. P. Brock about eighty years ago to the consequent probability that the survival of rubble quoins in a number of Kentish churches indicated that the buildings were Anglo-Saxon (1895: 302). Throughout this volume the term rubble is used to include not only stone or flint in small undressed pieces but also bricks or tiles, whether whole or broken, and also any mixture of these ingredients. We shall see that rubble quoins, as so defined, are found at more than forty of the churches under consideration. This, unfortunately, does not prove that rubble quoins (at any rate those formed wholly of tile or brick) are Anglo-Saxon; because there are churches which are reliably known to be Norman, such as the cathedral at St Albans, which have salient angles built wholly of tile.

CHAPTER 13 QUOINS

DETAILED ANALYSES OF QUOINS

We turn next to a detailed consideration of the known examples of each of the five types of quoins discussed above. In each of the five following sections a single table lists the churches which show (or are reliably known to have shown) quoins of one of these types; and code letters indicate in which part of the church they appear. For each type there is a discussion of the space-distribution and a note about the churches where the principal variants are to be found.

It should also be noted that there are twenty-four churches each of which has quoining of two different types. For ease of identification the names of these churches are printed in *italic type* in both of the tables where they occur; and the special significance of these churches is discussed separately in Section 7.

SECTION 3. LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS

Of the churches under consideration in this volume sixty-eight as listed in Table 1 are known to have had long-and-short quoins. These are mainly of the normal type, but separate notes are given later about the principal variants, all of which are

included in Table 1. For Milborne Port and Stoke d'Abernon the quoins were destroyed last century so that our knowledge depends on records, a photograph for Milborne (Vol. I: 425) and a drawing for Stoke (Vol. II: 573); these two names are accordingly shown in brackets in the table. At Bibury and Hough there are only vestigial remains; at Exeter the church itself has been demolished but a doorway and a quoin were noted before the wall fell down (Appendix F); and at Daglingworth the chancel and its quoins were largely rebuilt last century using much of the original material (Vol. I: 187 and 190).

SPACE-DISTRIBUTION OF LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS

It will be seen from Fig. 713 that, with the single exception of Whittingham, long-and-short quoins are completely absent from Northumbria, and that while there are many in the south and south-west there are none in Kent.

VARIANT FORMS AND THEIR SPACE DISTRIBUTION

The churches with variant forms of long-and-short quoining are all included in Table 1 and in

TABLE 1. *Long-and-short quoins*

1. Arlington	n	23. Dunham	n,t	46. Poling	n
2. <i>Barnack</i>	n,t	24. Earl's Barton	t	47. Reed	n
3. <i>Barton</i>	n,p	25. Exeter	n	48. Rockland	n
4. <i>Bedford</i>	n,p	26. Fakenham	n	49. Ropsley	n
5. Beechamwell	n,c	27. Fareham	c	50. <i>Rothwell</i>	n
6. Bibury	n	28. Freshwater	n	51. Sherborne	p
7. Bishopstone	n,p	29. Geddington	n	52. <i>Skillington</i>	n
8. Bosham	n,t	30. Gosbeck	n	53. Somborne	n
9. <i>Bracebridge</i>	n	31. Green's N	n	54. Sompting	t
10. <i>Branston</i>	n	32. Hannington	n	55. <i>Stanton B</i>	n
11. Breamore	n,p	33. Headbourne	n	56. Stevington	t
12. Bremhill	n	34. <i>Hough</i>	n	57. (Stoke)	n
13. Brigstock	n,t	35. Laughton	p	58. Strethall	n
14. Burcombe	c	36. Lexham	n,c	59. Swavesey	n,c
15. Bytham	n	37. <i>Lincoln P</i>	n	60. <i>Thornage</i>	n
16. Cambridge	n,t	38. (<i>Milborne</i>)	n	61. <i>Thurlby</i>	t
17. Claydon	n	39. Nassington	n	62. <i>Wareham M</i>	c
18. Cohn Rogers	n	40. Northfleet	n	63. <i>Whittingham</i>	n,t
19. Corhampton	n	41. Norwich T	c	64. Wickham	t
20. Daglingworth	n,c	42. Norwich P	c	65. Wilsford	n
21. Debenham	t	43. <i>Oxford</i>	t	66. Wittering	n,c
22. Deerhurst O	n	44. Pattishall	n	67. Wootton	t
		45. Peakirk	n	68. Worth	n,p

68 churches; 53 naves; 10 chancels; 14 towers; and 7 porticus

Fig. 713 without any individual distinguishing marks in either place. They are therefore separately listed by groups in Table 2, and by comparing those lists with Fig. 713 it will be seen that the cut back group is fairly evenly distributed south of the Humber except for its complete absence from East Anglia; the group with oblong pillar-stones is special to East Anglia; and the group with small bonding-stones is confined to the south except for a strange outlier at Whittingham.

SECTION 4. SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOINING

Of the churches under consideration in this volume ninety-seven as listed in Table 3 are known to have side-alternate quoins all of which are vouched for by standing masonry. Although many of these are of small stones such as would be common in Norman and later periods the parts of the churches in which they stand are determined as being in the Anglo-Saxon style by other independent evidence as set out in Chapter 3. It is therefore clear that while the Anglo-Saxons very often used megalithic forms of building they also quite often used smaller and more convenient sizes of stone even for important places such as quoins. In order to give a convenient record of the places where megalithic side-alternate quoining appears, bold type has been used in Table 3 for the code-letters which denote the relevant parts of the churches concerned; this method has been adopted in preference to printing the name of the church itself in bold type because it provides for cases such as Bardsey and Corbridge where the west porch has megalithic side-alternate quoins while smaller stones are used in the quoining of the later tower. It will be seen that rather less than one-third of the

churches are listed as having megalithic quoining; it will be appreciated however that several of those not so listed have quoins that are quite large and that there must always be some doubt about where to draw the dividing line in a matter like this.

SPACE-DISTRIBUTION OF SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

It will be seen from Fig. 714 that side-alternate quoins are widely and fairly evenly distributed. Perhaps not surprisingly there is a less dense population in the band running north-east across the country from Devon to the Wash where we have seen the dense survival of the long-and-short type. It is also easy to understand the popularity of walls built with roughly squared stone and side-alternate quoins in Northumbria where there were convenient sources of worked stone in the many remains from the Roman military occupation, and where surviving buildings from that period would also serve as models to be copied. Moreover the masons introduced by Benedict Biscop from Gaul would have been well acquainted with the use of this form of quoining.

VARIANT FORMS OF SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

There are cut-back quoins at Bradford, Stow and Skipwith as if to show clasping pilaster-quoins of the type that are much more common in long-and-short technique; and at Dymock and Tichborne the quoins project so boldly that they can almost be regarded as clasping buttresses. Apart from these, there are no noteworthy variations except in the size of stones and the degree of care with which they are dressed. It is, however, worth noting that at Dymock, Hornby and Winstone the quoins are not of regular side-alternate tech-

TABLE 2. *Variants of long-and-short quoins*

(a) <i>Quoin-stones set forward from the wall</i>				
Earl's Barton				
(b) <i>Quoin-stones cut back (Fig. 710)</i>				
Barton	Freshwater	(Milborne)	Skillington	Swavesey
Cambridge	Hannington	Nassington	Sompting	Wittering
Coln Rogers	Laughton	Ropsley	Stanton B	Worth
Daglingworth				
(c) <i>Oblong pillar-stones (Fig. 711)</i>				
Claydon	Gosbeck	Lexham	Rockland	Thornage
(d) <i>Small bonding-stones (Fig. 712)</i>				
	Bishopstone	Bosham	Hannington	Whittingham



FIG. 714. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

nique but all show a considerable admixture of face-laid stones, in the unsystematic manner which Gilbert suggested as an indication of a degenerate period (1946: 160).

SECTION 5. RUBBLE QUOINING

Of the churches under consideration in this volume forty-four as listed in Table 4 have rubble quoining in surviving fabric, though at Canterbury St Augustine, Lyminge St Mary, and Rochester this probably relates to foundations rather than standing walls, and at Rochester it is no longer visible. Because the term rubble is used throughout this volume to include small pieces of stone, flint or brick (including tile), code-symbols in brackets are given in Table 4 to distinguish these three groups or at least to indicate which one preponderates in the church concerned.

SPACE-DISTRIBUTION OF RUBBLE QUOINS

It will be seen from Fig. 715 that rubble quoins are concentrated, as would be expected, in the southern and south-eastern districts of England where good building stone is relatively scarce. It is worth remarking also that although side-alternate and long-and-short quoins are by no means absent from East Anglia the stones that are used in them are mostly of quite small size.

SECTION 6. FACE-ALTERNATE AND RANDOM MEGALITHIC QUOINING

The numbers of quoins of these two types are so small that they can conveniently be treated together; moreover because of these small numbers no useful deduction seems possible from the distribution chart shown in Fig. 716.

TABLE 3. *Side-alternate quoins*

1. Alkborough	t	33. Haddiscoe T	n	65. Norton	p,t
2. Appleton	n,t	34. Hadstock	p	66. Norwich J	n
3. Atcham	n	35. Hale	t	67. Ovingham	t
4. Avebury	n	36. Harmston	t	68. Rothwell	t
5. Bardsey	n,p,t	37. Harpswell	t	69. Rumbolds	n,c
6. Barton	t	38. Hart	n	70. Scartho	t
7. Bessingham	n	39. Heapham	t	71. Seaham	n
8. Billingham	n,t	40. Heysham Pa	n-c	72. Selham	n,c
9. Boarhunt	n,c	41. Holton	n,c,t	73. Shereford	n
10. Bolam	n,t	42. Hornby	t	74. Shoreham	n
11. Bracebridge	t	43. Hovingham	n,t	75. Singleton	t
12. Bradford	n,c,p	44. Inworth	n,c	76. Skipwith	t
13. Branston	t	45. Jarrow	n-c	77. Sockburn	n
14. Broughton	t	46. Jevington	t	78. Stanton L	n,p
15. Burghwallis	n,c	47. Kirby Hill	n	79. Stoughton	n,c,p
16. Bywell A	n,t	48. Kirkdale	n	80. Stow	t,p
17. Bywell P	n	49. K Hammerton	n,c,t	81. Stowe-nC	t
18. Carlton	n	50. Ledsham	n,p	82. Tedstone	n
19. Caversfield	t	51. Leicester	n	83. Thurlby	n
20. Chithurst	n,c	52. Limpley	n	84. Tichborne	c
21. Clayton	n	53. Lincoln M	n,t	85. Titchfield	n,p
22. Clec	n,t	54. Lincoln P	t	86. Waithe	t
23. Collingham	n	55. Lusby	n	87. Wareham M	n
24. Corbridge	p,t	56. Lyminge ME	c	88. Wharrah S	n,t
25. Corringham	n,t	57. Marton	t	89. Whittingham	n,t
26. Cringleford	n	58. Middleton	n,t	90. Wing	n
27. Dymock	n	59. Milborne	c	91. Winstone	n
28. Elmham N	n,p	60. Miserden	n	92. Winterborne	n
29. Escomb	n,c	61. Mwearmouth	n,p,t	93. Winterton	t
30. Gayton	n	62. Morton	n	94. Witton	n
31. Glentworth	t	63. Newton	t	95. Woolbeding	n
32. Hackness	n	64. N Leigh	t	96. Wroxeter	n
				97. York	t

97 churches; 64 naves; 16 chancels; 44 towers; 12 porticus

Bold type denotes megalithic quoins.



FIG. 715. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF RUBBLE QUOINS

The complete absence from Northumbria is striking.

CHAPTER 13 QUOINS

Face-alternate quoins. It will be seen from Table 5 that all but four of the churches with face-alternate quoins also have quoins of other types. In some cases the two types appear in more or less clearly separated parts of the church, as at Hough where face-alternate quoining is used systematically on the tower while a vestige of long-and-short has survived at the north-east of the nave, or at Deerhurst St Mary where the original west porch and its later additions are all built with rubble quoins whereas the still later tower is uniformly treated with quite massive face-alternate quoining. But in the three churches of Dymock, Hornby and Winstone face- and side-alternate quoins are mixed together so intimately that it would really be more correct to regard them as belonging to an intermediate and unsystematic type that might be called side-and-face quoining.

Elsewhere, systematically laid face-alternate quoining occurs as a quite compact unit within a single part of a building which is mainly treated

with quoins of a different type; sometimes it can be seen that the face-alternate quoining represents a later repair, as in the upper parts of the quoins of the central space and north transept at Stow, while in other cases such as Barnack, Skillington and Stanton-by-Bridge the short lengths of face-alternate quoins lie below much more considerable upper lengths of regular long-and-short quoining in walls which seem quite clearly to be all of a single phase of building.

We return to consideration of these problems in Section 7, but they have been mentioned in outline here in order to show the sharp contrast between the systematic use of the three main types of quoining and the somewhat hesitant and unsystematic use of face-alternate; we shall see that much the same uncertainties surround the few examples of random megalithic quoining.

Cut back face-alternate quoins. At Langford a particularly elegant decorative effect has been

TABLE 4. *Rubble quoins*

1. Bardfield	(Fl) n,t	16. Framingham	(Fl) n	31. Oxford	(St) t
2. Barsham	(Fl) n,c	17. Guestwick	(Fl) t	32. Pentlow	(Fl) n
3. Bedford	(St) t	18. Guildford	(Fl) t	33. Quarley	(Fl) n
4. Brixworth	(St) n,p,t	19. Howe	(Fl) n	34. Reculver	(Br)n
5. Canterbury A	(Br)n	20. Inglesham	(St) n	35. Rochester	(St) n
6. Canterbury M	(St) n	21. Iver	(Fl) n	36. St Albans M	(Br)n
7. Canterbury P	(Br)n	22. Lavendon	(St) n,t	37. St Albans S	(Br)n
8. Chickney	(Fl) n,c	23. Lopham	(?) n	38. Springfield	(Br)n
9. Clapham	(St) t	24. Lydd	(St) n	39. Swanscombe	(St) t
10. Colchester	(Br)t	25. Lyminge M	(Br)n	40. Thornage	(Br)n
11. Colney	(Fl) n	26. Marton	(St) n	41. Weybourne	(Fl) t
12. Darenth	(Br)n	27. Melton	(Fl) n,c	42. Whitfield	(St) n
13. Deerhurst M	(St) n,p	28. Mersea	(St) t	43. Witley	(St) n
14. Elmham S	(Fl) n,p	29. Minster	(St) n	44. Wouldham	(St) n
15. Fetcham	(Fl) n	30. Notley	(Br)n		

44 churches; 35 naves; 3 chancels; 12 towers; 3 porticus; 15 places with quoins mainly of flint; 17 mainly stone; 11 mainly brick or tile; 1 uncertain.

TABLE 5. *Face-alternate quoins*

1. Barnack	n,t	6. Hornby	t	11. Skillington	n
2. Deerhurst M	t	7. Hough	t	12. Stanton B	n
3. Dymock	n	8. Langford	t	13. Stow	t,p
4. Guestwick	t	9. M Fryston	t	14. Winstone	n
5. Heysham Pe	n	10. Morland	t		

14 churches; 6 naves; 9 towers; 1 porticus

TABLE 6. *Random megalithic quoining*

1. Alton	n	3. Dover	n	4. Middleton	n
2. Bradwell	n			5. Repton	c

5 churches; 4 naves; 1 chancel

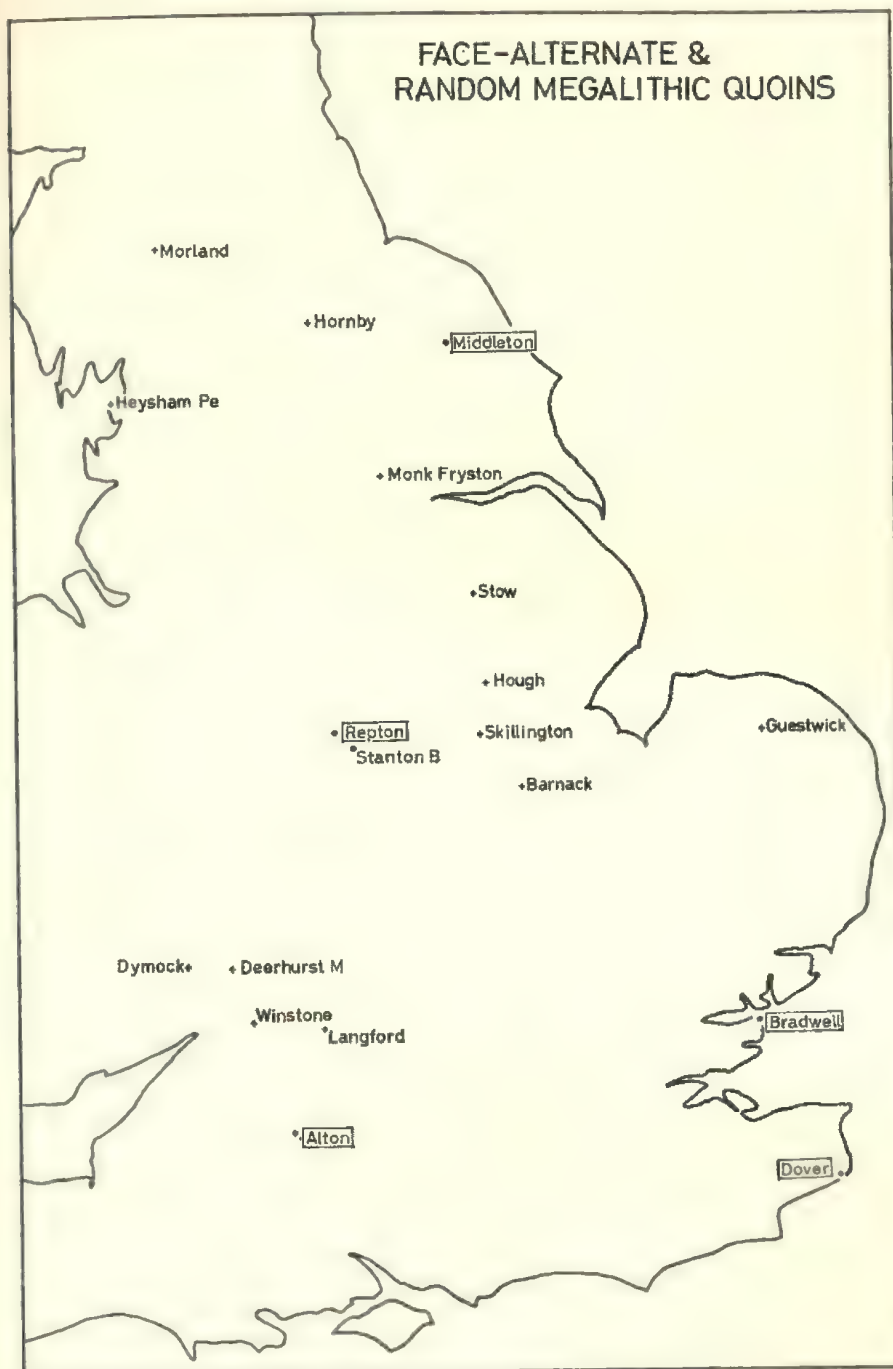


FIG. 716. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF FACE-ALTERNATE AND RANDOM MEGALITHIC QUOINS

The names of churches with random megalithic quoins are enclosed in rectangular frames

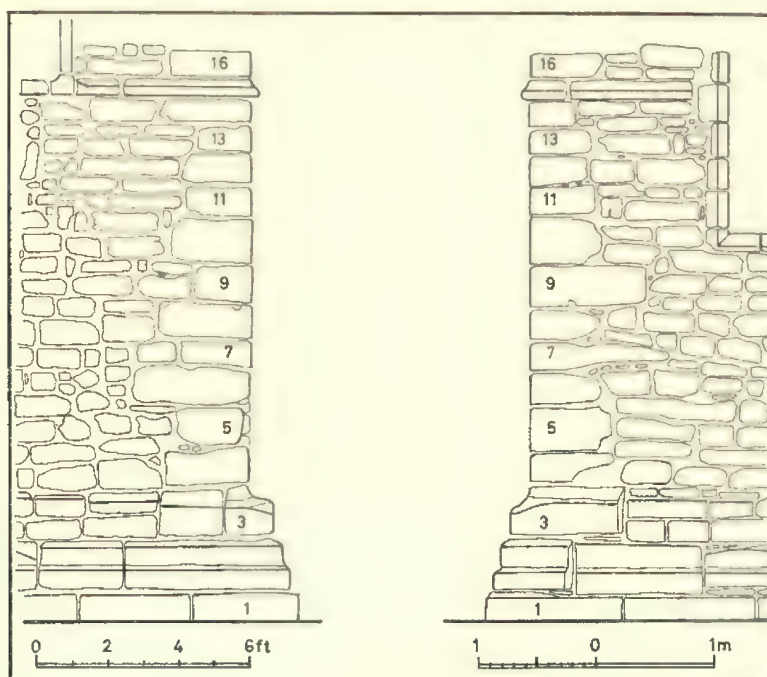


FIG. 717. THE SOUTH-EAST QUOIN OF THE CHANCEL AT REPTON

This figure shows only the lower half of the quoin and about 6 ft of the adjoining wall. Courses 1 to 3 represent the plinth and course 15 is the hollow-chamfered string-course.

secured by panelling the tower not only with raised bands at the angles but also with pilaster-strips which run up the centre of the north and south faces (Vol. I: 369). The bands at the angles arise from a cutting back of the face-alternate quoins in a manner of which we have seen many examples in long-and-short quoins and a few in side-alternate. A much more pronounced cutting back is to be seen in the mixed face- and side-alternate quoins at Dymock where the effect is almost comparable to that given by the clasping buttresses of Norman work; and conversely a very much shallower and more tentative cutting back is to be seen at Skillington in the several courses of face-alternate quoins below the long-and-short quoins which are also cut back and which therefore seem to be contemporary.

Random megalithic quoins. The five members of this small group are so divergent in character that they scarcely form a homogeneous group except in their uniform use of large stones and in the rather unsystematic ways in which they are laid. The quoins at Alton Barnes are mainly of upright

pillar-stones but with occasional clasping stones, so that they could almost be called irregular members of the long-and-short group. At Bradwell the quoins are built almost wholly of pillar-stones, and some insurance against their falling out from the wall has been provided by the adjoining pilaster-buttresses which not only bond into the walls but also partially overlap the quoins (Vol. I: 92). At Dover and also in the early nave at Middleton the quoins are mainly of pillar-stones but with an admixture of tile or brick at Dover and of face-laid stones at Middleton (Vol. I: 420). Finally, at Repton the quoins are of exceptionally large undressed stones almost all of which are laid on their faces; many of these stones are rectangular in plan and are laid in face-alternate pattern while many others are square in plan and are laid in groups which from their uniform size seem to be ill bonded into the main body of the wall (Fig. 717). The classic example of random megalithic quoining at Canterbury St Mildred (Vol. I: 7) has been omitted from this volume because it did not satisfy the rigorous selection rules of Chapters 1 to 3.

7. CHURCHES WITH MORE THAN ONE TYPE

TABLE 7. *Churches with two types of quoining*

1. Barnack	LS FA	9. Hornby	SA FA	17. Skillington	LS FA
2. Barton	LS SA	10. Hough	LS FA	18. Stanton B	LS FA
3. Bedford	LS Rb	11. Lincoln P	LS SA	19. Stow	SA FA
4. Bracebridge	LS SA	12. Marton	SA Rb	20. Thornage	LS Rb
5. Branston	LS SA	13. Middleton	SA RM	21. Thurlby	LS SA
6. Deerhurst M	Rb FA	14. Milborne	LS SA	22. Wareham M	LS SA
7. Dymock	SA FA	15. Oxford	LS Rb	23. Whittingham	LS SA
8. Guestwick	Rb FA	16. Rothwell	LS SA	24. Winstone	SA FA

SECTION 7. CHURCHES WITH MORE THAN ONE TYPE OF QUOINING

It is now time to consider in more detail the twenty-four churches which each show more than one type of quoining; their names are grouped together in Table 7 which also lists the types of quoining and shows that only two types are used in each of these churches.

In so far as a distinct change in quoining indicates a change of workmanship and thereby gives a presumption of different phases of building, probably at different dates, it is important to look more closely at all the other evidence which is available for these twenty-four churches in order to see whether or not the other evidence supports the indication given by the change of quoining. We shall see that for about half these churches the other evidence is adequate to prove, or at least very strongly to suggest, that the two parts with different quoining were built as different phases and with a lapse of time that would account for differing fashions; equally we shall see that for some others there is convincing evidence that adjoining areas with markedly different quoins were built as one unit; while for a few others, particularly those relating to quite separate parts of buildings, we shall see that there is insufficient evidence to lead to any reliable conclusion.

EVIDENCE INDICATING DIFFERING PHASES OF BUILDING

It seems natural to begin this part of our consideration by taking the tower of St Peter's church at Barton-on-Humber which since Rickman's initial study has been the classic example of this type of reasoning (1817: 45-6). The evidence of the quoining, as recorded in Table 7 and as shown in Fig. 706 of Chapter 12, is that the lower part of the tower, which includes a belfry stage, is uniformly

treated with long-and-short quoining whereas an upper belfry stage has side-alternate quoining. The additional evidence provided by the remainder of the fabric can be summarised by saying first that the double windows of the two belfry stages are markedly different in general design and detail, secondly that the rubble fabric of the lower part of the tower is very different from the squared and coursed stones of the upper belfry, and thirdly that the panelling with stripwork on most of the rubble part of the tower and its absence from the uppermost belfry indicate a marked change of fashion between the two parts.

Having given this brief account of the evidence for the classic case of Barton it will be sufficient to list nine somewhat similar cases along with Barton in summary fashion in Table 8, leaving the reader to consult Volumes I and II for fuller accounts of each church.

CHANGE OF QUOINING BUT A SINGLE DATE

The most straightforward example of a building which has two different types of quoining but in which they cannot be associated with separate dates or phases of building is the tower of St Michael's church in Oxford where the southern quoins up the whole height are of rubble while those on the north are systematically of long-and-short technique.

Another straightforward group is to be seen at Dymock, Hornby and Winstone where side- and face-alternate quoins occur with the two types so closely intermingled that they almost represent a variant type that might be called side-and-face alternate.

Next there is the very important example of the regular use of long-and-short quoining up almost the whole of the tower and the western angles of the nave at Barnack but with short stretches of face-alternate quoining for the first few feet from

the ground; and there are similar but fragmentary examples on single quoins at Skillington and Stanton-by-Bridge. At none of these three churches is there any change of the main fabric of the wall in association with the change of quoining, and at Barnack the walls of the tower and all their features are complete and uniform in a way which demonstrates conclusively that they were built as a unit. Finally at Whittingham there are somewhat similar but less regular long-and-short quoins which were illustrated last century as extending to the top of the tower but which now exist for only short lengths above even shorter lengths of side-alternate quoining; here again the uniformity of main fabric indicates a single phase of building.

The details of all these examples, and the evidence for a single date for each building can be summarised as is shown in Table 9.

CHANGES OF QUOINING WITH INSUFFICIENT EVIDENCE FOR DECIDING ABOUT SEPARATE PHASES OR DATES

For the remaining five churches of Table 7, the evidence at present available from the remainder

of the fabric is not sufficient either to refute or to give any support to whatever indication of separate building dates might be assumed from the changes of quoining. Thus for the following churches any pronouncement about a sequence of building dates must depend on further evidence in spite of present observations of the existence of two types of quoining:

Guestwick Milborne Thornage Thurlby Wareham M

VARIATIONS OF QUOINING WITHIN A SINGLE TYPE

The importance of a change of quoining as an indication of a change in workmanship is not limited to examples of the sort which we have considered above, in which there is a change from one of the main types of quoining to another. For example a change from side-alternate quoins of very large stones to quoins of the same type but of very much smaller size was one of the main arguments first advanced for claiming that at Bardsey the church had first had a west porch and that only later had it been raised to form a tower (Brown 1925: 192). Similar indications from quoins at Cor-

TABLE 8. *Changes of quoining associated with other features which indicate change of date*

Church	Quoin	Place used	Quoin	Placed used	Other evidence of different date
Barton	LS	Tower-nave	SA	Upper belfry	Major change of fabric
Bracebridge	LS	Nave	SA	Tower	{ Tower not bonded to nave, and slight difference of fabric
Rothwell		Nave	SA	Tower	
Marton	Rb	Nave	SA	Tower	{ 1. As above 2. Tower oversails plinth of nave
Branston	LS	Nave	SA	Tower	
Lincoln P	LS	porch	Rb	Tower above	Slight change of fabric
Bedford		Several stages of porch	FA	Tower above	Slight change of fabric
Deerhurst M	Rb	Several stages of porch	FA	Tower above	Tower built against and over west wall of nave Vol. I: 321
Hough	FA	Tower	LS	Nave	Widening of nave Vol. I: 420
Middleton	RM	Narrow nave	SA	Wider nave	Vol. II: 587
Stow	SA	Main quoins	FA	Few upper courses	

TABLE 9. *Changes of quoining associated with other features which indicate a single phase and date*

Church	Quoins	Place used	Evidence of a single phase and date
Oxford	LS and Rb	Opposite quoins of tower	Uniform fabric throughout tower. Both types of quoin up whole height
Dymock	SA and FA	Nave	{ Types of quoining intermingled
Winstone		Tower	
Hornby	SA and FA	Tower and nave	{ Main fabric uniform throughout
Barnack	LS and FA	Nave	
Skillington	LS and FA	Tower and nave	
Stanton B	LS and SA		
Whittingham	LS and SA		

bridge and Monkwearmouth can be used to confirm independent evidence that the towers there are also later modifications to west porches (Vol. I: 174 and 434). Similarly, a change in the character of the long-and-short quoins at Brigstock and an associated change in the main fabric suggests that the upper storey of the tower is a later addition to a west porch (Vol. I: 102-4).

SECTION 8. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

My own observations confirm Baldwin Brown's view that long-and-short quoining was not used on the Continent, where buildings of our period almost all have side- or face-alternate quoining, or a combination of the two. Side-alternate quoining is by far the most common type; but there are fewer examples than in England of the megalithic sort, and more examples of the sort in which the quoin-stones are of the same size and are laid in the same courses as the stones of the main fabric even when this consists only of roughly dressed and coursed stones. Although the face-alternate type occurs less often than side-alternate, it is used much more often than in England, and the explanation of this difference is associated with what has already been said about the infrequent use of megalithic side-alternate quoining on the Continent. Thus, many continental buildings of this period with walls of moderate-sized rubble have quoins of much the same material laid in face-alternate fashion whereas in England they would almost certainly have had side-alternate quoins of much larger stones, each matching two, three, or even four of the main courses of the wall. This difference between Continental and English practice is particularly noticeable in buildings in

which the main fabric shows a variety of different treatments; for example it shows very clearly if we contrast the great west facade of St Philibert at Tournus with the west tower at Broughton; at Tournus the main fabric is of roughly squared stones laid on their faces in courses seldom more than 6 in. tall, and with quoins almost all in the same courses, but half way up the lower storey there are several courses of very much larger stones, where again the quoins match the courses; by contrast, at Broughton (Vol. I: 115) the tower has side-alternate quoins of large stones up its whole height although the main fabric shows four well-defined horizontal bands of different fabric, in one of which roughly squared stones are laid in courses very like those at Tournus.

The following very brief lists of occurrence of different types of quoining on the Continent will perhaps serve to give an indication of the difference in practice from what is shown in much more detail for England in Tables 1 to 6; for illustrations see Hubert *et al.* 1968 and Grodecki 1973.

It should perhaps be said that something like cut back long-and-short quoins are to be seen at the angles of the great westwork of St Pantaleon in Cologne; but, quite apart from the fact that these are largely a reconstruction of last century, closer inspection will show that they do not consist of an alternation of pillar-stones with clasping stones but rather an alternating succession of tall and short pillar-stones.

SECTION 9. ORIGINS OF LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINING

Since long-and-short quoining has not been found on the Continent, its considerable vogue in England indicates that it was a local invention. But

TABLE 10. *Continental quoining*

(a) <i>Megalithic side-alternate</i>		
Hildesheim, St Michael	Lorsch, Torhalle	Paderborn, St Bartholomew
(b) <i>Side-alternate</i>		
Aachen, Palace Chapel	Jumièges, Notre Dame	Paderborn, Abdinghof
Cardona, St Vincent	Lomello, St Mary	Reichenau, St Mary
Essen, Cathedral	Noli, St Paragorio	St Benoît-sur-Loire (Fleury) (west tower)
Hastière-par-delà, St Maria	Oviedo, St Cristina-de-Lena	Trier, Cathedral
(c) <i>Face-alternate, either alone or with some side-alternate</i>		
Brescia, San Salvatore	Corvey, St Stephen	Ottmarsheim, Abbey Church
Canigou, St Martin	Limburg-in-the-Hardt, Abbey	Ripoll, St Maria
	Nivelles, St Gertrude	Tournus, St Philibert

it is one member of a family of three related techniques all of which use an alternation of large stones so laid that the vertical members protect a considerable height of the wall while the horizontal ones bond more deeply into it and thus serve to keep the uprights in place. The first of these techniques is the use of upright and flat through-stones in the jambs of doorways or arches, in the manner called Escomb fashion (Brown 1925: 54); the second is the long-and-short quoining now under consideration; and we saw the third in the long-and-short pilaster-strips in ten churches of Chapter 11.

We know that Escomb fashion jambs were used early in the Anglo-Saxon period, for example in the doorways of the west porch at Monkwearmouth; and we also know that they were used in Roman buildings not only on the Continent but also in England where they seem to have provided the Anglo-Saxons with ready-made material for the chancel-arch at Escomb and the tower arch at Corbridge (Brown 1925: 53-4 and 142-4). There therefore seems good reason for accepting Brown's argument (1925: 55 and 256) that the Anglo-Saxon invention of long-and-short quoining arose by a transference of ideas, that is to say by transferring the Escomb technique for lining the jambs of doorways and arches into the long-and-short technique for protecting the vulnerable salient angles of walls. In Chapter 11 we made the analogous suggestion that the long-and-short pilaster-strips were invented by a similar transference of ideas from Escomb fashion jambs to the main surface of walls.

It is obviously difficult to decide in which of the surviving Anglo-Saxon buildings these inventions may have taken place; indeed the buildings concerned may no longer survive. But in Chapter 11 we drew attention to the very special circumstance at Barnack that the regular alternation of upright and flat stones in the quoins and pilasters seems to have been inspired by the similar alternation in the doorway, because it was used throughout the doorway whereas in some of the quoins and pilasters the lower courses were quite differently laid as if at that time there had been no idea that the long-and-short technique could be applied to them. It would be rash on this evidence to claim that Barnack must be the church where the funda-

mental step was taken to transfer the idea of the Escomb technique from openings so as to apply it also to walls and quoins; but it would be equally difficult to deny that Barnack occupies a very special position in this transference of thought. It is particularly important to note that the sharp break in the treatment of quoins and pilasters applies not only to one or even to a few, but to most of them; moreover it occurs at about shoulder height, above which the long-and-short technique is used with complete regularity in keeping with the high standards of masonry that apply throughout the tower. It is important also to remember that the use of Escomb technique on the doorway included the stripwork beside its jambs in a way that could well have suggested a transference of the same method to the nearby pilasters and thence to all the others, as well as the quoins.

For further study of the relationship between these similar techniques in arches, quoins and pilasters, it is of interest to record the churches in which all three techniques are used, and also the three groups of churches in which two out of three are used.

TABLE II. *Long-and-short techniques*

Churches using all three techniques: Escomb fashion jambs, long-and-short quoins, and long-and-short pilasters

Barnack	Bibury	Coln Rogers
Barton	Breamore	Worth

Churches using two out of the three

(a) *Jambs and quoins*

Bosham	Daglingworth	Whittingham
Brigstock	Deerhurst O	Wittering
Cambridge	Headbourne	Wootton
Corhampton	Strethall	

(b) *Quoins and pilasters*

Earl's Barton	Sompting
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(c) *Pilasters and jambs*

Barrow	Stanton L
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SECTION 10. INDICATIONS OF DATE

SIDE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

Megalithic side-alternate quoins are used at Monkwearmouth, not only in the nave which is known to belong to the earliest period but also in the slightly later west porch; and also, but of less impressive size, in the west tower which cannot yet be precisely dated but must belong to a comparatively late period. Moreover the western quoins at Kirkdale although of two sizes and possibly two

dates are all megalithic, and at least the upper part can securely be dated to the period 1055-65. Thus the use of side-alternate quoins is established at the beginning and the end of the Anglo-Saxon period; and from the evidence both of the tower at Monkwearmouth and also of the large number of other survivals there seems little doubt that they were in use throughout the whole period. Moreover the use of large stones in early Monkwearmouth and late Kirkdale shows that no simple indication of date can be got from any distinction between the use of larger and smaller stones in separate buildings; but the evidence of the porch and tower at Monkwearmouth suggests that where there is a distinction between the use of large and small stones in separate areas of a single building then the megalithic area is likely to be earlier than the other; this indication is confirmed by the upper and lower belfries at Appleton, and there are no contrary indications elsewhere.

RUBBLE QUOINS

Rubble quoins mainly of brick or tile are used in the original churches of St Peter and St Paul at Canterbury and of St Mary at Lyminge, all of which are firmly dated to the earliest period, and rubble quoins mainly of stone and flint at St Martin's Canterbury which is perhaps less securely dated but most probably early. The other churches with rubble quoins are as yet insecurely dated but there is little doubt that many in Table 4 belong to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, for example the towers at Clapham, Colchester, and elsewhere; whereas others such as Brixworth and Reculver are early; while yet others such as Deerhurst St Mary show a succession of additions all with rubble quoins of stone to an original building whose date is as yet uncertain but is certainly not late. Thus it seems clear that rubble quoins were used through the whole period.

LONG-AND-SHORT QUOINS

Long-and-short quoins do not appear in any church for which an early date is established nor indeed in any for which such a date has been suggested. Bishopstone was placed by Baldwin Brown in period B3 or C (1925: 193-4 and 444) but with very little argument in support of this

date. I have suggested above that the origins of long-and-short quoins are probably to be seen at Barnack, where I believe the tower should be dated in period B before the Danish invasion of 870 (Taylor 1970b: 38 and 1968c: 16). In parts of Lincolnshire side-alternate quoining had become the fashion before the end of the Anglo-Saxon period for towers which were being added to naves with long-and-short quoins; but elsewhere long-and-short was still in use for towers right up to the end of the period, for example at Dunham and Sompting. Moreover it is firmly dated to 1056 at Deerhurst, Odda's chapel.

Of the variant forms of long-and-short quoining, the evidence at Brigstock (Vol. I: 102-4) suggests that the form with oblong pillar-stones represents a degenerate and later fashion than the regular form with stones that are more or less square in plan. This would be consistent with the appearance of lateness in the East Anglian group of churches with oblong pillar-stones; but it must be admitted that apart from the round tower at Lexham and the general lack of distinction there is little sound evidence for claiming that these churches fall into the latest part of our period.

FACE-ALTERNATE QUOINS

There is no firm dating for any of the churches of Table 5, but of the four where face-alternate quoins are used without other types the towers at Langford, Monk Fryston and Morland all suggest dates right at the end of our period. This would also be the case for the mixed use with side-alternate quoins at Dymock, Hornby and Stow, and for the tower at Deerhurst St Mary over the several stages of rubble quoining in the west porch. Only for the few lower courses of face-alternate quoining at Barnack is there a clear indication for a fairly early date, say in period B.

RANDOM MEGALITHIC QUOINING

Obviously no very clear indications can be given by the small group of five churches with random megalithic quoins. From Bradwell we may deduce that upright pillar-stones almost alone were in use in period A, and from Dover that they remained in use, but with an admixture of tile or brick until period C.

WALLS, PLINTHS AND FOUNDATIONS

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

The subject-matter of this chapter has up to the present received rather scant consideration, and what is said here is intended mainly as an exploratory treatment that may provide a framework on which future studies can be based.

For the country as a whole it is still not in general possible to decide simply by inspection of a piece of walling that it is of pre-Conquest workmanship; and indications based upon the walling alone without supporting evidence from openings or other features should still always be treated with reserve (Vol. I: 12). But in certain limited areas close study of many buildings that are known to belong to particular periods has developed an awareness that there were indeed differences in the choice and the treatment of material between Saxons and Normans, and that these differences are sometimes sufficiently clear and consistent to justify a provisional assignment of a building to one of these periods simply on the evidence of the materials or the way in which they have been worked. For example in the City of York one minor outcome of the detailed studies made by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments has been to indicate that in general gritstone appears in Anglo-Saxon buildings but not in Norman ones and that magnesian limestone appears in Norman but not in Anglo-Saxon. There is as yet no evidence to show that this distinction would necessarily apply over a wider area; but within the City of York it has given a number of indications which have been tested and confirmed by independent evidence, for example at St Mary Castlegate and St Cuthbert. It should, however, be noted that churches such as these have not been introduced into the main text of this volume because they came to my notice after the general

analysis had proceeded too far for changes to be made without major dislocation.

Thickness of walls. Measurements of the thickness of the main walls of the nave are available for close on 200 of the churches under consideration in this volume and it therefore seemed desirable to devote a section to the consideration of the long-standing generalisation that Anglo-Saxon walls are seldom as thick as 3 ft and are more often nearer to 2 ft 6 in. (Vol. I: 12). This generalisation will be seen in Section 2 to be fairly well substantiated, but the spread up to and beyond 3 ft for walls of naves is probably greater than most students would have expected.

Fabric. If progress is to be made in closer study of walls it is essential that there should be an agreed set of names for a limited number of types of fabric into which the known buildings can be fitted with reasonable certainty. In Section 3 names are suggested for five types of fabric, and most of the churches under consideration are placed in one of these types; there are sixteen instances of the use of two or more types in a single church, and some of these give useful information about successive phases of building.

Plinths. The study of plinths is also at a very early stage. In part this is due to uncertainty about the status of many churches for which no plinths have so far been observed. The discovery of plinths in recent years at a number of churches by lowering of the adjoining ground suggests that there may be many others where plinths exist but are at present hidden. Section 4 must therefore also be regarded as being at a very provisional stage.

Foundations. The study of foundations is for obvious reasons at an even more tentative stage, and Section 5 has been provided only as an ex-

ample of interesting new results at a few churches and as a statement of the need for further study on a much wider basis.

SECTION 2. THICKNESS OF WALLS OF NAVES

In order to avoid undue complication, this section has been limited to the consideration of the standing walls of naves, thus excluding both towers and

also churches which are defined only by foundations, but including the tower-naves at Barton-on-Humber, Broughton, and Earl's Barton. The average value for the 186 naves concerned gives a thickness of 2 ft 7 in.; there are four churches for which the thickness is less than 2 ft; eighteen for which it is 3 ft, and fifteen for which it is above 3 ft, the thickest being 4 ft 6 in. for the tower-nave at Earl's Barton and the next thickest 4 ft 4 in. at Cricklade. Table 1 lists the naves concerned by

TABLE 1. *Thicknesses of nave walls (in inches)*

In.						
54	Earl's Barton					
52	Cricklade					
46	Brixworth	Elmham S				
43	St Albans M					
42	Dover	Dymock				
41	Rockland					
40	Hardwick	Springfield	Witley			
39	Barsham					
38	Norwich J					
37	Coltishall	Pattishall				
36	{ Bardfield	Barholm	Bessingham	Breamore	Colney	Dunham
	{ Elmham N	Leicester	Nassington	Norwich P	Paxton	Pentlow
	{ St Albans S	Shereford	Stafford	Stanton L	Thorington	Wing
35	Diddlebury	Newton	Reed			
34	{ Bedford	Bibury	Broughton	Fakenham	Gosbeck	Lusby
	{ Skipwith	Stanton B				
33	{ Atcham	Burghwallis	Bywell A	Godalming	Hannington	Hornby
	{ Iwer	M Fryston	Notley	Quarley	Thornage	Turvey
	{ Winterton	Witton	Woolbeding	Worth		
32	{ Alkborough	Bracebridge	Cambridge	Chickney	Claydon	Crangleford
	{ Freshwater	Green's N	Houghton	Inworth	Kirby Hill	Leeds
	{ Minster	Rothwell	Staindrop	Stanley	Winterborne	
31	{ Alton	Arlington	Avebury	Frammingham	Geddington	Heysham Pa
	{ Hough	Lexham	Lincoln M	Seaham	Wharram S	Wouldham
	{ Barton	Bitton	Boarhunt	Botolphs	Bradwell	Branston
	{ Brigstock	Bytham	Carlton	Corbridge	Corringham	Deerhurst M
30	{ Fetcham	Hadstock	Hambleton	Headbourne	Holton	Howe
	{ Lavendon	Lopham	Lydd	Middleton	Northfleet	Prittlewell
	{ Repton	Ropsley	Ryther	Scartho	Shorne	Skillington
	{ Tedstone	Titchfield	Tredington	Waithe	Whittingham	Wittering
	{ Bradford	Britford	Collingham	Coln Rogers	Darenth	Heysham Pe
29	{ Kirkdale	Marton	Morton	Poling	Somborne	Stoke
	{ Stoughton	Stowe-nC	Wilsford	Winstone		
	{ Appleton	Clayton	Corhampton	Escomb	Hart	Ledsham
28	{ Peakirk	Reculver	Sockburn	Somerford	Strethall	Thurlby
	{ Walkern					
27	{ Arreton	Barrow	Cheriton	Deerhurst O	Fareham	Jarrow
	{ Miserden	Sompting				
26	{ Billingham	Bishopstone	Bywell P	Chithurst	Inglesham	K Hammerton
	{ Limpley	Roughton	Shoreham			
25	Barnack	Bremhill	Daglingworth	Stourmouth	Whitfield	
24	Bardsey	Hackness	Mwearmouth	Rumbolds	Selham	Singleton
23	Wareham M					
22	Canterbury M	Canterbury P				
21	Canterbury A					

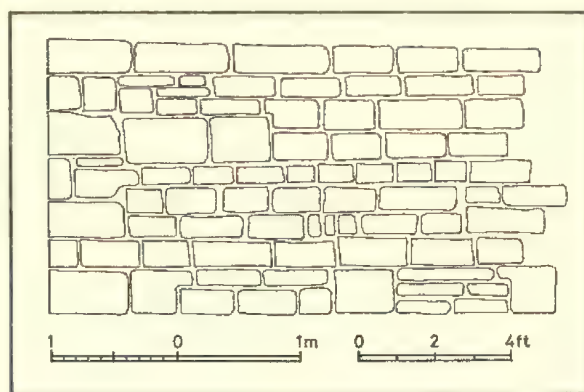


FIG. 718. A COURSED STONE WALL

wall thickness at intervals of 1 in; in the few cases where the walls of a single nave vary appreciably in thickness a mean value has been used.

SECTION 3. FABRIC

The principal purpose of this section is to put forward a system of nomenclature for the main types of fabric used in Anglo-Saxon buildings, in a form that is sufficiently simple to secure its general acceptance and yet sufficiently precise to allow each building to be placed with reasonable certainty in a single type. The fabric could be divided into types in accordance with many different criteria; but it seems adequate for our purpose to consider first the extent to which individual stones are dressed, next the extent to which they are laid in regular courses, and finally whether individual stones are in the main laid horizontally or obliquely. These considerations lead us to suggest five main types as being adequate for the classification of Anglo-Saxon walls: ashlar, coursed stone, coursed rubble, random rubble, and oblique coursing or herringbone fabric.

Ashlar. In an ashlar wall the individual stones are accurately dressed into rectangular shape and are most usually laid with their longer sides horizontal. It is then immaterial how greatly the individual stones may differ in horizontal length; but the shorter sides must be of uniform height for each course, although different courses may vary and sometimes are arranged to do so in a decorative fashion, as at Diddlebury. It should also be noted that in ashlar fabric the exposed surfaces of the

stones are carefully dressed so as to ensure that the wall as a whole presents a smooth and tidy appearance.

The principal examples of ashlar fabric in Anglo-Saxon churches are at Bradford-on-Avon, Diddlebury, Dymock, and Milborne Port. Perhaps none of these would rank as ashlar in classical or gothic buildings but they are sufficiently distinct from roughly dressed and coursed stone to justify the use of the term ashlar in this context. Elsewhere in this volume they are often referred to as quasi-ashlar. In Table 3 we shall record a few further members of this class, including the internal walls of crypts at Hexham and Repton.

Coursed stone. There are very few Anglo-Saxon walls of ashlar, but there are many in which the stones are less carefully dressed but are still laid in fairly uniform courses. It will often be seen, however, that courses suffer abrupt changes of height, apparently because supplies of stones of the appropriate height have failed for the time being. Sometimes such a change is set right in the next course above by using stones which become taller at just the point where the shorter ones were used below; at other times a course of very thin stones is used to adjust the difference; and sometimes smaller stones are used with their longer edge set upright in order to maintain the coursing of a wall.

As a further contrast with ashlar walls it should be noted that in walls of coursed stone the exposed surfaces of the individual stones are seldom carefully dressed and are often quite rough. The rough exposed surfaces of the stones cannot be shown in Fig. 718, but the rougher jointing is indicated, and

also the various expedients for dealing with different sizes of stones. The name coursed stone is suggested for this type of wall as a convenient shorthand term for what might more accurately be called a roughly coursed wall of roughly dressed stone. It should be noted that material for this type of wall may be obtained by the quarrying of stone which breaks naturally into more or less rectangular shape but not necessarily of quite regular size; or it may be obtained by robbing a number of buildings all of which were of ashlar masonry, but of different sizes. It is usually possible to distinguish between stones that are freshly prepared and ones that have been re-used from earlier buildings by contrasting the relatively sharp edges of the freshly used stones with the chipped edges and broken corners which the others usually have as a result of their having had to be broken away from their earlier setting.

A few obvious examples of coursed stone Anglo-Saxon buildings are Appleton-le-Street, particularly the upper belfry; Barrow, with markedly different heights of courses; the upper belfry at Barton-on-Humber; the tower at Billingham; and the whole church at Escomb, with fairly regular heights of courses except for the much smaller size of the upper few.

Coursed rubble. The distinction between coursed stone and coursed rubble is perhaps even more difficult to define precisely than that between ashlar and coursed stone. It can probably best be described by saying that, whereas the individual units in a wall of coursed stone are all of a fairly regular rectangular shape, by contrast the individual units in a wall of coursed rubble may have very irregular shapes even though they fit into courses because they are all of much the same height. This irregularity of shape in a rubble wall is sometimes quite slight as in Fig. 719 but sometimes very marked; and it is this wide range of possibilities which makes it difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between walls of coursed stone and coursed rubble. As with coursed stone, the individual units in a wall of coursed rubble may have been quarried for the purpose or may result from the robbing of earlier buildings. It is, however, much harder to distinguish between these two possibilities because of the much more ir-

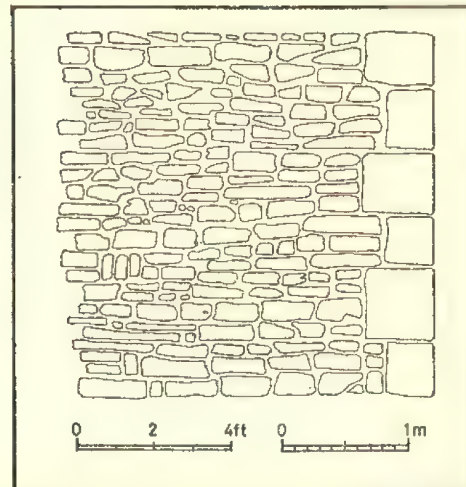


FIG. 719. A COURSED RUBBLE WALL

regular outline of all the units. A fresh complication arises in describing rubble walls, in that the material may be small and irregular pieces of quarried stone or may be irregular pieces of natural stone or flint, or quite other substances such as brick or tile. Coursing of these latter types will, however, not usually be employed unless all the units are of much the same size, and even then they are often laid as random rubble.

Coursed rubble is perhaps the most usual fabric for Anglo-Saxon masonry walls, and only a few examples need be quoted to illustrate the wide variation in the sizes of units and the degree to which the regularity of the coursing is independent of the size of the units. Examples of coursed rubble with big units is to be seen at Monkwearmouth and Sockburn and examples of very neatly laid shallow courses of stone are to be seen at Lincoln St Peter and of flint at Little Bardfield and Fornsett St Peter.

Random rubble. In a wall of random rubble the individual units are laid without attention either to coursing or to their own orientation; sometimes the effect is so irregular as to suggest that the units may have been laid by pouring a mixed concrete aggregate against a timber frame, but more usually they seem to have been laid by hand in mortar. In East Anglia and Kent random rubble walls are very often of whole flints, sometimes of very varying size and sometimes with a mixture of other materials such as stone and tile. In other parts

of the country stone is the more usual substance for random rubble walls.

Oblique coursing or herringbone fabric. It is difficult to be dogmatic about the reason which lies behind the occasional use of thin slabs of stone laid obliquely in courses which sometimes all slope in the same direction but sometimes in opposite directions, in a way which obviously gives rise to the name herringbone fabric. It seems probable that the origin of this oblique laying of thin slabs of stone is to be seen in relation to the laying of courses with the help of a string, particularly when oblique courses occur occasionally in walls that are roughly coursed, using mainly rectangular blocks. In such cases a string for laying the blocks would not conveniently serve for laying thin slabs horizontally, but when a group of thin slabs had been collected they could easily be set in place obliquely with the help of the string which would serve not only to maintain the straight face of the wall but also to keep the obliquely laid stones to the same height of course as was being used for the large blocks.

There are very few examples of walls which are uniformly laid in herringbone fabric that is regularly set in alternately sloped courses. The most notable examples are illustrated in the plates of Volume II: the interior face of the wall at Diddlebury (Fig. 449) which is a notable piece of Anglo-Saxon workmanship (Vol. I: 212-14) and the exterior face of the wall at Wigmore (Fig. 616) which is of uncertain date and so has been excluded from this volume.

THE SHAPE OF SQUARED STONES

In addition to the consideration of the way in which squared or roughly squared stones are laid in courses it is worth while to pay attention to the proportions of the rectangular faces of these stones. Much more study of these proportions is needed before any firm conclusions can be reached; but as a first generalisation it seems true that Norman practice was to use a rectangular shape much closer to that of a square than was common in Anglo-Saxon walls. This is, no doubt, all part of the Norman tendency, to which attention has often been directed in this volume, to use stones

of a fairly uniform size which was chosen for ease of handling. For example in the drawings preserved by the Society of Antiquaries of Lanfranc's tower at Canterbury (Red Portfolio, Kent, fo. 30-31) the stones hardly ever diverge from heights and breadths of 8 and 12 in.; and in the tower of the Norman church at Weaverthorpe the corresponding figures are 12 and 17 in.

It is difficult to give fair comparisons for Anglo-Saxon practice because of its lack of uniformity; but a few typical examples will show that while some buildings differ little from the Norman practice others show wide divergences. At Jarrow the stones are no further from square than those at Canterbury and Weaverthorpe, although they are less regular. But at Escomb and Milborne Port there are many stones where the length is well over twice the height, and ratios over three are not uncommon. These are not isolated examples, for the ratios of two and even three can be matched in the well dressed masonry at Bradford-on-Avon and Dymock, and in the much rougher fabric at Middleton-by-Pickering and probably at many others; moreover at Diddlebury, although the masonry is very well dressed, its courses show an exceptionally wide variation in size, perhaps in order to give a decorative effect; and, while the stones in some of the taller courses are almost square in shape, those in the narrower courses have widths well over twice their height.

CHURCHES WITH MORE THAN ONE TYPE OF FABRIC

We have seen that a very definite change in decorative treatment of fabric at Barton-on-Humber led Rickman to claim that the tower showed two separate periods of building (1817: 45) and we have seen that pronounced changes in quoining can give similar indications. It is therefore worth considering whether similar indications can be given by changes in the main fabric of walls. This can best be investigated by considering the churches listed in Table 2 each of which shows two or more markedly different types of fabric.

It will be noticed that these sixteen instances of the use of two or more types of fabric in a single church fall into several distinct classes. First there is the class in which two types of fabric are used

TABLE 2. *Churches with more than one type of fabric*

Barton	tower-nave, R Rb; upper belfry, Cs St
Broughton	stair-turret, Ashlar; tower: 1st stage, R Rb; 2nd, Hb; 3rd, Cs Rb
Carlton	tower: 1st stage, Cs Rb; belfry, Hb
Deerhurst M	main rectangle, south porticus and west porch: 1st stage, Cs Rb; upper stage, Cs Rb with occasional Hb north and north-east porticus, Cs Rb with occasional Hb at all levels
Diddlebury	exterior, Ashlar; interior, Hb
Hadstock	lower levels, Cs Rb; upper levels, Cs Rb with occasional Hb
Hexham	crypt, Ashlar; nave and apse, Cs Rb
Lyminge ME	nave and chancel, Cs Rb with occasional Hb
Marton	nave and chancel, Cs Rb; tower, Hb
Milborne	chancel: lower wall, Cs Rb; upper wall, Ashlar; transept, Cs St
Repton	plinths and interior of crypt, Ashlar; main walls, Cs Rb
Scartho	tower: 1st stage, Cs Rb; belfry, Cs St
Seaham	interior, Cs St; exterior, Cs Rb with occasional Hb
Selham	nave, R Rb; chancel, Hb
Skipwith	lower levels, Cs St; upper levels, Cs Rb
York	tower, lower levels, Cs Rb with occasional Hb and varied stone; upper levels, Cs St, larger and more uniform stone

in a way which proclaims that they were of one and the same building period because one is interspersed throughout the other as at Lyminge, and Seaham. Secondly there is a class which might be confused with the first but must be kept distinct, as at Deerhurst and Hadstock, where there is an interspersion of one type of fabric with another in part of the building but not in another; in these cases the differences of treatment may well serve to show that the different parts belong to different periods of building. Thirdly there is a class in which the interior is differently treated from the exterior as at Diddlebury, Hexham, and Repton; only the most careful study can show whether these changes in fabric arise from a desire by a single builder to treat the interior differently from the exterior or whether they indicate that a new skin was added later to one face as was claimed by Baldwin Brown for Diddlebury (1925: 245-6) but refuted by us (Vol. I: 211-14). Fourthly there is a class in which different fabric is used for distinct units of the building, as between the stair-turret and the tower at Broughton, the tower and the body of the church at Marton, the chancel and the transept at Milborne or the nave and chancel at Selham; in the absence of supporting evidence it would be rash to assume that differences of this sort implied a lapse of time rather than a structural need for different treatment or an aesthetic desire to treat a more important part such as a chancel more elegantly than other parts of a church. Finally there is the class which was first drawn to

attention by Rickman in which different types of fabric are used at separate levels in one part of the building, as in the towers at Barton, Broughton, Carlton, Scartho, Skipwith and York, and in the body of the church at Deerhurst St Mary and Milborne.

Apart from the first of these classes, none can be treated simply by rule-of-thumb. Each problem needs to be considered in the light of all other evidence that is available. Recent investigations at Deerhurst and Hadstock suggest that the differences of treatment at different levels do indeed belong to separate phases in which the stone walls of the churches were carried to greater heights (Butler, Rahtz and Taylor 1975: 360-1; and Rodwell 1976: 62-4); but in each case there was independent evidence to support that of the fabric.

Finally, changes of fabric can sometimes be clearly seen even when the change is not sufficient to carry the fabric from one of our types to another; for example at Lincoln St Peter both the nave and the tower are correctly to be classed as coursed rubble, but the courses are of taller stones in the west wall of the nave and of flatter stones in the tower, so that the adjoining walls give a clear contrast, quite apart from differences of quoining and of plinths. This need not be regarded as a shortcoming of our five types of fabric; so long as special attention is given where necessary to such comparatively small differences within types, it is obviously desirable to keep the number of types to a minimum.

GROUPING OF CHURCHES BY FABRIC

For most of the churches under discussion in this volume the nature of the fabric can be seen, but there are some for which it is wholly concealed by plaster; moreover there are necessarily considerable borders of uncertainty between the five types, particularly between coursed stone and coursed rubble, and sometimes also between coursed and random rubble. Therefore it is not claimed that the lists in Table 3 are complete or that they would be agreed at all points by other observers; they may, however, indicate the extent to which the definitions of the five types provide reasonably clear demarcations, and the groupings may be found convenient when it is desired to study buildings of

similar types of fabric, or to investigate the effect of local supplies on the choice of fabric. As usual, the names of churches which appear in more than one group are printed in *italic type*.

SECTION 4. PLINTHS

In attempting to disentangle the sequence in which different parts of a building have been erected, plinths can sometimes give important help, both because there are sometimes changes in type of plinth between one part of the building and another, and also because the part which was added later may proclaim this fact by encroaching on or cutting away some of the plinth of the earlier part. Moreover Baldwin Brown recorded his belief that

TABLE 3. *Grouping of churches by types of fabric*(a) *Ashlar*

Bradford *Broughton* (stair-turret) *Diddlebury* Dymock *Hexham* (crypt) *Milborne* (upper level of chancel)
Repton (crypt and plinths)

(b) *Coursed stone*

Appleton Atcham Barrow *Barton* (upper belfry) Billingham Bitton Bolam Escomb Hackness
Hovingham Jarrow Kirby Hill Kirkdale K Hammerton Laughton Ledsham *Milborne* (transept)
Norton *Scarho* (belfry) *Seaham* (interior) *Skipwith* (lower level) Waithe Wroxeter

(c) *Coursed rubble*

Alkborough Avebury Bardfield Bardsey Barholm Barnack Bedford Bessingham Bibury Boarhunt
Bosham Bracebridge Bradwell Branston Bremhill Brigstock *Broughton* (3rd stage) Bytham Bywell A
Bywell P Canterbury P *Carlton* (lower stage) Chithurst Clec Collingham Corbridge Debenham
Deerhurst M Dover Earl's Barton Elmham N Fornsett Geddington Gissing Glentworth Godalming
Green's N Guestwick Guildford Haddiscoe Haddiscoe T *Hadstock* (lower levels) Harmston Harpswell
Hart Headbourne Heapham *Hexham* (nave and apse) Heysham Pa Heysham Pe Holton Hornby Hough
Lincoln M Lincoln P Lusby *Lyminge ME* *Marton* (nave and chancel) Middleton *Milborne* (tower, and
lower part of chancel) M Fryston Mwearmouth Morland Norwich C Norwich P Ovingham *Repton*
(main walls) Rothwell *Scarho* (lower stage) *Seaham* *Skipwith* (upper stage) Sockburn Somerford Stain-
drop Stanley Stanton B Stanton L Stow Tasburgh Titchfield Wareham M Weybourne Wharham S
Whittingham Wickham Wilsford Wing Winterborne Winterton Wittering Wootton Worth York

(d) *Random rubble*

Arlington Arreton Aslacton Barsham *Barton* Beechamwell Birstall Bishopstone Breamore Brix-
worth *Broughton* (2nd stage) Burcombe Cambridge Canterbury M Caversfield Chickney Clapham
Claydon Clayton Colchester Colney Coln Rogers Coltishall Corringham Cringleford Daglingworth
Darenth Deerhurst O Dunham Elmham S Fakenham Fareham Fetcham Framingham Gayton
Gosbeck Hale Hales Herringfleet Howe Inglesham Inworth Iver Jevington Kirby Cane Langford
Lavendon Leicester Lexham Lopham Lydd Melton Minster Miserden Missenden Morton Newton
N Leigh Norwich J Norwich T Oxford Pattishall Paxton Peakirk Pentlow Poling Prittlewell
Quarley Reed Rockland Roughton *Selham* (nave) Shereford Shoreham Singleton Skillington
Somborne Sompington Springfield Stevington Stoke Stoughton Stourmouth Strethall Swanscombe
Tedstone Thorington Thornage Thurlby Tichborne Tredington Whitfield Winstone Witley
Witton Wouldham

(e) *Herringbone*

Broughton (2nd stage) Burghwallis *Carlton* (belfry) *Deerhurst M* (occasional) *Diddlebury* (internal) *Hadstock*
(occasional) *Lyminge ME* (occasional) *Marton* (tower) *Seaham* (occasional) *Selham* (chancel) York (occasional)

plinths were not used in the earlier Anglo-Saxon periods and that a plinth therefore gave an indication of a date in period C (Brown 1925: 23). It is therefore desirable to have lists of buildings for which plinths are known; to record particularly the buildings which have more than one type of plinth; and to keep these lists up to date if further plinths come to light as a result of excavation or otherwise. In the tables which follow, the names of churches which show more than one type of plinth are printed in *italic type*. In each table code-letters are given to show for which part of each church the plinth has been recorded; and for multiple plinths further code-signs have been given to show whether the individual members of the plinth are square, chamfered, moulded, or show some combination of these treatments.

Of the seventy plinths recorded in the tables forty-nine are single, fourteen are double, and seven triple; it will be seen that the commonest type is a single square plinth of stone (thirty-five examples), but that single square plinths may also be of rubble (seven examples), and that a single plinth may be chamfered (seven examples).

It seems logical to assume that multiple plinths, especially those that are ornamentally treated by mouldings or chamfers, were always intended to be seen; and in this connection it should be recorded that recent studies have established that ground-levels in Anglo-Saxon times were such that the double plinth of the polygonal apse at Deerhurst and the triple plinth below the chancel at Repton were indeed visible close above the ground. The multiple plinths at Hadstock have been excluded from Table 8 because they occur only inside the church under the lateral arches, by contrast with Stow where multiple plinths survive both internally and externally.

The origin of plinths need not, however, be primarily a matter of decoration, for it may well be the case that they arose straightforwardly from a natural desire to build foundations wider than the upstanding walls and to provide continuous protection for the rougher stones of the foundation where they would otherwise be exposed. Indeed the square plinths of rubble, as listed in Table 5, may simply be the exposed tops of rubble formations which were intended to be hidden below the ground.

INDICATIONS OF DATE

It is not yet possible to be dogmatic about the correctness of Baldwin Brown's assertion that plinths occur only in the later period C. If the presence of Jarrow in Table 4 could be maintained without reserve then his assertion would be shown to be false; but at present a plinth does not extend round the whole of the walls at Jarrow, indeed a clear plinth of square stones is visible only from the north-east quoin to the modern buttress about 5 ft southward along the east wall, and the genuineness of this as an original feature has been questioned. I see no reason to doubt that it is original, but I accept the argument of critics that it is hard to explain why nothing similar is visible elsewhere at Jarrow or at other early churches if a plinth was originally used round the whole church at Jarrow.

Whatever may be the status of the plinth at Jarrow there is no doubt about the plain square plinth all round the tower at Barnack, or about the elaborate triple plinth of the earliest work at Repton. Neither of these has yet been precisely dated; but recent studies at Repton strongly suggest a date before 850 for the crypt and plinths, while reasons have been given above for claiming that the tower at Barnack was built before the end of the ninth century.

BUILDING SEQUENCES

The simplest examples of the use of plinths in establishing sequences of building are to be seen at Branston and Lincoln St Peter at each of which a simple square plinth round the west of the nave has been overlaid by the later addition of a west tower. The position is made even clearer at Lincoln by the use of a more elaborate (double) plinth on the tower. A more involved example of this use of plinths is to be seen at Middleton (Vol. I: 420).

BASES FOR QUOINS

As a general rule the quoins rest on precisely the same foundations or plinths as are used for the main body of the walls; but at a small group of churches, all of which have carefully laid long-and-short quoins, provision has been made for a special seating for each quoin on a projecting base, in the form of a massive rectangular stone. This may

CHAPTER 14 WALLS, PLINTHS AND FOUNDATIONS

have been purely decorative in intention or it may have been thought to provide greater security. It is to be seen at all four western quoins of the tower and nave at Brigstock and at Cambridge, and at all six quoins of the nave and chancel at Wittering.

SECTION 5. FOUNDATIONS

A brief account has been given in Chapter 2 of the evidence recently found by excavation about the

foundations at Deerhurst St Mary, Hadstock, Jar-row, Repton, Rivenhall and Winchester. There is clearly now a need for a comprehensive search through earlier excavation reports to see whether there is evidence for local trends such as are indicated by the similarity of practice which was found at Hadstock and Rivenhall in Essex where, of course, the local shortage of good building stone would be expected to encourage the use of substitutes such as gravel and hoggin.

TABLE 4. *Square plinths of stone*

1. Atcham	n	13. Clee	t	25. Limpley	n
2. Barnack	t	14. Coln Rogers	n,c	26. Lincoln P	n
3. Bedford	t	15. Corbridge	t	27. Middleton	t,n(1)
4. Bibury	c	16. Corhampton	n,c	28. Pattishall	n
5. Bitton	n	17. Deerhurst M	NWp	29. Somerford	n
6. Boarhunt	n,c	18. Dover	n,c,p	30. Stanton B	n
7. Bradford	n,c,p	19. Earl's Barton	t	31. Stowe-nC	t
8. Branston	n	20. Green's N	n	32. Thurlby	t
9. Brigstock	n,t,s	21. Hornby	t	33. Winstone	n
10. Burghwallis	n,c	22. Jarrow	c	34. Wittering	n,c
11. Bytham	n	23. K Hammerton	n,c	35. Worth	n,c,p
12. Cambridge	n,t	24. Langford	t		

TABLE 5. *Square plinths of rubble*

1. Bardfield	n,t	3. Elmham N	n,p	6. Pentlow	c
2. Colney	t	4. Gissing	t	7. Thursley	c
		5. Marton	n,c		

TABLE 6. *Chamfered plinths of stone*

1. Daglingworth	n	3. Heapham	t	6. Singleton	t
2. Dymock	n	4. Morland	t	7. Thorington	t
		5. Seaham	n		

TABLE 7. *Double plinths*

(brick at Colchester, all others stone)

1. Colchester	Sq	t	8. Rothwell	Ch	t
2. Deerhurst M	Ch	c	9. Scartho	Sq + Ch	t
3. Holton	Sq + Ch	n,c,t	10. Sherborne	Sq + Ch	NWp
4. Hough	Sq	n,t	11. Skipwith	Sq + Ch	t
5. K Hammerton	Sq	t	12. Wareham M	Sq + Ch	n,c
6. Lincoln P	Ch	t	13. Wharrah S	Sq	t
7. Middleton	Sq + Ch	n(2)	14. Winterton	Sq	t

TABLE 8. *Triple plinths of stone*

1. Barholm	Md	n	5. Lusby	Ch	n,c
2. Barrow	Sq	c	6. Repton	Sq	c,p
3. Diddlebury	Sq	n	7. Stow	Ch	t,p
4. Laughton	Sq	NWp			

ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH PLANS

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

Having considered at some length the details and classification of a number of the principal structural features in Anglo-Saxon buildings it seems logical next to consider whether the ground-plans of the buildings can also be grouped into distinctive classes which might help in understanding their development or might give an indication of local variations or of variations with time.

This problem is in many ways more complicated than the study of individual features, for three main reasons: first, there is the difficulty that few churches have survived in a complete enough state to settle their ground-plans with certainty; secondly, there is the even greater difficulty that two almost identical ground-plans could correspond to very different superstructures, so that for complete certainty in any study of types of churches we need to know not only the plans but also the main features of the standing fabric; and thirdly, many of the churches can be seen to have developed into their present form through several intermediate stages, so that each of these churches defines several plans, all of which need separate consideration.

J. T. Micklethwaite first directed attention to the need for closer study of Anglo-Saxon church plans, in the hope that this would lead to a better understanding of the variation of styles with time and place (1896: 294). At the same time he drew attention to the difficulty of obtaining a clear picture of the original plan of any of these churches, bearing in mind the fragmentary state of many of them and the modifications which have been made to most of them in the intervening centuries. Micklethwaite very wisely said that the purpose of his analysis was to introduce the subject rather than to go very far with it; and that any attempt he made

at classification or dating would be subject to modification as further knowledge became available.

Considerable progress has been made in recent years both in England and on the Continent in settling the original plans of early churches and in showing how these plans were modified by successive alteration both during the early period and also later in the middle ages. But even now it is a difficult task to classify the plans of the early churches, and even more difficult to draw useful conclusions from the classification.

Much more work is needed, particularly by excavation both within and also outside standing churches, if the necessary degree of certainty is to be reached about the development of the surviving buildings from their earliest shapes. This excavation must go hand in hand with detailed examination of the surviving fabric above ground if proper deductions are to be reached about the relationship between the standing structure at each stage and the corresponding ground plan.

One point that already emerges with considerable certainty is that the surviving early churches are mostly of a comparatively simple plan, consisting of individual compartments laid out either in a line or in two lines crossing more or less at right-angles. Until fairly recently it was commonly thought that this simple cellular type, to which so many of our Anglo-Saxon churches belong, was unusual on the Continent and that the aisled basilical church was the normal type, from which a departure to these simple cellular forms would have been made only when an unusual shortage of funds dictated such a course. But in recent years it has been established that very many of the larger western European churches have in fact been built on top of earlier buildings which belong to these simpler forms. Many examples of such evidence

came to light as a result of excavation within war-damaged churches of north-west Europe but further examples have been found independently in recent years. As a result, the study of these simpler forms of churches has received fresh impetus on the Continent; and it has even been suggested by Edgar Lehmann, that, while the basilical form may well have been the norm in Mediterranean areas, nevertheless the simple church of one or two cells was the usual type during the early period of Christianity in north-west Europe (1958: 291-2).

Any attempt to devise a scheme for classifying the plans of Anglo-Saxon churches should clearly be guided mainly by considerations of simplicity and of direct relevance to the buildings that survive in England; but a secondary consideration should be to enable comparisons to be made as conveniently as possible with corresponding buildings on the Continent and with continental work on interpreting them. The work of Lehmann mentioned above is mainly concerned with buildings of Carolingian and earlier date, thus corresponding roughly to the early Anglo-Saxon period before the Viking invasions; but reference should also be made to works which carry the continental studies at least to the end of the Ottonian period, so as to correspond to the whole of the later Anglo-Saxon period (Boeckelmann 1956; Grodecki 1958).

The scheme of classification described below is not very closely allied to those of any of the continental writers, but its relation to them is as close as seems to be possible, subject to the primary requirement that the classification must be both simple and also appropriate to the Anglo-Saxon monuments. The links with the continental systems will be explained after the English monuments have been examined and classified.

The purpose behind the work of this chapter may be described as an attempt to group the several hundred surviving Anglo-Saxon churches into classes which are sufficiently small in number and obvious in type to allow the mind to grasp some sort of orderly pattern in their development. In the past, attention has usually been directed towards the possibility that these studies would lead to a clearer system of dating of Anglo-Saxon churches. It seems possible, however, that an even more important outcome may be a closer study of

the liturgical uses of the buildings and the way in which changes in use were reflected by changes in the buildings themselves. This aspect of the subject will be considered separately in a later section.

Classification of evidence. In attempting to classify the plans of the Anglo-Saxon churches it is first necessary to decide how to deal with evidence that is not quite sufficient to determine the plan with certainty. The method used here has been to survey the evidence for every church listed in this book and first to divide the churches into the following three groups:

A. Churches with well defined plans. These are churches for which the surviving or recorded fabric is sufficient to settle the plan of the building in detail, or falls short of this only by failing to settle whether the east end was apsidal or square. The reason for accepting this degree of uncertainty is that otherwise there would be too few well defined plans to justify serious study, because in so few churches do we as yet know the shape of the original east end. With this definition we shall see in Section 5 that there are roughly one hundred well defined plans, and it is upon these that the classification described in this chapter has been based. Their plans are shown in Section 5 in alphabetical order, all drawn to a uniform scale and with a uniform system of conventions to show the extent of the surviving evidence.

B. Churches with insufficiently defined plans. These are churches for which there is a substantial amount of surviving or fully recorded fabric, but still not enough to settle the plan of the church as a whole without ambiguity. The plans of these churches have not been used as a basis for any of the classifications described below; but as far as possible they have subsequently been fitted into the classification defined by the churches of group A, and their features have been brought into all the later general discussions of types and of development of plans. By these means care has been taken to avoid disregarding the valuable information which can be derived from parts of churches even when their whole plan is not at present known.

C. Churches for which very little fabric is known. These churches have only a few Anglo-Saxon features, or perhaps only a single feature such as a distinctive window or quoin. Evidence of such limited character clearly cannot give any useful information about the plan of the church as a whole.

The churches which fall into each of groups A and B are separately listed in Sections 5 and 6, and in addition to the complete alphabetical sets of plans there given for all in group A, several plans are given for important parts of churches in group B.

SECTION 2. BASIC CLASSIFICATION
OF CHURCH PLANS

The classification which seems most naturally and simply to follow from the churches with well defined plans is one which first takes account of the nature of the interior spaces and next takes account of how those spaces are arranged, whether in a single alignment or otherwise.

THE NATURE OF THE INTERIOR SPACES

By this heading we imply a distinction between interior spaces which are divided into a number of more or less separate cells and interior spaces which can be regarded as forming a connected or integrated whole, even though consisting of a number of recognisable compartments. The classification of plans according to the nature of the interior spaces will therefore be divided into the following two groups:

(a) *Cellular plans*. These are plans in which the interior space is divided by walls into two or more cells which communicate with one another only by comparatively narrow doorways or arches. It will be clear from what has been said that most of the Anglo-Saxon churches are cellular.

(b) *Integrated plans*. These are plans in which the whole interior space would seem to an observer to be more or less open to view wherever he stood. The simplest such plan is a single compartment, which might be called a unitary plan. But quite complicated plans with many compartments can be of the integrated type provided the several compartments are widely open one to another. For example a church with a central nave opening to aisles on either side would be regarded as having an integrated plan with three compartments. Similarly a simple church consisting of a nave with a narrower chancel, but with no separation between them by a cross wall, would be regarded as having an integrated plan with two compartments.

THE ARRANGEMENT OF THE
INTERIOR SPACES

Plans can next be grouped according to the way in which their component parts are related. Three main categories will be noted: linear, transverse, and areal; but there is also one which combines two of the others and can conveniently be called areal-transverse. These terms can be defined as follows, and they are illustrated in Fig. 720 which also shows how each of the spatial arrangements

can be applied to either cellular or integrated spaces:

(a) *Linear plans*. These are plans in which the component spaces are arranged along a single axis.

(b) *Transverse plans*. These are plans in which the components are laid out along two axes more or less at right angles.

(c) *Areal plans*. These are plans in which the principal compartments are laid out along a single axis but with additional compartments placed along one or both sides of the main axis.

(d) *Areal-transverse plans*. These are plans which are derived from transverse plans by placing additional compartments so as to fill one or more of the spaces between the main transverse arms.

BASIC CATEGORIES:

DIAGRAMS AND CODE-SYMBOLS

The definitions given above specify nine basic categories of buildings, four of which are cellular and five integrated, as follows:

Cellular	Integrated
	Unitary, or one-compartment
Cellular linear	Integrated linear
transverse	transverse
areal	areal
areal-transverse	areal-transverse

All nine of these basic categories are illustrated in Fig. 720, using rectangular compartments in all cases for the sake of simplicity. It should, however, be emphasised here that apsidal east ends are quite common, whether semicircular or polygonal, and that for any of the churches illustrated in the figure the chancel or other adjuncts could equally well be apsidal. Moreover although there are few if any survivals of circular buildings there are historical records of these, and therefore the use of rectangular compartments in the figure must not be taken to rule out circular, or polygonal, or apsidal plans.

Alternative nomenclatures. It should at once be noted that there are alternative well-known names, already long accepted in current use, for three of the integrated church plans shown in Fig. 720, as indicated in parentheses beneath the plans of the categories concerned. These alternative names are recorded here and in the figure, not only for the sake of completeness, but also to give opportunity to explain why the nomenclature described above

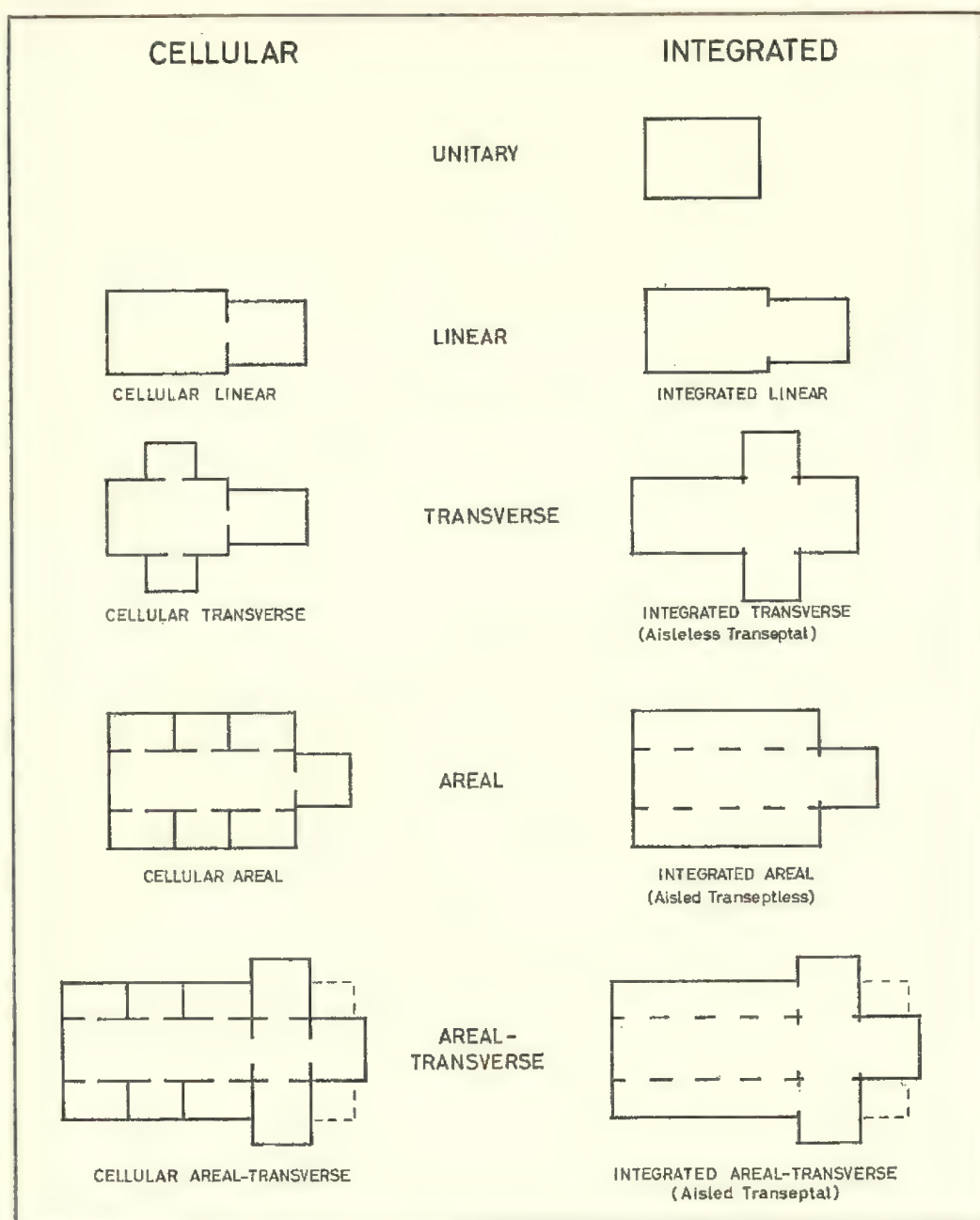


FIG. 720. BASIC CATEGORIES OF PLANS

has been preferred, at any rate for the present. There are two reasons for this preference: first, it emphasises the complete parallelism between cellular and integrated plans; and, secondly, it avoids any reference to transepts until a stage when it is appropriate to make a clear distinction between transepts on the one hand and side-chambers or

porticus on the other. It should also be made clear that, although the nomenclature here proposed and its presentation as shown in Fig. 720 are both believed to be new, yet the general concepts involved have been in use in England and on the Continent for many years. Thus, the plans of the cellular transverse and the integrated transverse

churches contain very simple examples of the types of crossing which have long been known in Germany as *die abgeschnürte Vierung* and *die ausgeschiedene Vierung* respectively (Boeckelmann 1954: 101-13; Beenken 1930: 207-31). Similarly the term cellular is a very obvious translation of the term *cloisonné* which has long been in use in the French literature on this subject (Baltrusaitis 1941). Moreover, the term *transept bas* is well established in the French literature for a lateral compartment of a church of the transverse type, whether cellular or integrated, when the roof of the lateral compartment is lower than that of the main axial compartment to which it is joined (Grodecki 1958: 45-79).

Finer classification of plans. For many purposes it will be convenient to have a more sensitive classification than would be provided simply by the nine basic categories shown in Fig. 720. There is hardly any limit to the additional refinements which could be attached to the basic scheme, but for all practical purposes it will be sufficient to record three further sets of details: the shape of the east end; the number of compartments making up the church; and whether there are appendages at the west such as towers, porches, or stair-turrets.

(a) *The shape of the east end.* For all practical purposes it will be sufficient to distinguish three separate types of east end: those which are apsidal, whether semicircular or polygonal; those which are square; and those which have been destroyed so that their original shape is unknown.

(b) *The number of compartments.* For all practical purposes it will be sufficient to record the actual number of compartments when between two and five and to describe the church as unitary if it has only one compartment, or as multi-compartmental if the number of compartments is six or above. In counting the compartments it will be desirable to disregard western appendages to which reference is made in the next paragraph.

(c) *Western appendages.* Towers, porches and stair-turrets can reasonably be regarded as standing somewhat apart from the main liturgical structure of the church so that two churches can be regarded as belonging to the same main type if their plans differ only in the number and arrangement of these ancillary features. Moreover, in the representation of a church by a plan, the outlines of the walls do not distinguish between a square porch or room and a square tower, or between a spiral stair-turret and a round tower. It is therefore convenient, at least in this chapter on plans, to observe a convention according to which these distinctions are marked on the plans by code-symbols, thus:

p	Porch
r	Round west tower
s	Stair-turret
t	Tower of square or rectangular shape

Code-symbols. Reference has just been made to the convenience of certain code-symbols for use on plans to distinguish between compartments which have the same ground-plan but different uses or elevations. Code-symbols are also convenient for use in lists of churches which belong to the same main type but which differ in the finer classifications that have just been described; and finally if other code-symbols are also used to describe the main types, a convenient symbolism can be developed so as to give a mental picture of the layout of a church even without the use of a ground-plan. For all these purposes we shall therefore make use of code-symbols in the following way:

Nature of the interior spaces

C, Cellular; I, Integrated; U, Unitary

Arrangement of the interior spaces

L, Linear; A, Areal; T, Transverse; AT, Areal-transverse

Shape of the east end

a, Apsidal; s, Square; u, Uncertain

Number of compartments

2-5, as appropriate; and thereafter m

Ancillary chambers

p, Porch; r, Round tower; s, Stair-turret; t, Tower of square or rectangular shape

Fig. 721 shows a few representative plans and the code-symbols which could be used to describe the layout of churches in a written account not accompanied by a plan.

SECTION 3. SUBSIDIARY CLASSIFICATION OF CHURCH TYPES

In addition to the basic categories described above, which seem adequate to describe the ground-plans of individual churches that have survived from the Anglo-Saxon era, it is desirable to consider a number of subsidiary classifications which become of importance either when the whole structure of an individual church is considered in elevation as well as in plan, or when consideration is given to the total provision for church services within a monastic or episcopal complex. These more complex arrangements may be studied under four

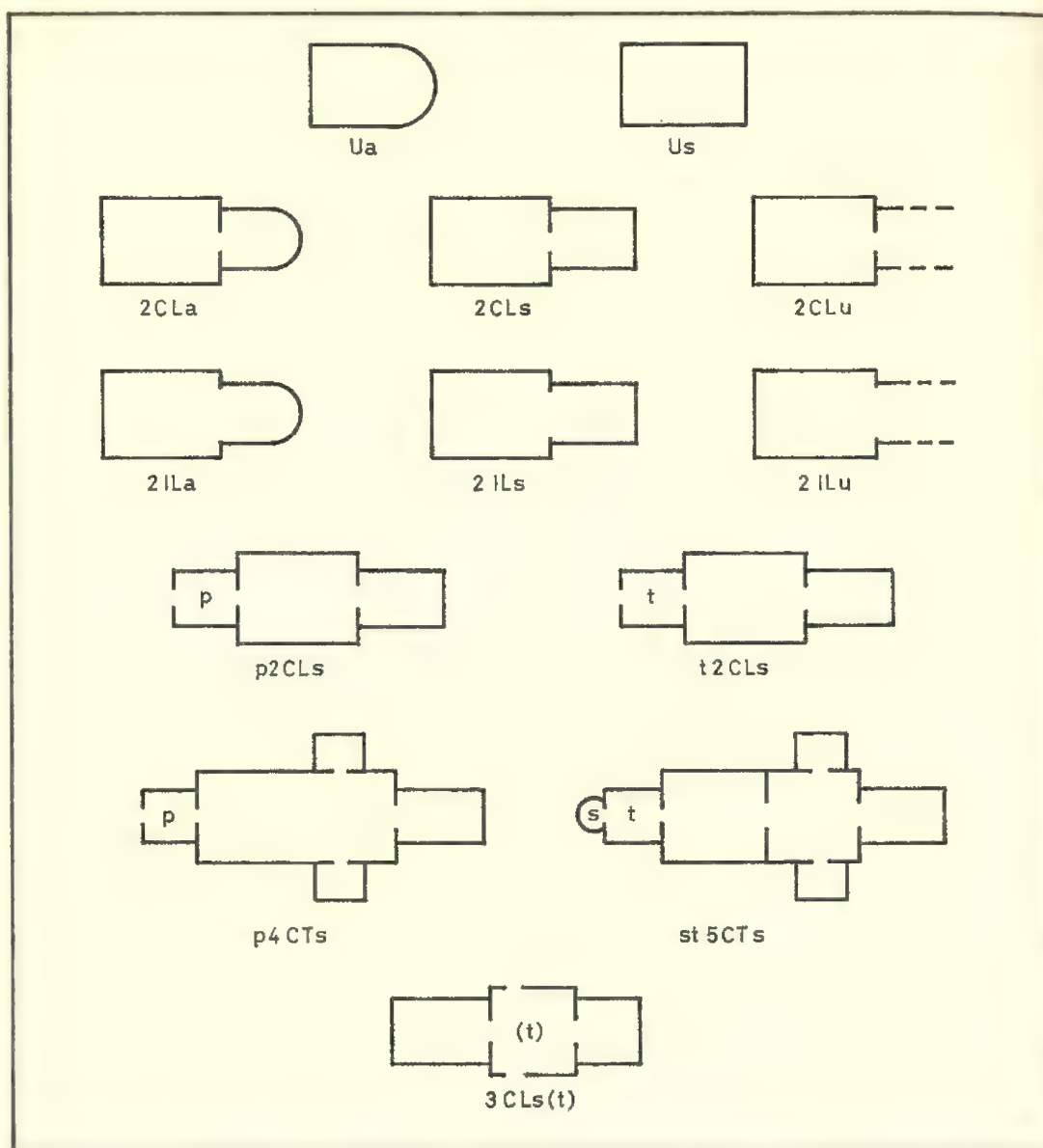


FIG. 721. CODE-SYMBOLS FOR THE FINER CLASSIFICATION OF PLANS

Western appendages (porch, tower, or stair-turret) are not counted in the number of compartments but are marked on the plan by the appropriate symbol. The symbol (t) in the lowest plan is used to denote a tower over a main compartment, as at Barton-on-Humber.

headings, any one or more of which may be associated with churches that themselves fall within any of the basic categories already considered.

(a) *Churches with crypts.* During the period with which we are concerned, both in England and on the Continent, crypts usually consisted of comparatively small chambers which were often connected to the main body of the church by narrow passages that allowed for a circulation

of people who wished to visit the relics that were kept in the crypts. As a rule these crypts were so placed that the relics in them were directly below the altar (or the principal altar) of the main church above. A detailed treatment of crypts will be found in Section 7.

(b) *Multi-storeyed churches.* There are several instances in England of churches for which sufficient evidence survives in the fabric to establish with certainty that some considerable area at the west of the nave has in the past been

covered by a gallery at what might be described as first-floor level. This evidence is sometimes (as at Jarrow, Tredington, and Wing) associated with lateral doorways at the upper level through the side walls of the nave; and at Tredington and Wing the importance of these lateral entries is emphasised by the absence of any evidence of access from a west tower. In many other English churches there is evidence of upper chambers in towers, and in some cases, as at Deerhurst, these chambers seem clearly to be associated with a gallery at the west of the nave. There is a considerable body of continental literary evidence to establish that galleries at the west of the nave, or upper floors in special western tower-like annexes (German *Westwerke*) were used for special services, and housed their own special altars. There is also evidence to show that the church treasures were sometimes kept in upper chambers, and that these treasures were sometimes displayed from galleries so that they could be viewed either from within the church or from outside, or sometimes from both places. A detailed treatment of multi-storeyed churches will be found in Section 8.

(c) *Western sanctuaries.* There is literary evidence for the existence of important altars at both the east and the west ends of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church at Canterbury. The eastern altar was specifically stated to have been approached by steps because it was placed above an eastern crypt. The western altar was also approached by steps, but there is no mention of a crypt beneath. On the other hand the archbishop's chair was placed against the west wall of the church so that he sat facing the altar, while the priest officiating at the altar faced the people in the nave below. The evidence is not sufficient to decide with certainty whether this particular western sanctuary was in a western gallery or whether it was on solid ground at a higher level than the nave. I have given reasons elsewhere for favouring the second alternative and for linking it in type to churches such as Barnack in which the surviving structure suggests a western sanctuary with a chair in the west wall and an altar in the body of this western sanctuary (Taylor 1975: 154-8). There is also much continental evidence for altars in the upper floors of the *Westwerke*, or western tower-like annexes (Lehmann 1963). A brief treatment of western sanctuaries will be found in Section 9.

(d) *Families of churches.* Within the last half century a considerable body of evidence has accumulated both on the Continent and in England to show that in the period from the seventh century to the eleventh the great episcopal and monastic centres were served by groups of several relatively small churches rather than by a single large and complicated church like the later medieval abbey or cathedral churches. The individual churches which together made up such a family of churches would have had any one of the several plans which we have already considered, but the complex as a whole seems to have been something which was required in order to provide adequately for the liturgical needs of the episcopal or monastic community (Lehmann 1962). A detailed treatment of families of churches will be found in Section 10.

SECTION 4. CERTAINTY OR UNCERTAINTY IN THE PLAN OF A PARTIALLY SURVIVING CHURCH

Before beginning the review of church plans in detail it will be well to pause for a moment to consider the way in which a border-line can be drawn between churches for which there is or is not adequate surviving fabric to fix the plan of the church as a whole in detail and without ambiguity.

The shape of the east end. It should first be noted that the survival of a substantial part of the east wall of an Anglo-Saxon chancel is a rather rare event, and that this is the reason why Group A in Section 1 has been defined as comprising not only all those churches for which the fabric is sufficient to settle the whole plan in detail but also those for which it falls short of this by failing to settle whether the east end was apsidal or square. If the side walls of a chancel survive, complete with eastern quoins, then the church has been classified as having had a square east end whether or not the whole of the east wall survives above ground. If the side walls survive only in part, then the shape of the east end has been recorded as uncertain. It is highly probable that many of these uncertainties could be cleared up by excavation.

The number of compartments. If the side walls of an Anglo-Saxon nave survive in whole or in part, together with part of the eastern wall of the nave but without any chancel-arch or any trace of an Anglo-Saxon chancel, it is not safe to assume that the original church had a separate nave and chancel simply because a later medieval chancel now stands at the east of the nave. In default of additional evidence, the plan of such a church has been regarded as not being adequately defined (i.e. as falling in group B of Section 1). If, however, the Anglo-Saxon side walls of both nave and chancel survive, in separate alignments on either side of an eastern quoin of the nave, the evidence defines a church of at least two compartments. If only very short lengths survive, these would not serve to exclude the possibility of lateral compartments at a short distance from the junction between the nave and the chancel; but if considerable lengths of

CHAPTER 15 ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH PLANS

unbroken walling remain on either side of this junction then the church has been classified as having had only a nave and a chancel. Moreover if substantial parts of the side walls of the nave survive, along with an east wall which includes an Anglo-Saxon chancel-arch, then the church is classified as having had a two-cell plan, even if the Anglo-Saxon chancel has disappeared.

The foregoing examples probably serve to define sufficiently clearly the general principles on which the evidence has been examined in an attempt to settle in which of the Anglo-Saxon churches listed in this book the surviving fabric is adequate to define a plan without ambiguity for inclusion in the following analysis.

SECTION 5. CHURCHES WITH WELL DEFINED PLANS

In this section it will be convenient first to give in Table 1 a complete alphabetical list of all the churches for which there is evidence to settle the plan in detail or to fall short of this only by failing to settle the shape of the east end. Thereafter we shall review the evidence church by church, with a plan for each church, all drawn to a uniform

scale, and we shall see how each church fits into one of the nine categories defined in Section 2.

DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE WELL DEFINED PLANS

The remainder of this section is devoted to the consideration of the plans of the ninety-nine churches named below. For each church the nature of the evidence is summarised in words and is shown on a plan (or plans for the churches which show several stages of development). All these plans are drawn to the same scale and all follow a uniform system of conventions for recording the surviving evidence, as follows:

(a) Solid black is used for walls which stand intact above floor-level;

(b) Thin continuous outlines are used for walls that do not stand at floor-level but are nevertheless fully determined, for example by standing above later arcades or by excavation;

(c) Broken outlines are used for parts of the plan which are inferred but are not at present based on material survivals.

A special word is needed about churches whose plans have been established by excavation and for which there are few if any surviving walls above the ground. For many of these it has nevertheless

TABLE 1. *Churches with well defined plans*

1. Avebury	26. Chithurst	51. Jarrow	76. Rumbolds
2. Bardfield	27. Cirencester	52. Kingston	77. St Albans M
3. Bardsey	28. Clayton	53. Kirkdale	78. Seaham
4. Barsham	29. Coln Rogers	54. K Hammerton	79. Selham
5. Barton	30. Corbridge	55. Lavendon	80. Sherborne
6. Beechamwell	31. Corhampton	56. Ledsham	81. Stafford
7. Bibury	32. Cringleford	57. Lexham	82. Stanley
8. Bitton	33. Daglingworth	58. Lusby	83. Stoke
9. Boarhunt	34. Deerhurst M	59. Lyminge M	84. Stoughton
10. Bosham	35. Deerhurst O	60. Lyminge ME	85. Stow
11. Bracebridge	36. Dover	61. Marton	86. Strethall
12. Bradford	37. Dunham	62. Melton	87. Swavesey
13. Bradwell	38. Elmham N	63. Milborne	88. Thetford Ma
14. Breamore	39. Elmham S	64. Missenden	89. Thetford Mi
15. Brixworth	40. Escomb	65. M Wenlock	90. Thornage
16. Broughton	41. Exeter	66. Norton	91. Thursley
17. Burghwallis	42. Framingham	67. Norwich J	92. Tichborne
18. Bywell P	43. Glastonbury	68. Pentlow	93. Wareham M
19. Cambridge	44. Greensted	69. Potterne	94. Wharram P
20. Canterbury A	45. Headbourne	70. Quarley	95. Winchester
21. Canterbury M	46. Hexham (east)	71. Reculver	96. Wing
22. Canterbury P	47. Heysham Pa	72. Repton	97. Winstone
23. Carlton	48. Holton	73. Richborough	98. Wittering
24. Cheddar	49. Inworth	74. Rivenhall	99. Worth
25. Chickney	50. Iver	75. Rochester	

been possible for the excavators to establish a reconstruction of the major elements of the walls, which are then shown on the plans with continuous or broken lines as appropriate in relation to the excavators' estimates of certainty or mere inference.

Since in this chapter we are concerned with plans as a whole rather than with component features such as windows, it has seemed best to draw the plans to represent a section through the walls immediately above the floor, and thus to show only doorways and arches as interrupting the walls. This allows attention to be concentrated on access to the church and communication between its several compartments. Moreover at the comparatively small scale of the plans of this chapter smaller features such as pilaster-strips, and rebates on doorways, would not easily be shown, and are best omitted. Therefore all Anglo-Saxon openings through the walls are shown simply with plain square cross-sections; and later openings cut through the walls about floor-level are represented by irregular breaks in the solid wall.

We turn now to the consideration of each church in order, first listing the evidence and then naming the category into which its plan is to be placed, and the code-symbol which can be used for describing briefly both the main category and the minor refinements of the plan.

It will be seen in many cases that the Anglo-Saxon chancel arch has been destroyed to provide a wider Gothic arch, but in most cases even this defines a cellular rather than an integrated plan.

Descriptive notes are given for the plan of each church. These are set out in a fuller form for the first few churches in order to show clearly the way in which the evidence has been recorded on the plans; thereafter a briefer form has been adopted; but for each church the type of plan has been specified and the routes of access have been mentioned whenever they are determined by the surviving fabric.

It will be seen for some of the churches that the fabric shows evidence of development of the plan in two or more stages. Throughout this chapter the successive stages for any one church are denoted by small Roman numerals i, ii, etc., to indicate that in many instances the investigations have still not been carried to a stage which settles with certainty that these stages as at present determined

do indeed represent a complete record of the phases through which the plan developed. When such certainty has been reached it is usual to denote the phases by large Roman numerals I, II, etc.

Avebury. The north-west quoin and the round-headed lower window fully determine the western part of the north wall; the circular upper windows define the remainder of this wall although at floor-level it has been cut away. A round-headed lower window similarly defines the western part of the south wall, but there is no surviving evidence for the remainder of it. Evidence for a narrower chancel with a square east end was found beneath the floor in 1878 (Vol. I: 34); but as no precise details were given the east end is shown by broken lines. The plan is of two-cell linear type, with a square east end; and the abbreviated code-symbol is 2 CLs.

Bardfield. The standing fabric with its double-splayed windows and rubble quoins defines the nave, the irregularly laid out tower, the stumps of the walls of the narrower chancel, and of cross walls largely cut away when an earlier chancel-arch was widened. Access is through a south doorway. The plan is of two-cell linear type, with a west tower and an uncertain shape of east end; the abbreviated code-symbol is t2CLu.

Bardsey. Two plans are shown for Bardsey in order to emphasise the evidence which the fabric provides to show that the nave originally had a west porch which only later was raised to form a tower. The quoins define the nave, but there is no evidence to justify any claim that Anglo-Saxon walling survives above the later north and south arcades. The only evidence above ground for the narrower chancel is the scar left in the east wall of the nave to show where its roof was torn away. Both north and south doorways of the porch (tower) are fully preserved; there is no surviving evidence to show whether or not the nave had lateral doorways. In both phases the church had a two-cell linear plan; and the code-symbols for its two phases are therefore: i. p2CLu; ii. t2CLu.

Barsham. The main walls of the nave are defined by the rubble quoins and the double-splayed win-

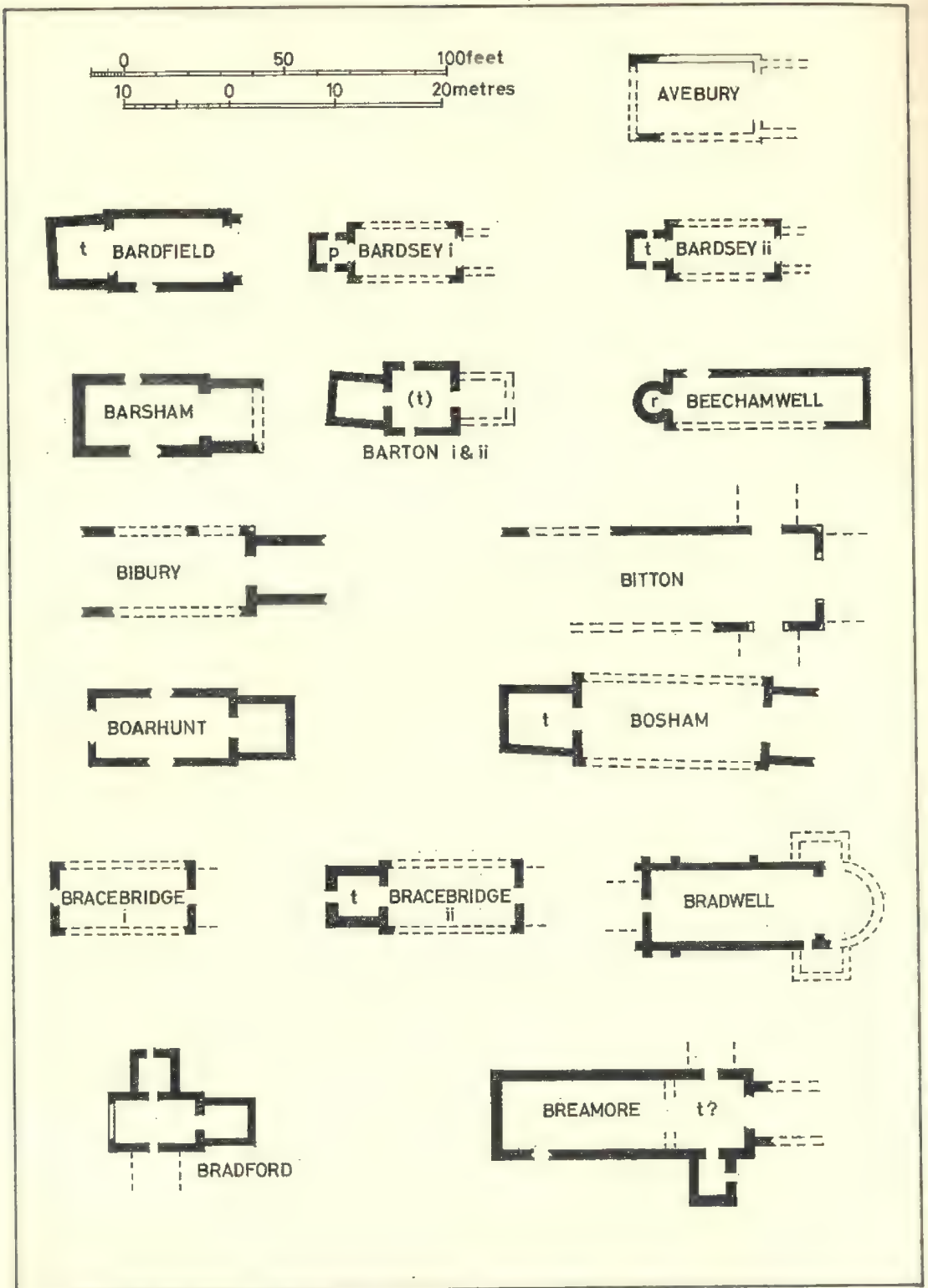


FIG. 722. WELL DEFINED PLANS (1). AVEBURY TO BREAMORE

dows; although the chancel has been lengthened eastward, a straight joint and a rubble quoin define the original north-east angle of a square east end. There seems no reason to doubt that the cruck-shaped chancel-arch is an original feature. Access is and no doubt always was by north and south doorways. The plan was of two-cell linear type, with a square east end; code-symbol 2CLs.

Barton-on-Humber. The important and elaborate tower-nave has its own contemporary belfry stage and its fully-surviving western annexe with two storeys of double-splayed windows. The north and south doorways are complete as also are the east and west arches. Evidence for the square-ended chancel was found by excavation. It should also be noted that the west wall of the western annexe is complete at floor-level and that the marks of a western doorway relate to an opening which was cut in the nineteenth century (Taylor 1974b: 131). The plan of Barton ii is identical with that of Barton i because the only change in the fabric was the addition of an upper belfry. In both phases the church was of three-cell linear type, with a square east end and a tower over the nave; its abbreviated code-symbol was therefore 3CLs(t) where the t is shown in brackets to indicate that the tower stood above one of the cells of the church.

Beechamwell. If the rather uncertain evidence of the long-and-short eastern quoins can be accepted, the church consisted of a single-compartment nave and chancel. The round west tower is identified as Anglo-Saxon by its belfry windows. Access to the church is from the north, but arches to a later south aisle have destroyed evidence that might have shown whether there was also access from the south. The plan is unitary, with a square east end and a round west tower; code-symbol 1Us.

Bibury. Despite much subsequent alteration there is ample surviving fabric to define a nave with a narrower chancel. The jambs and ornamental imposts of the chancel-arch have survived, and the remaining parts of the walls of the nave and chancel contain pilaster-strips and double-splayed windows. The plan is of two-cell linear type, with uncertain shape of the east end; code-symbol 2CLu.

Bitton. The Anglo-Saxon east wall of the nave survives above the pseudo-Norman chancel-arch of 1843, with a string-course and the lower part of a Rood. The arch which formerly opened to a north porticus has survived, although now blocked and mutilated. Foundations of the corresponding south porticus were seen last century. The plan was of the four-cell transverse type, with an uncertain shape of east end; code-symbol 4CTu.

Boarhunt. This is one of the few churches in which the Anglo-Saxon east wall survives almost intact. The main fabric of both nave and chancel has survived, as well as the chancel-arch and a double-splayed north window. There are no original doorways, and it is not possible to say with certainty whether access was originally from the west as well as from the north and south. The plan is of two-cell linear type with square east end; code-symbol 2CLs.

Bosham. There is no evidence above ground for the east end of the chancel; but both end walls of the nave have survived, with their arches opening respectively to the chancel and the tower. The latter is irregularly laid out and has no external doorway, so that access to the nave must have been from the sides. The plan is of two-cell linear type with uncertain shape of east end and with west tower; code-symbol t2CLu.

Bracebridge. The side walls of the nave have been destroyed by arches which open on the south to a thirteenth-century aisle and on the north to one of the nineteenth century; but all four quoins survive in megalithic long-and-short technique to define the nave; and the chancel-arch fixes the former existence of a chancel. The tower is not bonded to the nave and has side-alternate quoining; Bracebridge i is therefore postulated as a two-cell church which was modified later by the addition of the western tower. In the resulting Bracebridge ii there was direct access from the west through the surviving west doorway and tower-arch; but it is not now possible to say with certainty what was the access to Bracebridge i. It seems probable that until the addition of the Victorian north aisle the nave had access from the north through the Anglo-Saxon doorway which has been rebuilt in

the outer wall of the north aisle; but there is no evidence at present to determine whether or not Bracebridge i had a west doorway. The code-symbols of the two phases were:

i. 2CLu ii. t2CLu

Bradford-on-Avon. In spite of its long use for secular purposes the chapel at Bradford is one of the most complete survivals from the Anglo-Saxon era, with much of its detail well preserved. In addition to the three surviving cells, J. T. Irvine recorded clear evidence for the foundations and tear-away scars of a south porticus (Taylor 1972b: 107 and pls. XV, XVIII). Access is from the north, through the north porticus; it is not now possible to say whether there was ever any corresponding access through the south porticus, but the slope of the ground makes it clear that this would not have been possible without a number of steps. The plan was of the four-cell transverse type with square east end; code-symbol 4CTs.

Bradwell-on-Sea. Though very seriously damaged by secular use, the fabric here (together with traces on the ground) still serves to define the former existence of a four-cell plan with an apsidal chancel, a rectangular nave of the same width, and porticus to north and south. There is, however, an urgent need for excavations at modern standards to determine many details left uncertain by investigations of last century. The plan was of the four-cell transverse type with apsidal east end; code-symbol 4CTa.

Breamore. The standing fabric defines a nave and a south porticus in a fairly complete state with quoins, pilaster-strips and double-splayed windows; a blocked north doorway testifies to a former north porticus and stumps of the walls testify to the original chancel. The higher side walls of the eastern part of the nave and a wide fifteenth-century arch now support a pyramidal two-stage receding wooden tower over what was most probably a separate choir at the east of the nave. There seems little doubt that access to the nave was from the south by a doorway beneath the surviving Rood, in the same place as the present later opening. The plan was of the five-cell transverse type, and uncertain east end, probably

with a wooden tower over the central cell; code-symbol 5CTu(t?).

Brixworth. The separate stages by which the present plan was reached are still open to question and it has seemed best simply to show the present plan and to point out that there is clear evidence for an earlier stage at which the western annexe was an entry-porch with a wide arch opening westward (Vol. I: 110-12, Figs. 49 and 51). Only later was the porch raised to become the present tower, and the great western arch blocked by the present stair-turret. It should also be noted that the apsidal chancel was surrounded by a ring-crypt. This is considered separately in Section 7 along with other crypts. Apart from this feature, the plan as illustrated in Fig. 723 was of the multi-cell areal type, with western stair-turret and tower, and apsidal east end; code-symbol stmCAa. The earlier form of the church, with access through the west porch would have had code-symbol pmCAa.

Broughton. The standing fabric defines the tower-nave and its western stair-turret; the only access is by the surviving original south doorway. Foundations of the square chancel were seen below the floor during the installation of heating plant (Vol. I: 115). The plan was of the two-cell linear type with a square east end, a tower over the nave, and a western stair-turret; code-symbol s2CLs(t).

Burghwallis. The standing fabric defines a rectangular nave and a narrower chancel but is insufficient to settle the nature of the east end. The west tower was, in my opinion, added after the Conquest (Vol. I: 119). The plan is therefore of the two-cell linear type with uncertain east end; code-symbol 2CLu.

Bywell, St Peter. The standing fabric defines a long nave and a narrower chancel with a blocked doorway which formerly led to a north porticus. Excavation is needed to settle the nature of the east end, the precise extent of the north porticus, and whether there was a corresponding south porticus. The plan was of the cellular transverse type; code-symbol 3CTu, or 4CTu.

Cambridge. The west tower stands almost complete except for its top; the nave is defined by all four

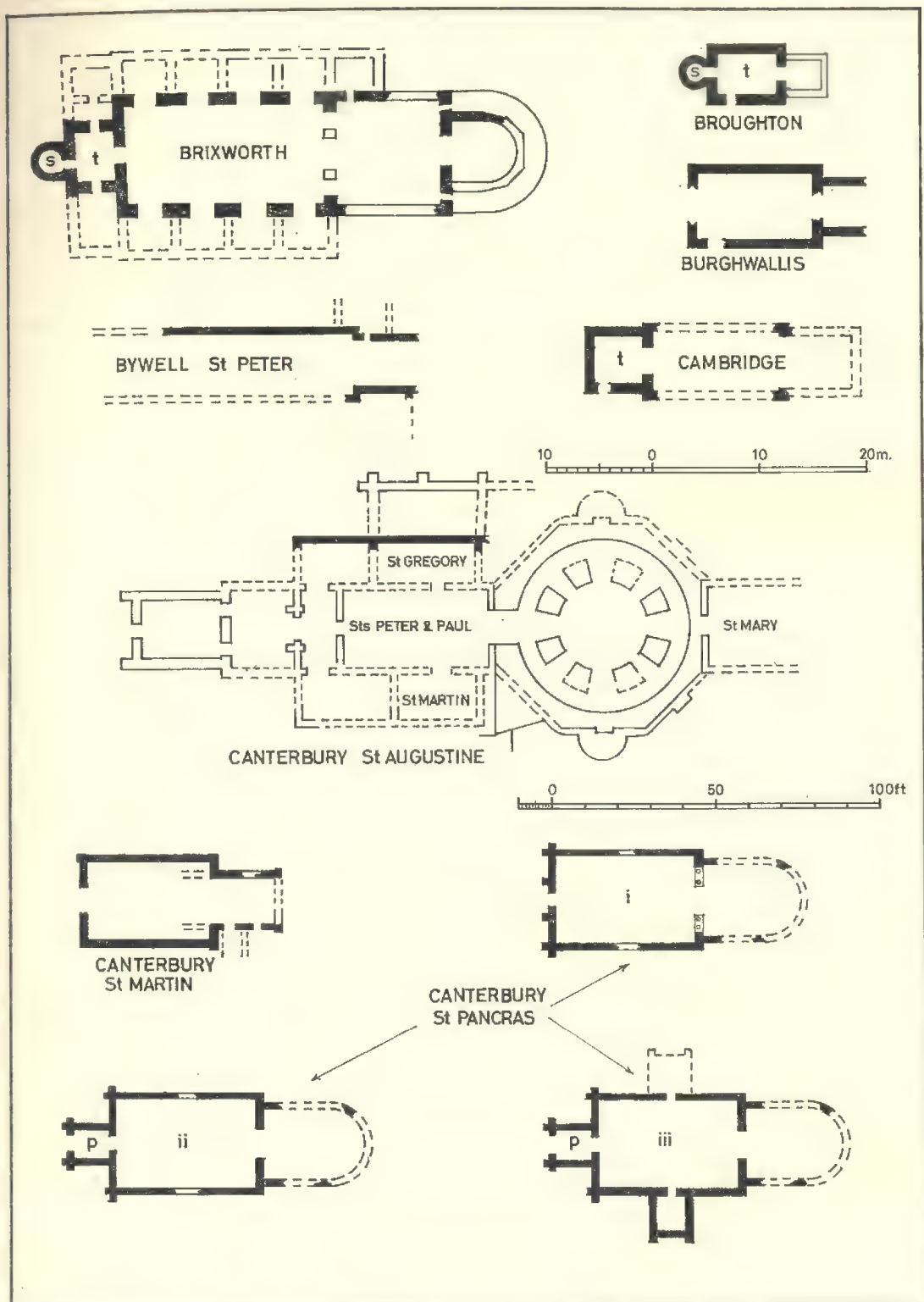


FIG. 723. WELL DEFINED PLANS (2). BRIXWORTH TO CANTERBURY

quoins; and a stump of the north wall defines a narrower chancel. There is reason to believe that the east and north walls of the chancel stood until alterations in 1872. The tower-arch is complete except for restorations to its north jamb. The plan was of the two-cell linear type with square east end and west tower; code-symbol t2CLs.

Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey. The composite plan shows the main church at the time of the death of Wulfric (Abbot, 1047–59), as determined in part from contemporary records and in part by excavations from 1915 onward. The church of St Peter and St Paul with its north porticus of St Gregory and south porticus of St Martin was begun by King Ethelbert in the lifetime of St Augustine but not completed when he died (Bede, *H.E.* I, 33 and II, 3). The eastern church of St Mary was built by King Edbald, Ethelbert's son and successor (*H.E.* II, 6). The octagonal building connecting the two, with a circular low-level ambulatory was built by Wulfric; and the whole of this Anglo-Saxon abbey-church was destroyed for the building of the partially-surviving Norman church by the first two Norman Abbots (Scotland, 1070–87; and Wido, 1087–91) as described in an eyewitness account by Gocelin. The tombs of Archbishops Laurence (d.619), Mellitus (d.624) and Justus (d.627) can be identified in the surviving fabric from the records given by Bede and Gocelin (Vol. I: 138–9). There is no historical record for the westward extension of the Anglo-Saxon church by the addition of the two further porches or narthices, nor for the additional porticus on the north. In its original form the church of St Peter and St Paul was of multi-cell areal type with uncertain shape of east end; code-symbol mCAu. There is clear evidence for access always from the west.

Canterbury, St Martin. The detailed ground plan and the sequence of development of this church are still open to argument; but the standing fabric unambiguously defines a nave with a tall west doorway, and a much narrower chancel with two doorways in its south wall; excavations have shown that the western of these two doorways opened into a very small porticus earlier than the present nave whose east wall partly overlies the west wall of the porticus (Jenkins 1965).

The Anglo-Saxon part of the church as it now stands represents a two-cell linear church (2CLu); but if the south porticus was ever in use at the time of this cellular church it would then have been of three-cell transverse type (3CTu). This latter possibility is not listed in the subsequent analyses.

Canterbury, St Pancras. This church stands about 100 yds east of the church of St Peter and St Paul in St Augustine's abbey and, as shown in the plan, three distinct phases of development can be seen. In phase i the church was of an integrated two-compartment plan, with the apsidal chancel fully open to the nave through a triple arch; and entry to the church was through a single west doorway. In phase ii the wide arch to the chancel had been narrowed by building solid walls around the columns of the triple arch, and a west porch had been added; and in phase iii the church had been converted to the transverse type by adding small porticus on either side of the nave. The code-symbols for the three phases therefore were:

i. 2IIa ii. p2CLa iii. p4CTa.

Throughout all three phases, access remained only from the west.

Carlton-in-Lindrick. The two phases of this church differ only by the addition of a west tower in phase ii. The tower-arch seems to belong to this phase and it is not certain whether there was any opening in the west wall during phase i. Moreover the Norman west doorway of the tower was moved to its present position only in 1831 when a south aisle was added to the nave. It therefore seems likely that the nave was always entered by lateral doorways. Both phases of the church were of the two-cell linear type, with code-symbols 2CLu in phase i and t2CLu in phase ii.

Cheddar. Excavations at Cheddar disclosed foundations of two Anglo-Saxon stone chapels (Rahtz 1962–3; 56); the first was a simple rectangle, while the second consisted of a rectangular chancel and a wider rectangular nave which wholly enclosed the first chapel. The code-symbols for these two phases are: i. Us; ii. 2CLs.

Chickney. The cross walls of the church at Chickney have all been much eroded; the chancel has been

lengthened, a wider chancel-arch has been inserted, and a medieval west tower has been added; but the two-cell linear church is clearly recognisable, with an unusually skew layout for all the cross walls, that of the east end being clearly defined by the surviving quoins. The south doorway has been rebuilt but there seems little doubt that this was the original entry although it cannot at present be proved that there was no western entry. The code-symbol is 2CLs.

Chithurst. The rectangular nave and narrower square chancel are both fully preserved in plan, connected by a tall, narrow chancel-arch. The two-cell linear plan is one of the best preserved examples, and entry must always have been from the west; code-symbol 2CLs.

Cirencester. Excavations to the north of the parish church at Cirencester disclosed the foundations of an extensive church wholly overlaid by the ruins of the Norman abbey and wholly overlying Roman remains into which the foundations were cut (Brown 1976: 33-43). The long nave was flanked by lines of lateral porticus; there were multiple foundations at the west as if for a narthex or west-work; an apsidal east end stood above fragmentary remains of a crypt of unusual design. Apart from the crypt and the narthex or west-work, the plan was of the multi-cell areal type, with code-symbol mCAa.

Clayton. The surviving fabric defines a rectangular nave and a narrower chancel connected together by an important chancel-arch; the chancel has been lengthened eastward and its original plan is uncertain. Access has apparently always been from the north of the nave. Code-symbol 2CLu.

Coln Rogers. Almost the same description could be used as for Clayton except that access has apparently always been from north and south of the nave. The plan is of the two-cell linear type; code-symbol 2CLu.

Corbridge. The standing fabric defines only the western part of the nave and part of its north wall where fragmentary remains of megalithic windows survive above later arches; but excavations at the east

of the nave indicated that there had been a chancel-arch about 9 ft wide and a chancel with internal width about 12 ft (Craster 1914: 178-93). The plan was therefore of the two-cell linear type. In a first phase the nave had a west porch; and in a second phase this was raised to form the present tower. Code-symbols: phase i, p2CLu; phase ii, t2CLu. Even though the side walls have been destroyed, it seems reasonable to assume that access to the Anglo-Saxon church was through the west doorway.

Corhampton. The standing fabric defines the nave completely, with entries from north and south but none from the west; the chancel-arch survives, and the western parts of the walls of the chancel. The plan is therefore of the two-cell linear type, code-symbol 2CLu.

Cringelford. The standing fabric defines a two-cell linear plan with a square east end, code-symbol 2CLs. The later tower-arch makes it impossible to be sure whether access was always from the side of the nave as at present.

Daglingworth. Almost the same words can be used as for Cringleford except that at Daglingworth the chancel has been rebuilt in modern times, reputedly on the original foundations, and much of the original chancel-arch survives, although also rebuilt (Vol. I: 187-8). Code-symbol 2CLs.

Deerhurst, Odda's Chapel. The standing fabric defines a two-cell linear plan with square east end. Access was always from the sides of the nave through a north doorway of which much survives and a south doorway of which there is only fragmentary evidence. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Deerhurst, St Mary. Excavations and structural studies in progress at Deerhurst since 1971 (Butler *et al.* 1975) have shown that the building sequence was more complicated than the scheme described in Vol. I: 193-209. These studies are still in progress and the sequence illustrated and described here must therefore be regarded as provisional; in particular a complication is tentatively indicated on the plan for phases ii and iii by the word 'wood?' to show that parts of the building may for some time have had a wooden superstructure

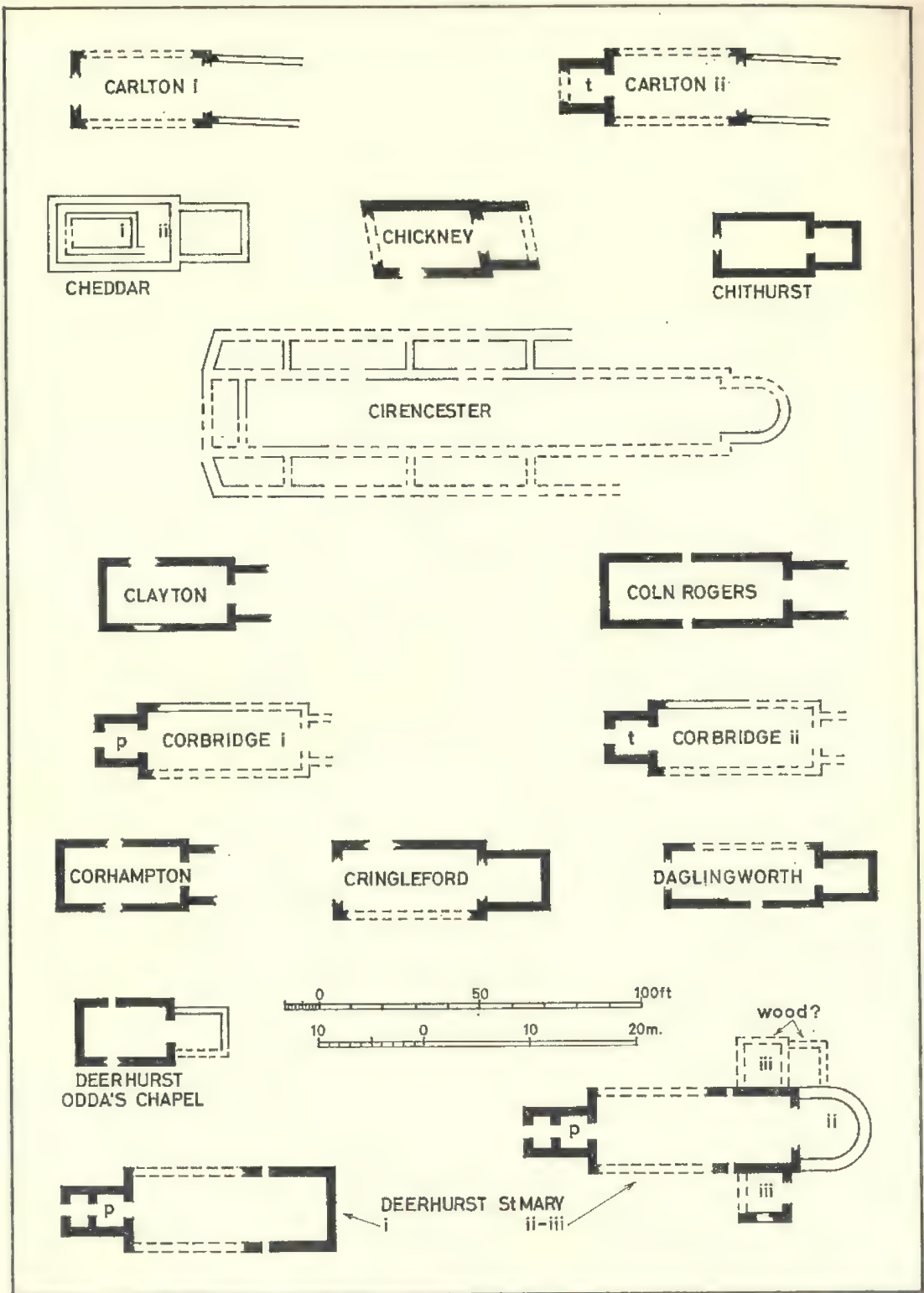


FIG. 724. WELL DEFINED PLANS (3). CARLTON TO DEERHURST

although standing on stone foundations which survive to this day. In merest summary the several phases of development may be described thus:

i. The first stone church was a unitary nave and chancel with a square east end at the position of the present chancel-arch. Its walls were low and the lower storey of the present west porch was bonded to the nave. Code-symbol pUs. Entry seems to have been both from the west through the porch and also from the sides through the surviving square-headed doorways.

ii. After a lapse of time, which may have been considerable, further cells were added in a sequence which as yet cannot be settled in detail. These comprised the stilted semicircular apse and also porticus to the north and south; but since the stone foundations of the porticus on the north are fully bonded to those on the north-east, and since all of these are butted against those of the nave and the apse without any bonding, it follows that at least on the north the porticus were built later than the apse. Therefore for phase ii we take the plan to include only the west porch, the nave, and the apse: code-symbol p2CLa.

iii. Next the south porticus was added in stone, one storey in height and butted against the nave. The foundations of the north and north-east porticus were added, in stone, fully bonded together but not bonded to the nave or the apse; these foundations probably at first carried walls of wood. At this stage the code-symbol would be p5CTa. Access to the lateral porticus from the nave seems at this time to have been through the pre-existing square-headed doorways and thence by openings in the west walls of the porticus.

iv. The walls of the nave and of the south porticus were raised in stone to two storeys and at this level were fully bonded together. Later the walls of the north and north-east porticus were also built in stone fully bonded together, but not bonded to the nave. The south-east porticus was added at this stage or earlier. Code-symbol pmCTa.

v. The stilted semicircular apse and the two eastern porticus were destroyed so that little remained above the foundations; the polygonal apse was built on the existing foundation; and the walls of the nave were raised in stone to their full present height. Code-symbol p4CTa.

vi. The north and south porticus were extended westward by building a series of further porticus, in stone, so as to flank the nave and part or all of the side walls of the west porch which was also extended upward. At this or some earlier time a cross wall was built to divide the nave from an eastern square monks' choir; above this there was probably a wooden tower of which some vestiges remained until the restorations of 1860-62. About this time, also, the gable-headed doorway was pierced between the north porticus and the monks' choir. Code-symbol pmCAa(t?).

Dover. The standing fabric defines a five-cell church with a central tower. The original arches survive at the east and west of the central space, but later arches have been cut through the north and south

walls. An original south doorway survives to prove access from that side, but there may also have been access from west and north. Code-symbol 5CTs(t).

Dunham Magna. The standing fabric defines a rectangular nave and a square central space of the same external width, but with thicker walls to carry the surviving original tower. The east and west tower-arches also survive but there is now no visible evidence of the original chancel. Excavation before 1850 is said to have indicated an apsidal east end (Carthew 1847). There is a blocked triangular-headed west doorway; but the design of the internal arcading suggests that there was also an original south entrance. The plan was of three-cell linear type, probably apsidal, and with a tower above the central cell; code-symbol 3CLa(t).

Elmham, North. The three plans shown for Elmham take account of evidence published after Volumes I and II had been passed for press (Rigold: 1962-3). Phase i corresponds to Rigold's tentative reconstruction of a first wooden church on an alignment to the north of the later axis; phase ii corresponds to his second wooden church, placed to the south of the later axis, and with lateral porticus; while phase iii corresponds to the stone Anglo-Saxon church (Rigold's phase B). It will be seen on the plans of phase i and ii that a faint trace of the outline of phase iii has been shown in order to indicate the lateral movement of the axis. The first wooden church is of cellular linear plan, (code 2CLs); the second wooden church is of cellular transverse plan (code pmCTs); and if the small eastern stair-turrets be ignored the stone church is of integrated transverse plan with a west tower (code t3ITa). Access to this church was from the west.

Elmham, South. The standing walls determine a western porch and a rectangular nave of the same width; east of this, foundations determine a narrower apsidal chancel. Entrance was from the west by a single doorway to the porch and thence by two doorways to the nave. The plan is of the two-cell linear type with western porch and apsidal east end; code-symbol p2CLa.

Escomb. The two plans shown for Escomb take account of excavations conducted since the

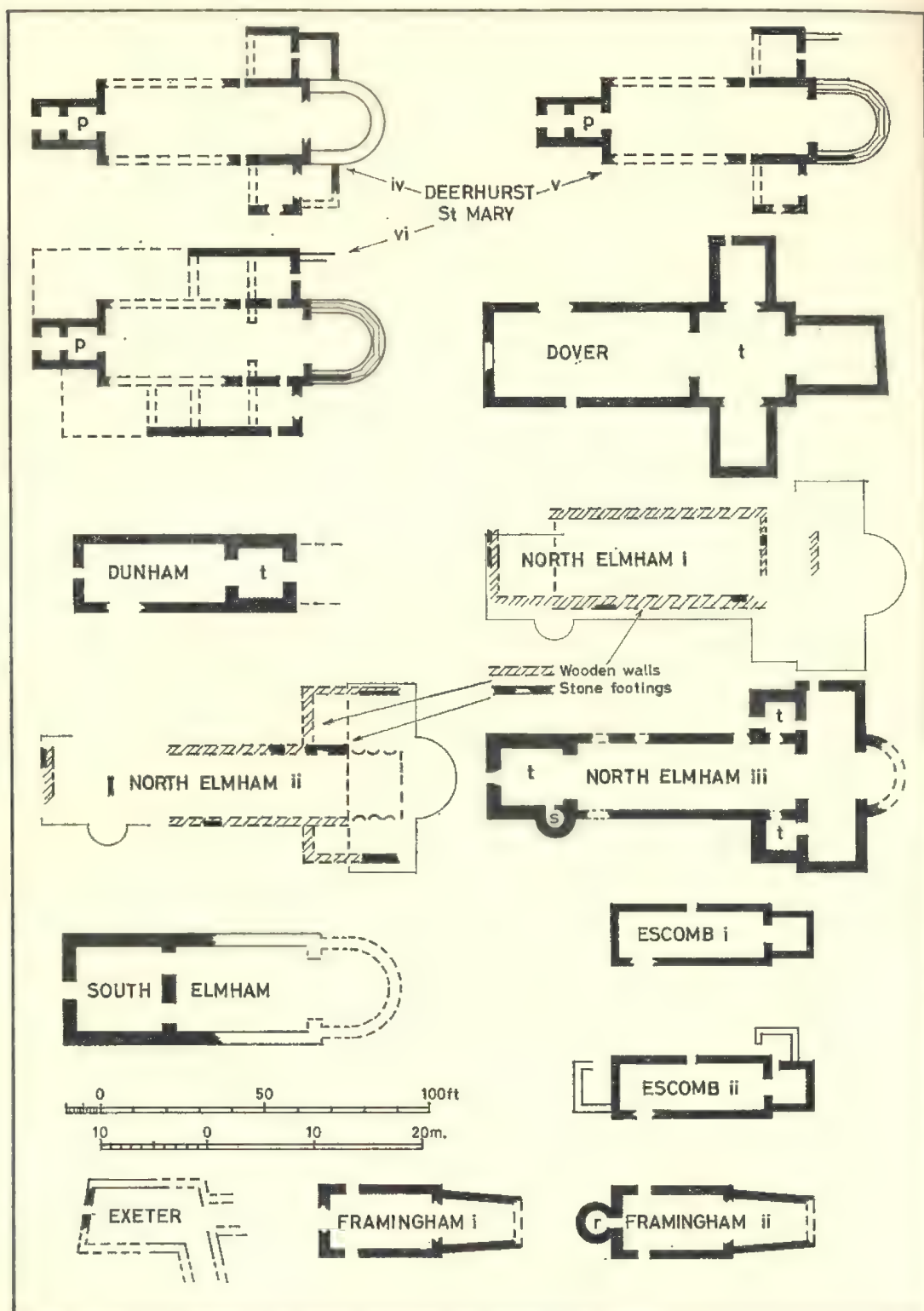


FIG. 725. WELL DEFINED PLANS (4). DEERHURST TO FRAMINGHAM

The sequence of development at Deerhurst St Mary must still be regarded as provisional in view of the continuing investigation.

publication of Volumes I and II (Pocock & Wheeler 1971). The surviving church is shown as Escomb i, a two-cell linear church with a square east end; an original doorway survives on the north of the nave and there could have been an original entry from the south in the space now occupied by the later doorway. It is uncertain whether or not there was any original entry from the west. The excavations established the later modifications shown as Escomb ii, a three-cell church of transverse plan with a western annexe which appeared still to have no communication to the church. The northern porticus communicated with the chancel by a doorway which has long been recognised as a later Anglo-Saxon modification of the early chancel; and the western annexe, which was probably of two storeys as indicated by the signs of its gable high up on the west wall, seemed to have had an entrance from the north. The light foundations of the north porticus suggest that its walls may have been of wood. The code-symbols for the two phases are:

i. 2CLs; ii. 3CTs (with west annexe).

Exeter. Clearance at Exeter after war-damage brought to light the remains of a three-cell church of transverse type (Fox 1952: 25-9). Entry was from the west through a doorway whose jambs in 'Escomb fashion' have been re-erected in the nearby area known as Vicars Choral. There was no evidence to settle the shape of the east end. Code-symbol 3CTu.

Framingham Earl. The standing fabric at Framingham defines a two-cell church to which a round west tower was later added. The chancel narrows curiously to the east and has later been lengthened somewhat; its original shape must be regarded as unknown although it was probably square-ended. Access was from doorways in the north and south walls. Code-symbols: i. 2CLu; ii. r2CLu.

Glastonbury. The evidence from many seasons of excavation at Glastonbury is still largely unpublished but has been summarised in Vol. I: 250-7, along with historical evidence which allows the somewhat enigmatic remains to be interpreted with some certainty. The results which relate to

the plan of the church are summarised in Fig. 726. The earliest church (*Vetusta Ecclesia*) has disappeared completely and is known only by the large sixteenth-century crypt below the Lady Chapel which removed all evidence of the early building but is said to occupy much the same site. The early church of St Peter and St Paul was a cellular building of transverse plan and was later twice extended. The first extension added lateral chambers on both sides and provided a square chancel further east, so that the church became of multi-cellular areal type with a square east end. It also seems to have provided an atrium at the west, possibly linking it to the *Vetusta Ecclesia*. Dunstan's later extension carried the church further east to incorporate an earlier hypogeum beneath his chancel, and from the thickness of the chancel walls it is assumed that the tower which he is recorded as having added to the church was in this unusual position over the chancel. Moreover a second church standing separately to the west is interpreted as being the church of St John which Dunstan is recorded as having built to the west of the old church.

Glastonbury, like Canterbury, is therefore an example of a monastic site with a family of churches of the type mentioned in Section 3(d). Of the separate churches, St John's is of the unitary type with a square east end (code-symbol Us), and St Peter and St Paul's was of type 4CTu in its first phase; then of type mCAs when first extended; and finally of type mCATs(t) when it has been given an areal-transverse plan by St Dunstan's additions, apparently with the unusual arrangement of a tower over its chancel.

Greensted. The plan of the wooden nave of this important church is fully defined by the surviving fabric despite major rebuilding in 1848. Excavations in 1960 established the positions of side walls (but not an east wall) of two successive chancels both narrower than the nave; one was of logs set upright in the ground; the second was slightly wider and was built on a wooden sill. Pending the publication of a full excavation report the chancel is shown in Fig. 726 only as a single undetermined outline. The church is however fully determined as having had a two-cell plan, with access to the nave from north and south; code-symbol 2CLu.

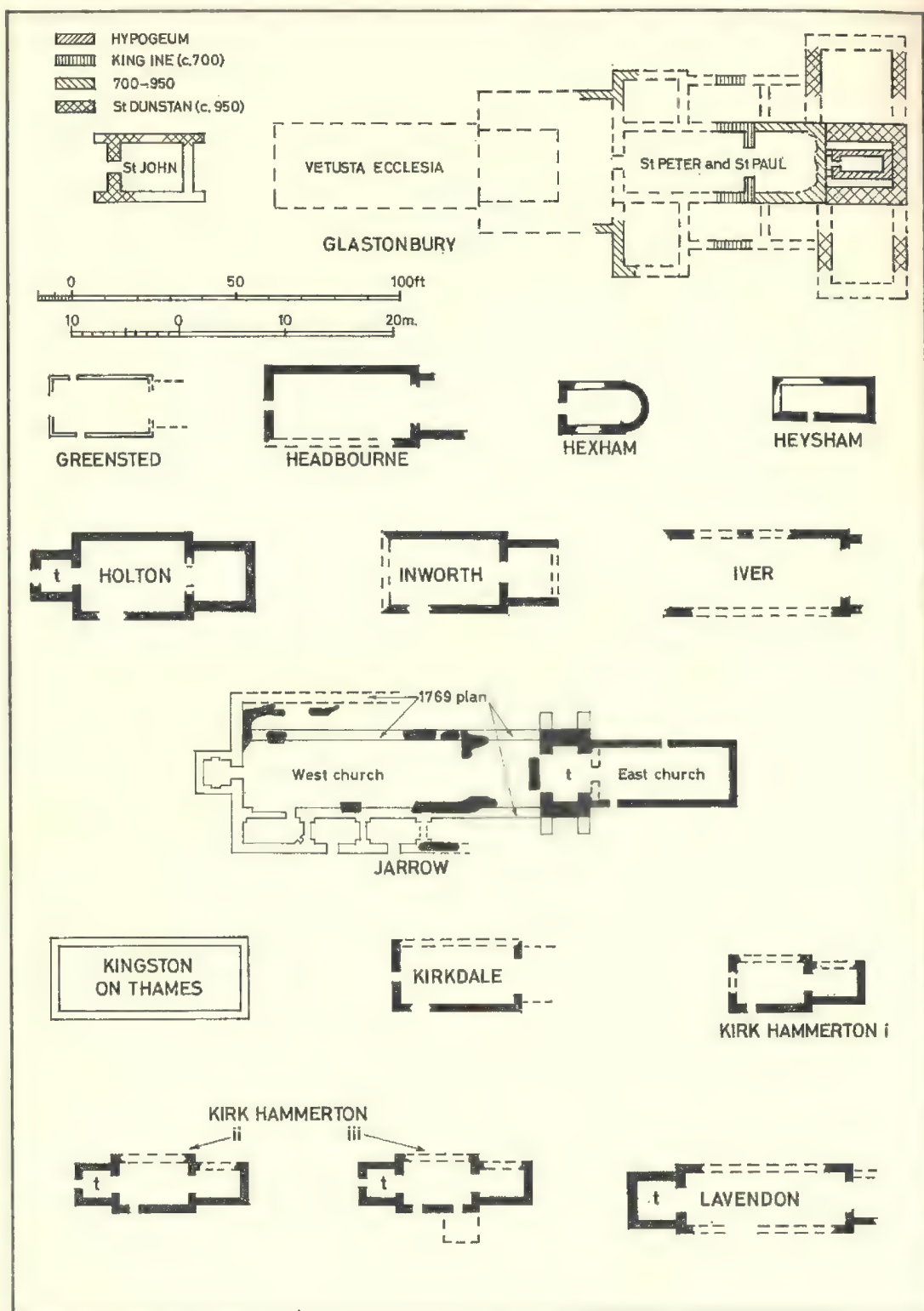


FIG. 726. WELL DEFINED PLANS (5). GLASTONBURY TO LAVENDON

Headbourne Worthy. The standing fabric defines a rectangular nave and narrower chancel with uncertain east end. The important west doorway is fully preserved, with a defaced Rood above. There was certainly no access from the north, but the south is uncertain. Code-symbol 2CLu.

Hexham. The great church of St Andrew cannot be regarded as adequately defined by the evidence of Vol. I: 297–306 although a tentative reconstruction was suggested (Vol. I: 306–12). But there seems no reason why the small free-standing eastern church should not be illustrated in Fig. 726 and described as having a unitary plan with apsidal east end; code-symbol Ua.

Heysham, St Patrick. The small rectangular church traditionally known as St Patrick's has sufficient standing fabric to define a roughly rectangular unitary plan, with square east end and access only from the south through an important fully surviving doorway (Fig. 135, Vol. I: 314). Another important feature is the fully surviving east wall which has no opening. Code-symbol Us.

Holton-le-Clay. The standing fabric defines unambiguously a two-cell linear church with a square east end and a square west tower (code-symbol t2CLs). Recent excavations undertaken in connection with repairs to the walls, but not yet published, have shown that the nave, chancel, and tower are not all of one build as was suggested in Vol. I: 317.

Inworth. The square chancel with double-splayed lateral windows has later been extended eastward, but its original quoins have survived as evidence of its former length and square shape. The wider nave has similar fabric and quoins. The two-cell linear plan is thus determined; code-symbol 2CLs.

Iver. The rather sketchy remains serve only to specify the widths but not the lengths of the nave and slightly narrower chancel; they are, however, adequate to define a two-cell linear plan with code-symbol 2CLu.

Jarrow. Recent excavations inside and beside the nineteenth-century nave have established parts of

the foundations of the main western church that was demolished in 1782 (Cramp 1976). These sections are in reasonable accord with the British Museum plan of 1769 as shown in the western part of Fig. 726. There seems good ground for believing that, as at Canterbury, Glastonbury, and elsewhere, the monastery at Jarrow had more than one church (shown here as the east and west churches) and that later in the Anglo-Saxon era these were joined together. The east church was of unitary plan with a square east end and with access through lateral doorways which survive wholly on the north and partially on the south; it is uncertain whether or not there was originally also a western doorway (Vol. I: 340). On the evidence of the British Museum plan, the west church would be of the multi-cellular areal type, with a west porch, and as the excavations indicate a square east end, the code-symbol would be pmCAs.

The tower (without the later buttresses) is also Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman, probably built by Aldwine (1074–83) on an earlier Anglo-Saxon porch which had been built to link together the eastern and western churches. In accordance with our usual practice we classify only those separate components and do not assign a code-symbol to the complex structure formed by joining them together.

Kingston-upon-Thames. There is now no fabric above ground as evidence for the plan shown here, but it is based on excavations carried out in 1926; and the plan is marked on the site (Vol. I: 353). The plan is of the unitary type with a square east end; code-symbol Us.

Kirkdale. The standing fabric defines the nave with its tall narrow west doorway and its megalithic quoins. There is no visible fabric to define the position of the walls of the chancel, but the surviving jambs of the destroyed chancel-arch serve as evidence that there was an Anglo-Saxon chancel. The church was therefore of two-cell linear type with a western entry and an uncertain shape of east end; code-symbol 2CLu.

Kirk Hammerton. The evidence of the standing fabric indicates the three phases here shown, but there is nothing to determine the relative timing

of phases ii and iii nor has any evidence as yet been found for the walls of the porticus postulated in phase iii on the evidence of the doorway (Vol. I: 363). In phase i the two-cell church had lateral access; the south doorway survives but the north wall has been demolished. In phase ii the west tower was added and access from the west was provided through a west doorway and tower-arch. In phase iii a new south doorway seems to have been cut through the eastern part of the south wall. The code-symbols for the three phases are:

i. 2CLs; ii. t2CLs; iii. t3CTs.

Lavendon. The standing fabric defines a two-cell church with a square west tower; access must have been from the sides of the nave because the tower has no doorways. Code-symbol t2CLu.

Ledsham. The lack of bonding indicates that the west porch and south porticus were added later to the nave; but the standing fabric gives no evidence to show whether this was done in one operation or two; therefore phase i has been shown without these additions, and thereafter a composite phase ii-iii has been shown with both additions. In the plan a departure has been made from our general principle in order to show the positions of the four windows of which remains have survived above the pointed arches of the north arcade; these agree precisely with similar evidence (not shown in the plan) for the windows of the south wall, and it seems clear that the wide gap at the centre is to be associated with provision for the lateral porticus. Neither the western porch nor the south porticus is bonded to the nave, but the evidence of the windows indicates that both north and south porticus were envisaged from the outset. There is no evidence above ground for the precise position of the side walls of the chancel, but the surviving jambs of the chancel-arch show that a chancel did exist and the megalithic south-east quoin of the nave defines the chancel as having been narrower than the nave. Access to the church is not clearly defined at any phase by the existing fabric; but in phase iii it seems most likely to have been by the south doorway of the west porch. In phase i the church was of two-cell linear plan; code-symbol 2CLu. In phase iii it was of four-cell transverse plan; code-symbol p4CTu.

Lexham. The standing fabric defines a square-ended church of unitary plan with a round west tower; code-symbol rUs. Access is from the south, and this was most likely always the case.

Lusby. The standing fabric defines a nave and a narrower chancel; the shape of the east end is uncertain; a blocked south doorway defines lateral access; and the mutilated jambs of an interesting chancel-arch also survive; code-symbol 2CLu.

Lyninge, St Mary. The exposed foundations show the former existence of an apsidal chancel, a nave, and a north porticus; code-symbol 3CTa.

Lyninge, St Mary and St Eadburga. The standing fabric defines a square-ended chancel and a wider nave, the latter partly overlying the north porticus of St Mary's church; code-symbol 2CLs.

Marton. The chancel has later been extended eastward, but the plinth and wall seem adequate to indicate the former existence of a square east end. There is no clear evidence for access; the code-symbols: i. 2CLs; ii. t2CLs.

Melton. The standing fabric clearly defines a square-ended chancel and a wider nave with original access through a north doorway now blocked. There is no evidence to show whether or not there was similar access from the south. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Milborne Port. The standing fabric clearly defines a transeptal church with a square-ended chancel. Records and photographs settle the size of the destroyed nave. The openings through the arches of the tower are large and uniform enough to justify the use of the words 'transepts' and 'central crossing'; and the church can legitimately be regarded as having been of five-compartment integrated transverse type; code-symbol 5ITs(t).

Missenden. The standing fabric defines a square-ended chancel and a wider nave, connected by a surviving chancel-arch. Access seems to have been from the sides through a surviving south doorway and one partially surviving on the north. Code-symbol 2CLs. Claims have been made for a trans-

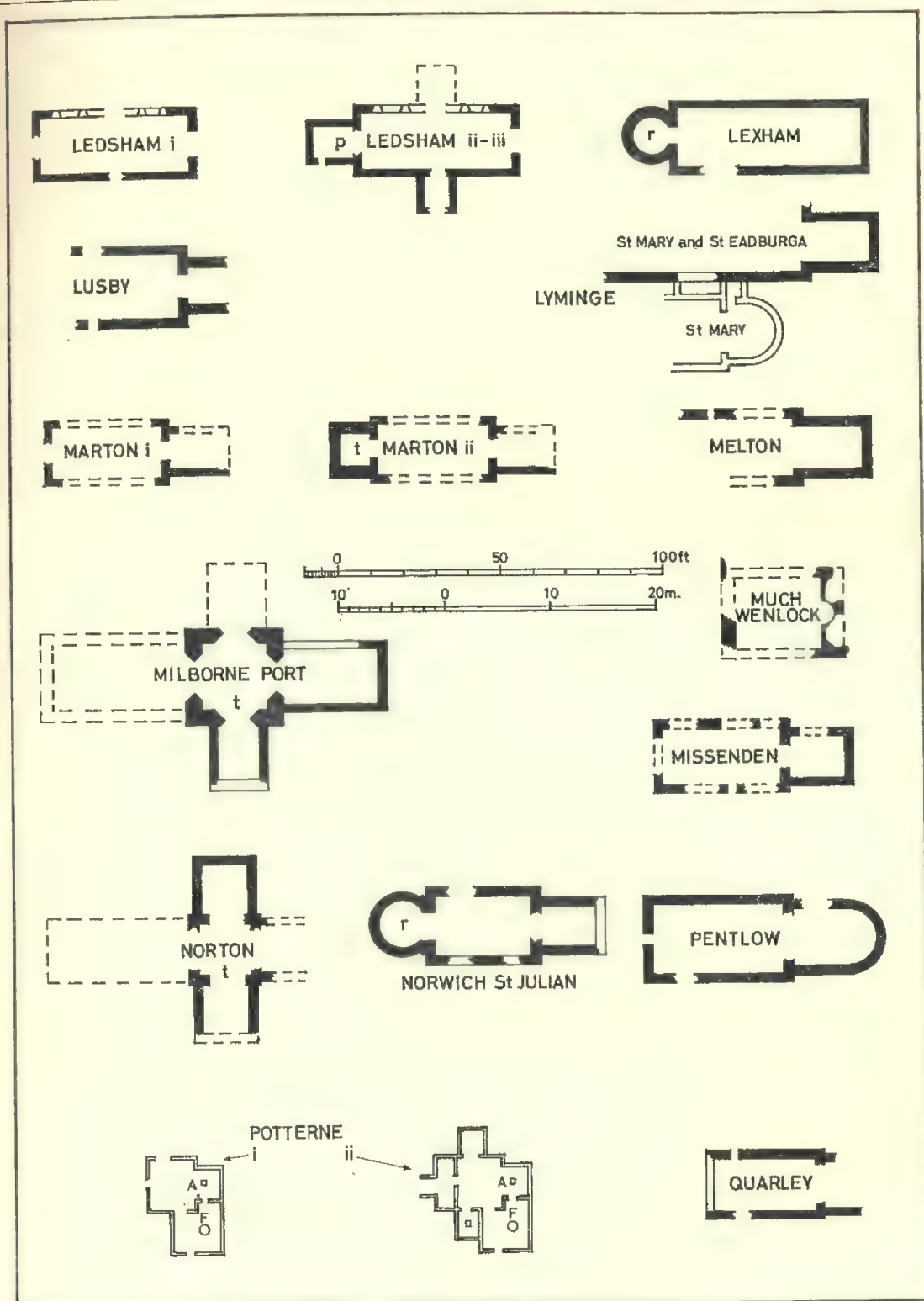


FIG. 727. WELL DEFINED PLANS (6). LEDSHAM TO QUARLEY

verse plan with lateral porticus; but further investigation would be needed to justify these.

Much Wenlock. Excavations disclosed a small single-compartment church beneath the Norman abbey at Wenlock. The east end appears to have been square externally, with a small semicircular recess internally. Code-symbol Us.

Norton. If attention were to be paid only to the widths of the arches opening to the lateral arms of this important church, the plan would probably be classed as cellular; but the original gable-lines of the lateral arms show on the exterior of the tower at the same height as those of the nave and chancel. There is therefore good reason to regard the church as on the border-line between cellular and integrated, since the builders clearly thought of all four arms as having more or less equal importance. The plan has strong affinities to that of Milborne Port, and has therefore been classified as integrated. There is no evidence for the shape of the east end, and so the code-symbol is 5ITu(t).

Norwich, St Julian. The east end fell last century, but is recorded as having been rebuilt on the old foundations. The fabric clearly defines a two-cell linear plan with a round west tower now standing only a few feet high; access was from the sides of the nave since the tower had no doorways; code-symbol r2CLs.

Pentlow. The two-cell church with apsidal east end now has a post-Conquest round west tower, but its original entry was through a surviving west doorway. Code-symbol 2CLa.

Potterne. There is no standing fabric; but the ground-plan of a wooden church was established by excavation which showed the slots for ground-sills to support the timbers of the walls. Phase i consisted of a two-cell linear church with an annexed southern baptistery; in phase ii flanking porticus had been added to the nave, and also a western porch. The code-symbols for the two phases (excluding the baptistery) are:

i. 2CLs; ii. p4CTs.

Further important evidence concerning the layout of the church should be noted here. First,

square sinkings noted in the chancel and in the south porticus are to be interpreted as the seatings for altars; that in the chancel is marked A on the plan. Secondly, the circular recess marked F in the baptistery is precisely the correct size to serve as a seating for the important Anglo-Saxon stone font now preserved in the thirteenth-century church under the floor of which it was found during repairs in 1872.

Quarley. The standing walls define a chancel only very slightly narrower than the nave; and a surviving north doorway indicates lateral access; code-symbol 2CLu.

Reculver. The triple chancel arch might be regarded as giving an integrated plan to the nave and chancel, but there is no question that the lateral porticus give the plan as a whole a cellular form. It therefore seems reasonable to regard phase i as a four-cell transverse type and phase ii as a multi-cell areal type since the lateral cells are all of the same projection. In both phases there was access from the west; this seems to have been the principal access to the church, but there are also somewhat enigmatical eastern doorways in the original north and south porticus. The code-symbols are:
i. 4CTa; ii. mCAa.

Repton. The crypt is treated separately in Section 7. The comparatively narrow doorways to the lateral porticus define a cellular plan for Repton (Taylor 1971), and this seems also to be supported by the foundations seen in 1886 for a wall dividing the nave from the central space. The standing fabric therefore defines a five-cell transverse plan with a square east end and possibly with a tower above the central space; code-symbol 5CTs(t?).

Richborough. Excavations have determined a two-cell linear plan consisting of a square-ended chancel, a wider nave, and a double narthex or porch; code-symbol p2CLs.

Rivenhall. The standing fabric shown as Rivenhall ii is adequate to define a two-cell linear church with a square-ended chancel, and a wider nave with lateral doorways (Rodwell 1973). Excavation outside the later extended chancel gave evidence

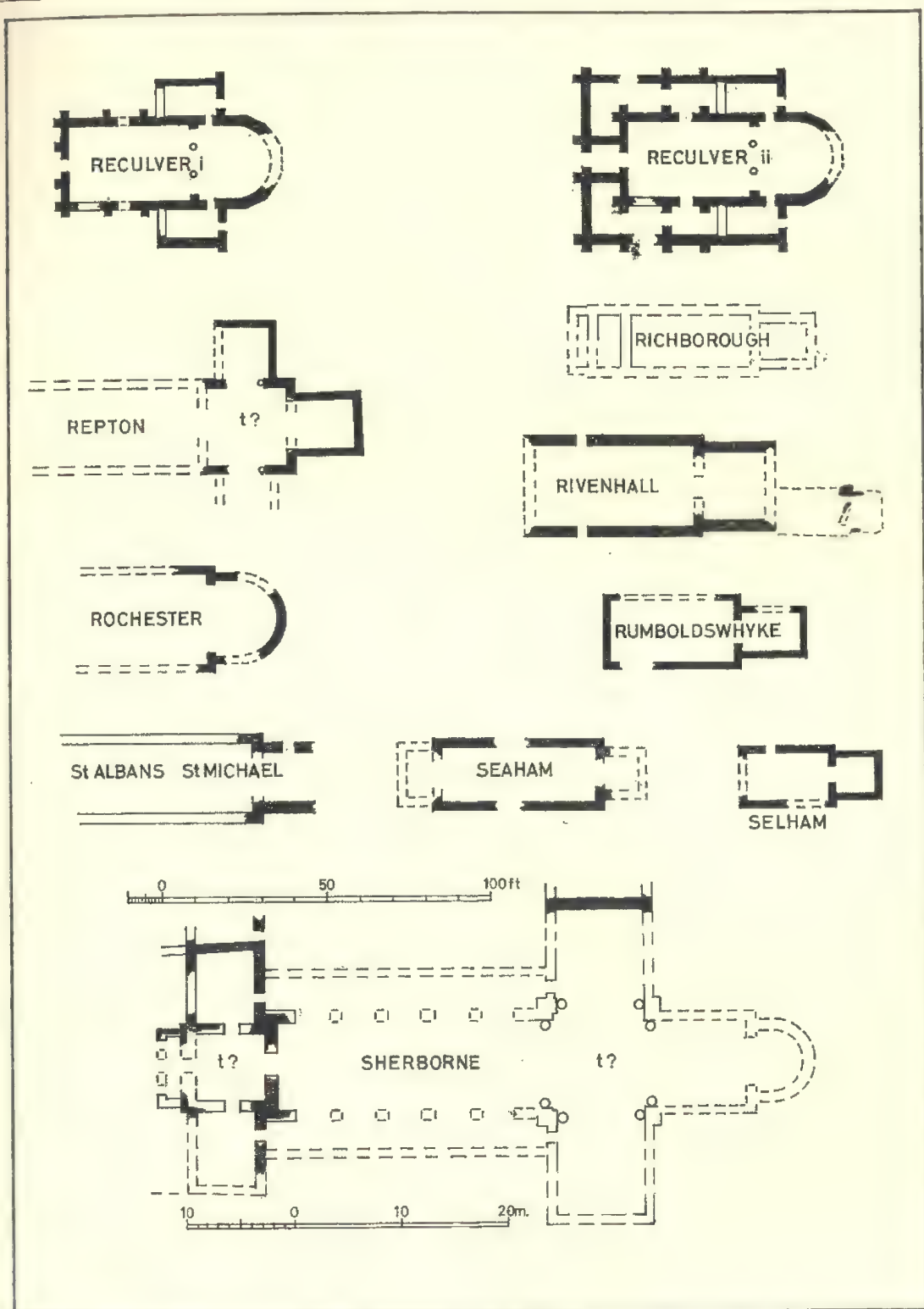


FIG. 728. WELL DEFINED PLANS (7). RECVLVER TO SHERBORNE

of a wooden earlier structure which has been interpreted as a two-cell church, shown on the plan as phase i. Code-symbols: i. 2CLu; ii. 2CLs.

Rochester. Excavations established parts of the foundations of an apsidal chancel and a wider nave. Contrary to the plan shown in Vol. II: 519, Fig. 252, Canon Livett's original excavation report gave no indication of a triple chancel-arch. It is difficult to be certain whether the plan should be classed as integrated or cellular; if the latter be accepted the code-symbol would be 2CLa.

Rumboldswyke. The standing fabric clearly defines a two-cell plan with a square-ended chancel considerably narrower than the nave. Access is from the south and there is a surviving west wall with no doorway; but it is not certain whether there was originally also access from the north. Code-symbol 2CLs.

St Albans, St Michael. The surviving fabric clearly defines a nave and a narrower chancel. The shape of the east end is uncertain and there is no evidence for access to the nave, although a north doorway survives in the chancel. The evidence for separation between the nave and chancel is unsatisfactory in default of fresh excavation, but the code-symbol 2CLu has been accepted in accordance with common belief that there was a wall and a chancel-arch.

Seaham. The standing fabric and the excavations of 1913 define a two-cell linear church with a western porch or annexe. There seems no reason to doubt that access was always, as at present, from the sides. Code-symbol p2CLs.

Selham. The standing fabric defines a square-ended chancel and a wider nave with access from the north; code-symbol 2CLs.

Sherborne. Until recent years the only standing fabric that had been recognised as Anglo-Saxon was the doorway at the west of the north aisle (Vol. II: 540-3). Investigations carried out between 1964 and 1973 have established the survival of standing fabric as shown in Fig. 728 (Gibb 1975). The north wall of the main transept stands to

gable height below the later Norman north wall; the north wall of the western annexe stands several feet high with its long-and-short north-east quoin intact for a height of 14 ft. The western extent of the west tower and its narthex are attested by foundations. The tentative reconstruction of the aisled nave, central tower and apsidal eastern sanctuary have as yet no direct confirmation in standing fabric or foundations but are based in part on the image of the church as shown on the surviving seal of the abbey, and in part on indirect evidence from the fabric. The plan as shown would be classed as integrated areal transverse with apsidal east end and a west-work with side-chambers and narthex. The code-symbol for the main church, ignoring the westwork and narthex, would be mIATa(t).

Stafford, St Bertelin. Excavations in 1954 established the ground-plans of two successive churches; the first was a wooden rectangular church of one compartment, and the second had a stone rectangular nave and a narrower stone chancel. The code-symbols for the two phases are:

i. Us; ii. 2CLu.

Stanley St Leonard. The visible standing fabric defines the west end of the church, with fragmentary remains of the north doorway. The apsidal east end was disclosed by excavation in 1914. Code-symbol Ua.

Stoke d'Abernon. The standing fabric now shows little of the early plan except the side walls of the nave, but drawings made in 1828 showed long-and-short west quoins and a chancel-arch of through-stones. Vestiges of the walls of an elliptical apse were discovered above the stone vaulting of the present chancel between 1909 and 1913 (Vol. II: 573-5). Thus a two-cell linear church with apsidal east end was established; code-symbol 2CLa.

Stoughton. The fully standing walls straightforwardly define a rectangular nave, a narrower rectangular chancel and still narrower lateral chambers close to the east of the nave. There is at present access from both sides and from the west. Code-symbol 4CTs.

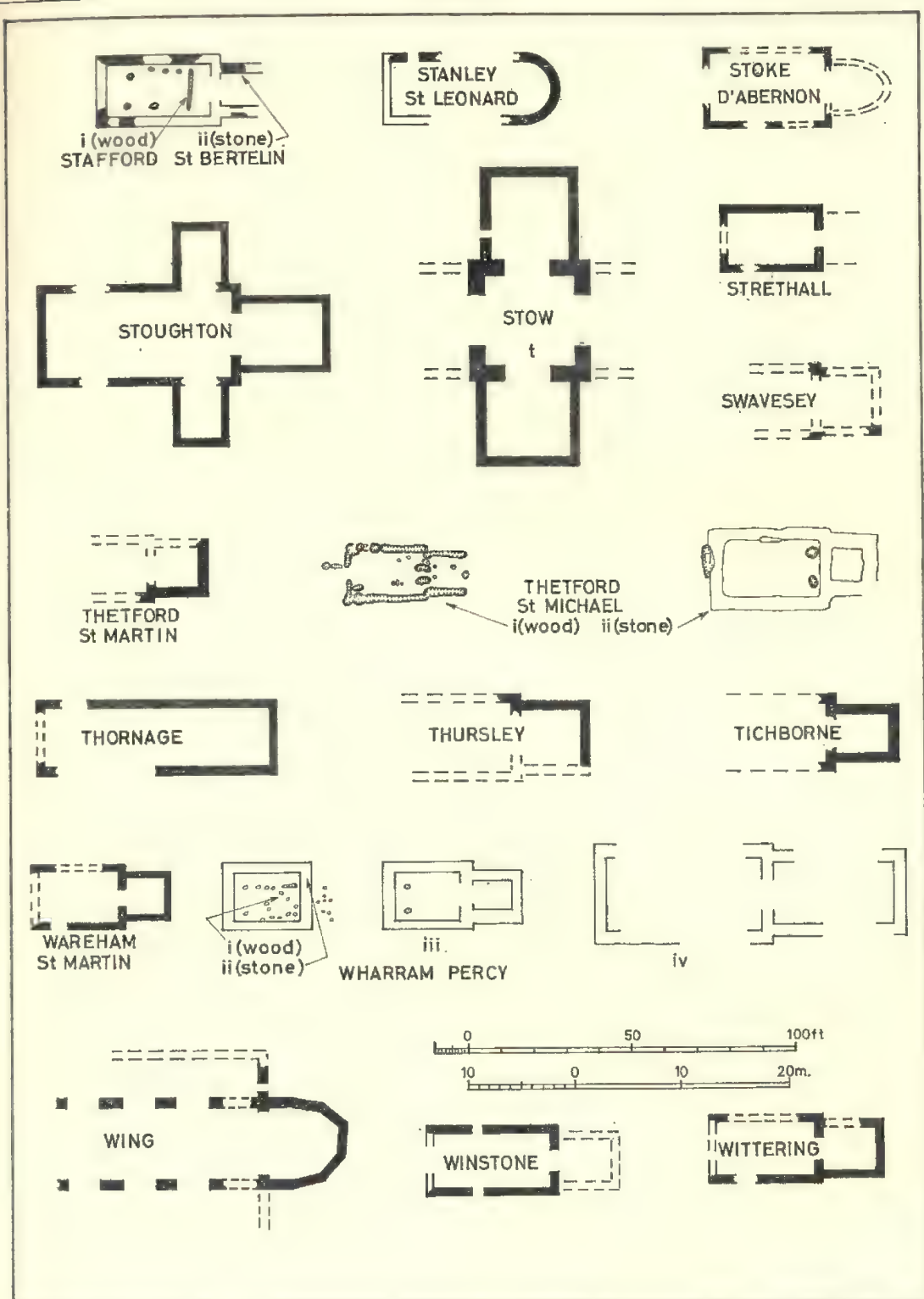


FIG. 729. WELL DEFINED PLANS (8). STAFFORD TO WITTERING

Stow. All four arches of the crossing survive, together with the two transepts, to define a cruciform plan with the transepts appreciably narrower than the central space or crossing. The Norman nave and chancel are both slightly narrower than the crossing. Records from the restoration last century suggest that evidence was found for the foundations of an original square east end and for aisles or lateral chambers flanking the nave and chancel; and the fully surviving west doorway of the north transept gives some support to the former existence of at least one lateral chamber. Thus a cruciform transeptal plan is fully determined, but further investigation is needed to determine whether it was aisleless or had lateral chambers or aisles. The code-symbol for the aisleless plan would be 5ITs(?).

Strethall. The standing fabric consists of the walls and western quoins of the nave together with a complete chancel-arch. There is no visible evidence of the size or shape of the chancel. Access is from the south, but the existence of a later tower-arch makes it impossible to assert that there was no original access from the west. Code-symbol 2CLu.

Swavesey. The very fragmentary surviving fabric is nevertheless sufficient to define the size of a rectangular chancel and the width of a slightly wider nave of unknown western extent. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Thetford, St Martin. There is no standing fabric, but foundations excavated in 1957 defined the size of a rectangular chancel, and the width of a slightly wider nave. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Thetford, St Michael. Excavations in 1970 determined the former existence of a wooden church later replaced by a stone pre-Conquest church on the same site (M.A. 1971: 130-1). Both churches were of the two-cell linear type, but there was evidence that the wooden one had a western porch of entry. Code-symbols: i. p2CLs; ii. 2CLs.

Thornage. The standing fabric defines a long rectangular church of a single compartment. Entry is at present from the north, but the existence of a tower-arch makes it impossible to assert that there

was no original access from the west. Code-symbol Us.

Thursley. Standing fabric defines a rectangular chancel and a wider nave; code-symbol 2CLs.

Tichborne. Standing fabric defines a rectangular chancel and a wider nave; code-symbol 2CLs.

Wareham, St Martin. The standing fabric defines the shape and size of the rectangular chancel and wider rectangular nave. Access is at present from the south and there are vestigial remains of a north doorway. It is not possible to assert that there was no original western access. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Wharram Percy. Complete excavation of the abandoned church has established within it four Anglo-Saxon predecessors none of which had left any evidence above ground. The first and second, of wood and stone respectively, were each of a single small rectangular compartment; the third was of the two-cell linear type; and so was the fourth, but on a much larger scale and with an unusually long rectangular chancel (Hurst 1976: 36-9). Code-symbols:

i. and ii. Us; iii. and iv. 2CLs.

Winchester, Old Minster. Excavations from 1961 to 1969 under the direction of Mr and Mrs Martin Biddle have determined the elaborate sequence which developed the four-cell seventh-century church shown as phase i in Fig. 730 into the complicated areal-transverse church of phase v, with its great westwork, its series of lateral chambers, its crypt beneath the high altar, and its external crypt beyond the apsidal east end (Biddle 1965-75). Traces of the steps leading up to the high altar are shown in phase v; and the position of the altar in phases i and iii, towards the east of the nave is indicated by the letter A. The foundation for the altar was surrounded by four posts as if to support a canopy. To the west of the original church and later enclosed within the extended church, the letter G denotes an early burial later enclosed in an elaborate chamber. This is to be interpreted as the grave of St Swithun for reasons set out in detail by the excavators. The square plan of the foundations of the chancel as shown in Fig. 644 (p. 744, above)

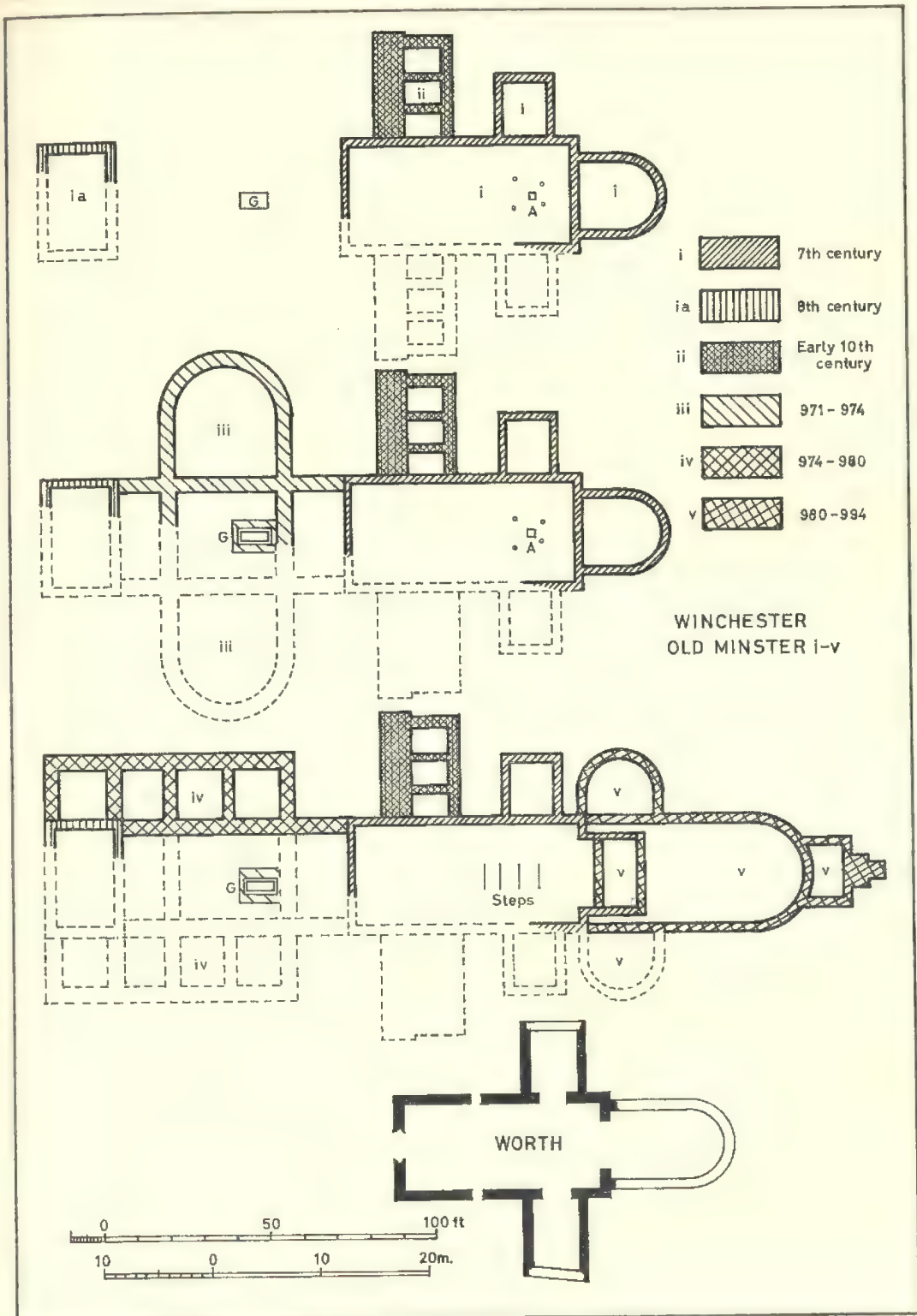


FIG. 730. WELL DEFINED PLANS (9). WINCHESTER AND WORTH

would suggest that the code-symbol for this phase i is quite straightforwardly 4CTs; but the excavators have reasons for believing that the standing walls of the chancel were apsidal, thus leading to code-symbol 4CTa (Kjølbye-Biddle 1975: 93). The historical record is explicit that entry was from the west. It should be noted that in this chapter the plans have been drawn so as to show the traces of the standing walls in the positions and of the thicknesses deduced by the excavators, whereas in Figs. 644-5 of Chapter 1 the plans showed the foundations or robber trenches actually observed. The complicated final state, phase v, can perhaps be described, apart from the crypts and westwork, by the code-symbol mCATA; and the westwork implies that it, too, was entered from the west.

Wing. The crypt below the apsidal chancel is discussed separately in Section 7. The standing fabric defines a polygonal apsidal chancel, and a nave of the same width, with north and south arcades which formerly led to aisles or lateral porticus. The east wall of the north aisle or chamber survives, with a complete contemporary doorway. The chancel-arch is of exceptional width (19ft 10in.) and justifies the classification of the church as having an integrated plan. Code-symbol mIAa.

Winstone. The standing fabric defines the rectangular nave with its north and south doorways and its chancel-arch. The chancel appears to have been rebuilt in the thirteenth century, but a well-defined plain square plinth runs round the whole of the nave and chancel, thus giving an indication that the original plan has been preserved. A tower has later been added at the west and it is not possible to assert that there was no original western access to the nave. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Wittering. The plan of the two-cell church is fully defined by standing fabric with all six long-and-short quoins and a complete megalithic chancel-arch. Access is at present from the south but a later north arcade and tower-arch have destroyed evidence on the north and west. Code-symbol 2CLs.

Worth. The main walls of nave and side-chambers stand more-or-less to their full height, with well-

preserved north and south doorways as well as chancel-arch and transverse arches; the chancel was entirely rebuilt in 1869, but on the original foundations. Access from north and south is clearly defined, but a later doorway renders uncertain the question of western access. The church was of four-cell transverse plan with apsidal chancel; code-symbol 4CTa.

THE RESULTING CLASSIFICATION OF THESE PLANS

In Figs. 722-30 and in the associated text we have considered ninety-nine churches which with their separate building phases and various developments have served to define no less than 135 independent plans. It now remains to group these into classes and to consider what deductions can be made from all this material.

It will already have become clear from the code-symbols that have been mentioned above for each church (or each of the several phases of churches which show evidence of more than one phase) that all the plans defined by all these churches are comprised within the nine main classes described in Section 2 and illustrated in Fig. 720. Additional detailed evidence has indeed been noted for each plan, such as the number of compartments, the shape of the east end, the presence of porches or towers, and so on; but all these can best be regarded as constituting sub-classes within the nine main classes.

It will therefore now be best to consider the way in which the churches group themselves into the nine main classes, and to consider within each class whether there are clearly defined and useful groupings into sub-classes. It will already have been apparent from Figs. 722-30 how greatly the cellular classes predominate over the integrated ones, and it will be appropriate in our further study to consider first the unitary class, then the four cellular classes and finally the four integrated classes.

The figures in Table 2 give a summary of the numbers of plans which fall into each of the nine main classes. The places where these plans occur and the minor variations within each class are discussed in the subsequent paragraphs; but the summary in Table 2 gives a striking introductory

5. CHURCHES WITH WELL DEFINED PLANS

picture of the predominance of cellular plans, and of linear plans within the cellular type.

TABLE 2. *Number of complete plans within each class*

Unitary	15
Cellular	
Linear	78
Transverse	24
Areal	9
Areal-transverse	2
—	—
Total, Cellular	113
Integrated	
Linear	1
Transverse	4
Areal	1
Areal-transverse	1
—	—
Total, Integrated	7
—	—
Grand total	135
—	—

In listing the places of occurrence of each of these classes and in considering the detailed variations within each class, it will save both cost and space if we omit the code-letters which define the class itself, and use only the code-letters which relate to the minor variations that distinguish subclasses; this will cause no confusion since all the churches listed in any one table will belong to one class. Thus, for example, in the table relating to churches with unitary plans we shall omit the letter U and shall use 'a' and 's' to denote churches whose full code-symbols are Ua and Us; and in the table relating to cellular linear plans we shall similarly omit the letters CL and shall use 2a, 2s, p2a, etc., for churches whose full code-symbols are 2CLa, 2CLs, p2CLa, and so on.

UNITARY PLANS

The fifteen surviving unitary plans occur at the places listed in Table 3. It will be seen that square east ends (13) heavily outnumber apsidal east ends (2), but it should be noted that at Much Wenlock a small curved recess appears to have been reserved within the thickness of the straight east wall. Only two of the unitary plans are associated with west towers, and both of these are East Anglian churches with round towers, (Beechamwell and East Lexham). Only two of the unitary churches for which evidence survives were of wood, and their names are printed in italics. The unitary plans are mostly small in size, but the three East Anglian examples (Beechamwell, East Lexham, and Thornage) are much larger than any of the others and are quite large even in relation to churches of the cellular type, whether in East Anglia or elsewhere.

In conclusion it should perhaps be noted that in the square-ended unitary churches there are no instances of a narrowing of the plan to mark the transition from nave to chancel, but that in the apsidal type a distinction of this sort is made in the small east church at Hexham but not in the rather larger one at Stanley St Leonard.

CELLULAR PLANS

Cellular linear plans. As has been said, these constitute by far the largest class of plans, and this seems also to be true of early churches on the Continent, at least in north-west Europe, so far as can be seen from surveys published since the second world war (Mertens 1955; Bellmann 1955).

TABLE 3. *Unitary plans*

1. Beechamwell	rs	6. Heysham Pa	s	11. <i>Stafford i</i>	s
2. Cheddar i	s	7. Jarrow E	s	12. Stanley	a
3. Deerhurst M i	ps	8. Kingston	s	13. Thornage	s
4. Glastonbury J	s	9. Lexham	rs	14. <i>Wharram P i</i>	s
5. Hexham E	a	10. M Wenlock	s	15. <i>Wharram P ii</i>	s

Summary: Details of unitary plans

Us	10	Wooden	2
pUs	1		
rUs	2	Stone	13
Ua	2		
—	—		—
15	—		15
—	—		—

CHAPTER 15 ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH PLANS

It will be seen from Table 4 that there is a considerable predominance of square east ends over the apsidal shape, and that this would persist even in the unlikely event that all those where the shape is at present uncertain had originally been apsidal. It will also be noted that there is an overwhelming predominance of the two-cell plan and that this predominance would persist even if a western

porch or tower were to be counted as a constituent cell of the church. Five of these churches were wooden; their names are printed in *italics*, and it should be noted that only Greensted survives. It should also be noted that the classification of Potterne i as 2CLs omits the baptistery; if this were taken into account the code-symbol would be 3CTs.

TABLE 4. *Cellular linear plans*

1. Avebury	2s	27. Cringleford	2s	53. Norwich J	r2s
2. Bardfield	t2u	28. Daglingworth	2s	54. Pentlow	2a
3. Bardsey i	p2u	29. Deerhurst M ii	p2a	55. <i>Potterne i</i>	2s
4. Bardsey ii	t2u	30. Deerhurst O	2s	56. Quarley	2u
5. Barsham	2s	31. Dunham	3a(t)	57. Richborough	p2s
6. Barton	3s(t)	32. <i>Elmham N i</i>	2s	58. <i>Rivenhall i</i>	2u
7. Bibury	2u	33. Elham S	p2a	59. Rivenhall ii	2s
8. Boarhunt	2s	34. Escomb i	2s	60. Rochester	2a
9. Bosham	t2u	35. Framingham i	2u	61. Rumbolds	2s
10. Bracebridge i	2u	36. Framingham ii	r2u	62. St Albans M	2u
11. Bracebridge ii	t2u	37. <i>Greensted</i>	2u	63. Seaham	p2s
12. Broughton	s2s(t)	38. Headbourne	2u	64. Selham	2s
13. Burghwallis	2u	39. Holton	t2s	65. Stafford ii	2u
14. Cambridge	t2s	40. Inworth	2s	66. Stoke	2a
15. Canterbury M	2u	41. Iver	2u	67. Strethall	2u
16. Canterbury P ii	p2a	42. Kirkdale	2u	68. Swavesey	2s
17. Carlton i	2u	43. K Hammerton i	2s	69. Thetford Ma	2s
18. Carlton ii	t2u	44. K Hammerton ii	t2s	70. <i>Thetford Mi i</i>	p2s
19. Cheddar ii	2s	45. Lavendon	t2u	71. Thetford Mi ii	2s
20. Chickney	2s	46. Ledsham i	2u	72. Thursley	2s
21. Chithurst	2s	47. Lusby	2u	73. Tichborne	2s
22. Clayton	2u	48. Lyminge ME	2s	74. Wareham M	2s
23. Coln Rogers	2u	49. Marton i	2s	75. Wharram P iii	2s
24. Corbridge i	p2u	50. Marton ii	t2s	76. Wharram P iv	2s
25. Corbridge ii	t2u	51. Melton	2s	77. Winstone	2s
26. Corhampton	2u	52. Missenden	2s	78. Wittering	2s

Summary: Details of cellular linear plans

	<i>Apsidal</i>	<i>Square</i>	<i>Uncertain</i>	<i>Total</i>
2-cell	2a 3	2s 31	2u 20	54
	p2a 3	p2s 3	p2u 2	8
		t2s 4	t2u 7	11
		r2s 1	r2u 1	2
		s2s(t) 1		1
3-cell	—	—	—	—
	6	40	30	76
	3a(t) 1	3s(t) 1	—	2
	—	—	—	—
	7	41	30	78
	—	—	—	—
No porch or west tower (but including two with a tower over one cell)				56
Porch				8
Square west tower				11
Round west tower				2
Stair turret				1
				—
				78
				—

5. CHURCHES WITH WELL DEFINED PLANS

Cellular transverse plans. With a total of twenty-four, as shown in Table 5, these plans constitute the next largest class after those of the cellular linear type. This again seems also to be true of early churches in the north-west of the Continent of Europe (Bellmann 1955: 121). It is interesting to note that in this class (unlike the cellular linear class) there is no predominance of square east ends over those of the apsidal shape; the numbers of securely defined shape are: apsidal 10, square 8; and the number of uncertain shape is 6. The only wooden church in this class is Potterne ii, and it should again be noted that the baptistery makes it exceptional and has been omitted in the code-symbol; if it were taken into account this would become p5CTs.

The bare figures in Table 5 demand some further amplification. In the first place, the number of cells at Bywell and Lyminge has been recorded as three, in accordance with present surviving evidence; but symmetry would suggest four, and there is some indication of this at Bywell (Vol. I: 125-6). Secondly both Potterne and Repton require special mention because of the baptistery and the crypt for neither of which do we have code-symbols.

Finally there is need to distinguish between what might be called the normal cellular transverse plan with lateral porticus, and what might almost be called a transeptal plan. The latter type is illustrated in Table 5 by the churches at Bitton, Dover, Stoughton, and Worth, where the lateral chambers are more important in size and are more closely connected with the church through wider and taller arches than the doorways which usually connect porticus to the church. We shall return to this question later in connection with integrated plans; but for the moment we might separate the transverse plans of Table 5 into those with low transepts (Bitton, Dover, Stoughton, and Worth) and those with lateral porticus (all the remainder).

Cellular areal plans. These plans seem in part to have been designed as such from the beginning, as at Brixworth, Canterbury, Cirencester and Jarrow (west church); and in part to have developed by the later addition of lateral cells to the west of the transverse cells in churches of the 4-cell transverse plan, as at Deerhurst, Glastonbury, and Reculver. A similar association of cellular transverse and

TABLE 5. *Cellular transverse plans*

1. Bitton	4u	9. Deerhurst M v	p4a	17. Lyminge M	3a
2. Bradford	4s	10. Dover	5s(t)	18. Potterne ii	p4s
3. Bradwell	4a	11. Elmham N ii	pms	19. Reculver i	4a
4. Breamore	5u	12. Escomb ii	3s	20. Repton	5s
5. Bywell P	3u	13. Exeter	3u	21. Stoughton	4s
6. Canterbury P iii	p4a	14. Glastonbury i	4u	22. Winchester i	4a
7. Deerhurst M iii	p5a	15. K Hammerton iii	t3s	23. Winchester ii	ma
8. Deerhurst M iv	pma	16. Ledsham ii-iii	p4u	24. Worth	4a

Summary: Details of cellular transverse plans

	Apsidal	Square	Uncertain	Total
3-cell	3a 1	3s 1 t3s 1	3u 2	5
4-cell	4a 4 p4a 2	4s 2 p4s 1	4u 2 p4u 1	12
5-cell	p5a 1	5s 1 5s(t) 1	5u 1	4
multiple-cell	ma 1 pma 1	pms 1		3
	10	8	6	24
No porch or west tower (but including one with a tower over one cell)			17	
Porch			6	
Square west tower			1	
			24	

cellular areal plans also occurs on the Continent and some of these are also provided with crypts (Bellmann 1955: 121). At Brixworth and Cirencester the plans are associated with crypts which are treated separately in Section 7; the crypts are not distinguished by any code-symbol in Table 6. All the churches of this class have multiple-cell plans. The total number of examples is too small to allow any firm deduction to be made from the relative frequency of use of apsidal and square east ends, but it is interesting to note that the numbers are as follows:

apsidal 5; square 2; uncertain 2.

Western porches appear at four of these churches (Brixworth, Canterbury, Deerhurst, and Jarrow) and at Brixworth the porch was later changed into a tower with a western stair-turret.

Cellular areal-transverse plans. There are only two examples of this type of plan, and both are known only by excavation in circumstances which provided next to no evidence to indicate the nature of the separate spaces or the sizes of the openings that connected them. For Winchester some indication of the multiplicity and elaboration of the doorways leading between the separate spaces is, however, provided by the contemporary descriptions (Quirk 1957). The supposed tower over the sanctuary at Glastonbury is unique in English churches of this era, but examples of a somewhat later period are known on the Continent, particularly in Alsace (Kautsch 1944). The archaeological evidence for the west-work at Winchester, in striking confirmation of Quirk's predictions from the contemporary literary evidence, has many parallels on the Continent, throughout the Carolingian and Ottonian periods and extending over the whole of the areas covered by those empires. The best preserved example, at Corvey, provides a splendid standing reminder of the dignity and complication of these buildings which

seem to have had a special connection with royal ceremonies (Kreusch 1963; Busen 1966).

TABLE 7. *Cellular areal-transverse plans*

1. Glastonbury iii ms(t) 2. Winchester v ma

In this table it should be noted that there were also crypts and a west-work at Winchester and that at Glastonbury the towered sanctuary stood above an earlier mausoleum which, although previously external to the church, was now incorporated within it.

Cellular plans: general summary. Since cellular plans comprise 113 out of the total of 135 fully defined surviving Anglo-Saxon church plans it is important to summarise the general significance of this type of plan before passing on to the integrated plans of which only seven survive in well defined condition, apart from the fifteen unitary plans.

It should first be said that in England (as also on the Continent) the cellular linear church was by far the most usual plan, since over half the surviving plans fall into this one category (78 out of 135). Moreover of these linear plans seventy-six were of the two-cell type; and of them fifty-four consisted of the nave and chancel alone, while the remaining twenty-two were elaborated by the addition of a western porch or tower.

Secondly it should be noted that the next most common arrangement in England (as also on the Continent) was the cellular transverse plan of which there are twenty-four examples, mostly of the four-cell type. This plan was used for quite large and important churches, as in the Old Minster at Winchester; and, although later modified and greatly enlarged, it served as the core of that important church until replaced after the Norman Conquest.

Thirdly, the areal and areal-transverse churches of cellular type are seen to include several of the largest and most important of the Anglo-Saxon churches for which evidence has survived (Brixworth, Canterbury, Cirencester, Glastonbury, Jarrow, Reculver, and Winchester). Although

TABLE 6. *Cellular areal plans*

1. Brixworth i	pma	4. Canterbury A ii	pmu	7. Glastonbury ii	ms
2. Brixworth ii	stma	5. Cirencester	ma	8. Jarrow (west)	pms
3. Canterbury A i	mu	6. Deerhurst M vi	pma	9. Reculver ii	ma

In this table it should be noted that for both phases of Brixworth and also for Cirencester there were crypts which need to be treated separately.

some of these could perhaps be described as having fallen on hard times in the later part of the Anglo-Saxon era, there are others such as Glastonbury and Winchester for which this was not the case. Thus, right up to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era the cellular type of church seems to have been regarded as adequate for the needs even of an important community. This of course in no way detracts from the possibility that churches of the integrated type might have been gaining favour with new builders, as is suggested by the use of the aisled transeptal form in Edward the Confessor's new church at Westminster and in the New Minster at Winchester, but it does indicate that the older and well-established churches of the cellular type were not regarded as being so unsuitable that they all required replacement.

INTEGRATED PLANS

In all there are only seven churches which have survived in sufficient detail to define integrated plans and for convenience we shall therefore list all of these in a single table, to which reference can be made from the following paragraphs where each of the separate types of integrated plans is discussed in detail.

TABLE 8. *Integrated plans*

A. Linear			
Canterbury P i 2ILa			
B. Transverse			
1. Elmham N iii	t3ITa	3. Norton	5ITu(t)
2. Milborne	5ITs(t)	4. Stow	5ITs(t)
C. Areal			
Wing mIAa			
D. Areal-transverse			
Sherborne mIATa(t)			

Integrated linear plans. The one church which can confidently be assigned to the integrated linear type of plan is Canterbury St Pancras in its first phase, where the apsidal chancel was widely open to the nave through the triple chancel-arch. The church was therefore of the type 2ILa.

It should, however, be noted that for a few of the churches which have been classified as of cellular linear type the surviving jambs of (later-widened) chancel-arches do not separate the chancels any more seriously from the naves than

would have been the case at Canterbury St Pancras. Fresh evidence by excavation might provide proof that originally the chancel-arches in all these churches were indeed narrow and that the churches have therefore been correctly placed in the cellular type. But in default of such evidence there may continue to be some doubt whether a few such as Melton Magna and St Albans St Michael might indeed have had wide arches and therefore have been of the integrated type.

Integrated transverse plans. The four churches which fall into this 'aisleless transeptal' class not only present our first clear-cut examples of transepts as distinct from porticus, but also show two basically different kinds of transepts. It is therefore now appropriate to consider in some detail the distinctions between the different kinds of lateral chambers.

It will be seen from Fig. 725 that at North Elmham the transverse compartment runs without any structural division across the whole width of the church, forming what is commonly called a continuous transept. By contrast, at Milborne Port and Norton (Fig. 727) and at Stow (Fig. 729), the two arms of the transept open through arches to a central space just as do the nave and chancel; and the four arches of the central space or crossing carry a tower.

The integrated transverse plan with a continuous transept as at North Elmham was very commonly used in the Mediterranean area in early Christian churches, but usually with an aisled nave. There were also important revivals of the continuous transept in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods; The most important Carolingian example was perhaps the cathedral at Fulda where unfortunately very little if any of the fabric of that period has survived (Grodecki 1958: 30-1), but at Hersfeld the continuous transept and aisled nave survive as standing ruins from the Ottonian period (ibid: 20-1).

By contrast with the continuous transept, the regular crossing, with its four more or less equal arches, divides the four main arms of the church from the central space beneath the great central tower. This arrangement reached its greatest splendour in the Romanesque and Gothic periods when all four arms of the church were aisled and

when the tower was supported on great piers. But the concept of a regular crossing applies also to the aisleless transeptal church provided that the four arches opening to the four arms are roughly equal in size and of almost the same width as the spaces into which they open, so that the interior of the church can genuinely be claimed as an integrated space.

In the Romanesque and Gothic periods the regular crossing carried a great stone central tower. The same is true of the Anglo-Saxon crossing at Norton; but at Milborne Port and Stow the stone towers are later and the Anglo-Saxon crossing may have carried a wooden tower.

This is now the place to offer a formal definition of a *transept* as a lateral chamber which opens from the main body of a church through an arch which is more or less the same width as the transept itself, so that the transept and church constitute an integrated space. In a regular crossing the transepts are of the same width and height as the main arms of the church, and the four arches of the crossing are also of the same size.

By contrast with transepts, the *porticus* of cellular churches are sharply divided from the church by walls pierced only by relatively narrow doorways, as at Breamore and Deerhurst. There is, however, an intermediate class, as at Bitton, Dover, Stoughton and Worth, where lateral chambers open to the church through arches of appreciable size and so are almost integrated into the main space. I have preferred to keep the name *porticus* for these lateral chambers which are both lower and narrower than the nave; but in continental usage they are commonly called *low transepts*.

If we now return briefly to Table 8 and its code-symbols for the four churches, it will first be noted that the symbol t3ITa for North Elmham refers explicitly to the west tower but counts the church as having only three compartments (nave, transept, and apsidal sanctuary). The code-symbol has no convenient means of taking account of the turret-stairs in this church. The symbols for the other churches count them as having five compartments (nave, chancel, two transepts and a central space), and the tower above the central space is marked by the t in brackets according to our usual convention. It can thus be fairly said that these symbols differentiate clearly between the two types of

integrated transverse plan, i.e. the continuous transept on the one hand and the regular crossing on the other.

Recapitulation: porticus, low transepts, and regular crossings. It will be convenient to summarise here the distinctions which have been described above between the various types of transverse plans and to illustrate them by diagrams which will also serve to show how Anglo-Saxon regular crossings differ in a distinctive fashion from contemporary examples on the Continent and from later Romanesque examples both in England and on the Continent.

The distinctions are shown in Fig. 731. In the first place both *porticus* and *low transepts* differ from transepts with a regular crossing in that the lateral arms have lower walls and roofs than those of the main church; usually it is also true that they abut against the walls of the nave rather than at the junction of the nave and chancel, although there are exceptions to this rule.

Secondly, *porticus* differ from *low transepts* in that the entry to *porticus* is by way of narrow doorways whereas *low transepts* open to the nave by arches which are of almost the same width (from east to west) as the transepts themselves.

Thirdly, the regular crossing differs from the other types of transverse plans in that the transepts are roughly the same height and width as the main arms of the church, and the four arches opening to the four arms are also all of about the same height and width. Moreover the width is almost the full width of any of the arms of the church.

Finally, in the normal Romanesque regular crossing, the central space is a square formed by the intersection of the two rectangles of equal width which form the longitudinal and transverse arms of the church. By contrast, the Anglo-Saxon regular crossing was a square of greater size than the widths of the longitudinal and transverse arms of the church, so that the quoins of the central space stood free within the re-entrant angles between the transepts and the main arms of the church. This special form of the Anglo-Saxon crossing shows especially clearly in the aisleless transeptal plans such as Milborne Port, Norton and Stow; but it has also been observed in an aisled transeptal setting as we shall see at Sherborne.

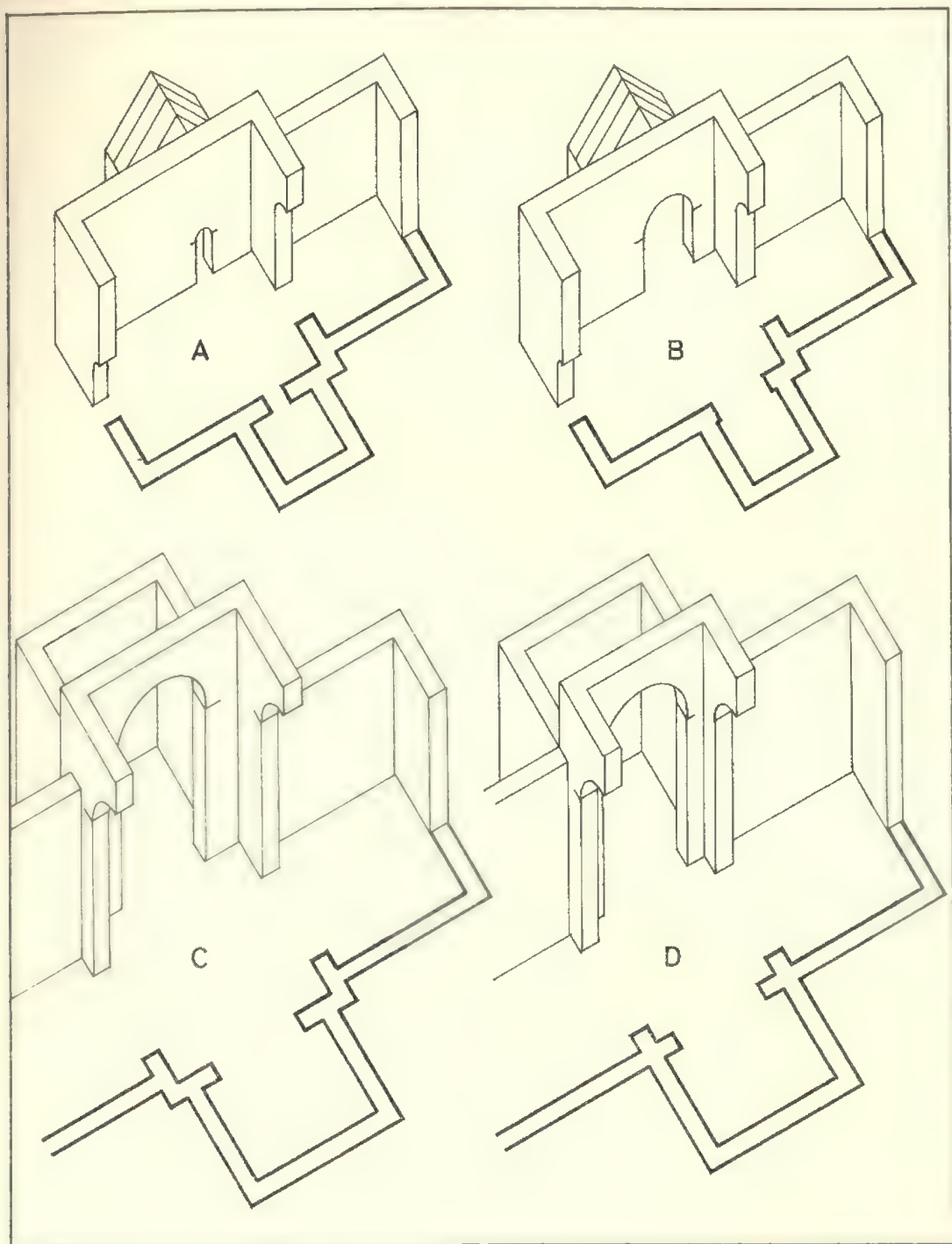


FIG. 731. PORTICUS, LOW TRANSEPTS AND REGULAR CROSSINGS

A, church with porticus entered through doorways; B, church with low transepts entered through arches; C, Anglo-Saxon regular crossing; D, Romanesque regular crossing.

Integrated areal plans. Only one church, Wing, belongs to this class, for which there is also the alternative name 'aisled transeptless'. It might be objected that if Wing is to be classified as having an integrated plan then Brixworth should also be so classified rather than among the cellular types, as has been done above. But there are two reasons why it seems correct to classify Brixworth as cellular and Wing as areal. In the first place, the chancel-arch at Brixworth is narrow and there was also a cross-wall which separated the choir from the nave so that the axial space could correctly be classed as cellular, whereas the very wide chancel-arch at Wing links the chancel and nave into a single integrated axial space; and secondly the lateral areas at Brixworth were divided by transverse walls into separate chambers whereas at Wing they appear always to have been continuous aisles as they are at present.

It should be noted that at Wing there is a crypt, which will be separately considered in Section 7, and for which no provision is made in the code-symbol IAa.

Integrated areal-transverse plans. In the discussion of churches with fully defined plans, only one church, Sherborne, has been placed in this class for which there is also the alternative name 'aisled transeptal'. In Section 6, however, we shall see that a second church, Great Paxton, also belongs to this class but has had to be excluded for the present because of lack of evidence for its chancel. The structural evidence at Sherborne also includes a western transept and a westwork.

It should specially be noted that as long ago as 1952 the ground plan of the present nave and crossing at Sherborne had been interpreted by Sir Alfred Clapham in his introduction to the Royal Commission's *West Dorset* as showing evidence that an Anglo-Saxon regular crossing wider than the four arms of the church had been incorporated within the later fabric that is at present visible.

Integrated plans: general summary. It is unfortunate that so few churches of the integrated type have survived. With only seven examples to cover the four separate types it is clearly impossible to make any generalisations about the form that other members of the types might have taken. The best

that can be done is to note that these seven examples can be fitted reasonably well into types that were current in the Carolingian and Ottonian empires.

THE ADEQUACY OF THE CLASSIFICATION

Having now passed in review the churches whose surviving fabric is sufficient to define precisely a ground-plan it is appropriate to consider whether or not the system of classification proposed in Sections 2 and 3 and illustrated in Figs. 720-1 has proved adequate for labelling each of the plans defined by the churches themselves and for distinguishing each type of plan from all others.

As a first step towards answering these questions, there would probably be no dissent from the view that the general classification of Section 2 is entirely adequate so far as it goes, in the sense that all the churches passed in review (and indeed all intermediate phases of those churches) have been found to fall clearly into one of the nine major categories of Fig. 720. But it is equally clear that a finer classification is needed in many cases, for example to distinguish between plans which may look so similar as those of Bardsey and of Barton-on-Humber but yet are so fundamentally different.

As a second step towards answering the questions, it would therefore probably be generally agreed that a finer classification such as that of Section 3 and Fig. 721 is clearly needed; and perhaps again there would be little serious dissent from a claim that the classification there proposed has proved adequate to provide a clear and distinctive label for each of the churches passed under review except for the most complicated ones such as those which have a multitude of constituent parts (Brixworth, Canterbury St Augustine, Cirencester, and Winchester) or those which involve crypts, or families of churches, or churches at several levels.

As a further step towards answering the question of the adequacy of the classification, we might perhaps ask a subsidiary question: whether the classification is one which could be adapted for use by workers who wished to use modern methods of computer-analysis in carrying their studies further. The evidence for a satisfactory answer to this question is shown by the extent to which it has been possible to fit all but a small number of the

most complicated churches into the detailed classification and to describe the features of each church by a code-symbol with not more than four or five letters.

There are, however, several separate problems, of which some can be resolved by further consideration, while some are perhaps insoluble in any system which confines itself to a study of plans alone. The soluble problems include questions such as the distinction between transepts and side-chambers or porticus; this is a problem which we have resolved above. The problems which are insoluble in terms of plans alone include the question of crypts and multi-storeyed churches; these problems can, of course, be resolved either in terms of a series of plans for each church, or in terms of a simultaneous study of plans and elevations or sections, or perhaps best in terms of sectional isometric three-dimensional drawings; but none of these solutions is capable of easy translation into code-symbols of the simple type so far studied in this chapter.

In my opinion it is best to leave the matter at this stage, to rejoice that it has been possible to fit all but a handful of the most complicated churches into a simple system of classification that is both easy to use and clear to understand, and to accept that a few residual churches present designs that are too complicated to fit within the system save in the most general terms. For this small residue it will then be necessary to discuss their complications separately from the mainstream of classification that is appropriate for all the others.

Before passing on to these outstanding problems, however, it will be best to consider the churches which have not so far been brought within the studies of this section, namely the churches whose surviving fabric is insufficient to define a complete plan with certainty. We pass to this problem in Section 6.

SECTION 6. CHURCHES WITH PARTIALLY DEFINED PLANS

Having established in the previous section the basic classes of plans that are determined by the Anglo-Saxon churches each of which has survived in sufficient detail to establish a complete ground plan

without ambiguity, it is now desirable to consider what additional evidence can be provided by the rather greater number of churches for each of which a substantial part of the ground plan has survived, but not enough to settle the whole plan.

It will be best to begin by listing the churches which comprise this class; but there seems no need to set out in detail for each church as was done in Section 5 the precise evidence which its fabric defines about its ground plan, since this can be obtained in sufficient detail by reference to Volumes 1 and 2. It will therefore be adequate to pass at once from the complete list of Table 9 to separate lists of the types of plans into which each of the churches can most obviously be placed.

It will be appreciated even from the most cursory glance at Table 9 that while some of the churches listed therein define only a small part of a plan (such, for example, as Oxford where only the tower survives) yet others define almost a complete and complicated plan (such, for example, as Paxton where the nave, aisles, transeptal arches and chancel-arch stand in whole or part to this day, and only the original chancel has vanished). It seems best, however, to pass straight on to listing the type of plan into which each church can most obviously be fitted. Where the remains are considerable and thus give a contribution of some importance to the understanding of the type as a whole I have considered it appropriate to provide plans at the same scale as those in Section 5; otherwise no plans have been provided in this section, on the assumption that sufficient evidence is already available in Volumes 1 and 2.

When only one distinctive feature such as a tower has survived, the appropriate place for discussion of that church is clearly in the chapter concerned primarily with that feature; therefore it will be found that many of the churches of this section are discussed in much more detail in other chapters than in this.

ANALYSIS OF INCOMPLETE PLANS BY TYPES

It will give an immediate understanding of the further contribution which the incomplete plans can make to the general conclusions of Section 5 if we begin by giving an overall summary of the

TABLE 9. *Churches with partially defined plans*

1. Alkborough	36. Freshwater	71. Limpley	106. Sockburn
2. Alton	37. Gayton	72. Lincoln M	107. Somborne
3. Appleton	38. Geddington	73. Lincoln P	108. Somerford
4. Arlington	39. Gissing	74. London	109. Sompting
5. Arreton	40. Glentworth	75. Lydd	110. Springfield
6. Aslacton	41. Godalming	76. Middleton	111. Staindrop
7. Atcham	42. Greens N	77. Minster	112. Stanton B
8. Barholm	43. Guestwick	78. Miserden	113. Stanton L
9. Barnack	44. Guildford	79. M Fryston	114. Stevington
10. Barrow	45. Hackness	80. Mwearmouth	115. Stowe-nC
11. Bedford	46. Haddiscoe	81. Morland	116. Swanscombe
12. Bessingham	47. Haddiscoe T	82. Morton	117. Tasburgh
13. Billingham	48. Hadstock	83. Nassington	118. Tedstone
14. Bishopstone	49. Hale	84. Newton	119. Thorington
15. Bolam	50. Hales	85. N Leigh	120. Thurlby
16. Botolphs	51. Hambledon	86. Norwich M	121. Titchfield
17. Branston	52. Harmston	87. Notley	122. Tredington
18. Brigstock	53. Harpswell	88. Ovingham	123. Turvey
19. Britford	54. Hart	89. Oxford	124. Waithe
20. Burcombe	55. Heapham	90. Pattishall	125. Walkern
21. Bywell A	56. Herringfleet	91. Paxton	126. Wareham L
22. Cheriton	57. Hexham	92. Peterborough	127. Weybourne
23. Clapham	58. Heysham Pe	93. Reed	128. Wharram S
24. Clee	59. Hornby	94. Ripon	129. Whitfield
25. Colchester	60. Hough	95. Rockland	130. Whittingham
26. Collingham	61. Houghton	96. Ropsley	131. Wickham
27. Colney	62. Hovingham	97. Roughton	132. Wilsford
28. Corringham	63. Howe	98. Roughton	133. Winterborne
29. Darenth	64. Inglesham	99. Ryther	134. Winterton
30. Diddlebury	65. Jevington	100. St Albans S	135. Witley
31. Dymock	66. Kirby Cane	101. Scartho	136. Witton
32. Earl's Barton	67. Kirby Hill	102. Shorne	137. Woolbeding
33. Fakenham	68. Langford	103. Singleton	138. Wootton
34. Fetcham	69. Laughton	104. Skillington	139. Wouldham
35. Forncett	70. Leicester	105. Skipwith	140. Wroxeter
			141. York

types into which the 141 churches listed in Table 9 most obviously fit.

Most of these surviving incomplete plans seem to define churches of the cellular type, but in many cases the evidence is too incomplete to be certain about the extent of communication between the component spaces. For this reason it has seemed best in Table 10 to give only a separation into linear, transverse and areal plans without any separation between cellular and integrated. In some cases where this separation is clearly defined, reference will be made to it in the following paragraphs. We now turn to detailed statements of the churches which belong to each of the groups listed in Table 10 and to the consideration of the contribution which they can make to the general analysis given in Section 5.

TABLE 10. *Numbers of incomplete plans within each class*

1. <i>Linear plans</i>		
(a) Nave and chancel	60	
(b) Square west tower and partial evidence for nave (and perhaps chancel)	44	
(c) Round west tower and partial evidence for church	16	
(d) West porch and partial evidence for church	1	
(e) Square axial tower	6	
	—	127
2. <i>Transverse plans</i>		
(a) Nave with transepts or porticus	5	
(b) Porticus with no surviving nave	2	
(c) Square central tower	2	
	—	9
3. <i>Areal plans</i>		4
4. <i>Crypt</i>		1
		—
		141
		—

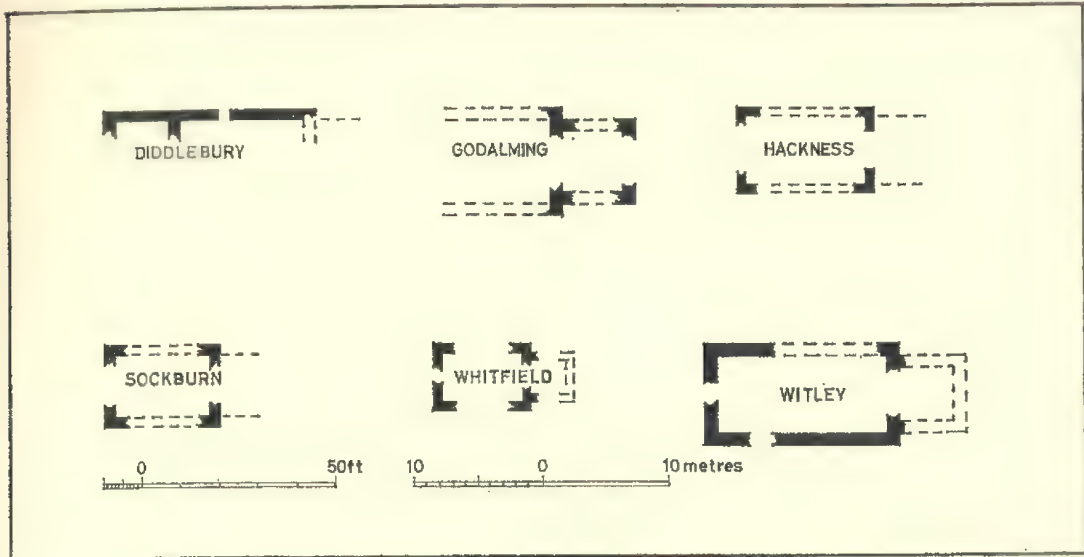


FIG. 732. INCOMPLETELY DEFINED NAVE AND CHANCEL PLANS

LINEAR PLANS

Nave and chancel plans. The sixty churches listed in this paragraph make a considerable contribution to the corpus of two-cell churches of the sort which we have come to regard as the most common type both in Anglo-Saxon England and in north-west Europe at the corresponding time.

It will be noted that for several of these churches (such as Barrow, Botolphs, Hackness, Hart, Notley, Pattishall, and Ryther) the former existence of both a nave and a chancel is made certain by the complete or partial survival of a chancel-arch; but the evidence for the two cells themselves did not seem to be adequate for including these churches in Section 5.

It should be recorded here that Shorne would need to be transferred from the axial to the transverse type if evidence were to be found by excavation to confirm the indications of a former north porticus to which reference is made in Vol. II: 546.

With the possible exception of Shorne all the churches of Table II can be regarded as belonging most probably to the cellular linear type of plan and indeed to the two-cell type. There are several where a square-ended chancel is certain or almost certain, as at Barrow, Burcombe, Godalming, Hart, Sockburn, and Witley; for others the shape and also the size of the chancel is uncertain. Apsidal east ends have indeed been claimed for Lydd, White Notley and Whitfield; but at Lydd the claim is based on analogy rather than structural

TABLE II. *Nave and chancel plans*

1. Alton	16. Fetcham	31. Miserden	46. Springfield
2. Arlington	17. Freshwater	32. Morton	47. Staindrop
3. Arreton	18. Geddington	33. Nassington	48. Stanton B
4. Atcham	19. Godalming	34. Notley	49. Tedstone
5. Barholm	20. Greens N	35. Pattishall	50. Tredington
6. Barrow	21. Hackness	36. Reed	51. Turvey
7. Botolphs	22. Hambledon	37. Rockland	52. Walkern
8. Brigstock	23. Hart	38. Ropsley	53. Whitfield
9. Burcombe	24. Heysham Pe	39. Ryther	54. Wilsford
10. Cheriton	25. Houghton	40. St Albans S	55. Winterborne
11. Collingham	26. Inglesham	41. Shorne	56. Witley
12. Darenth	27. Kirby Hill	42. Skillington	57. Witton
13. Diddlebury	28. Leicester	43. Sockburn	58. Woolbeding
14. Dymock	29. Limpley	44. Somborne	59. Wouldham
15. Fakenham	30. Minster	45. Somerford	60. Wroxeter

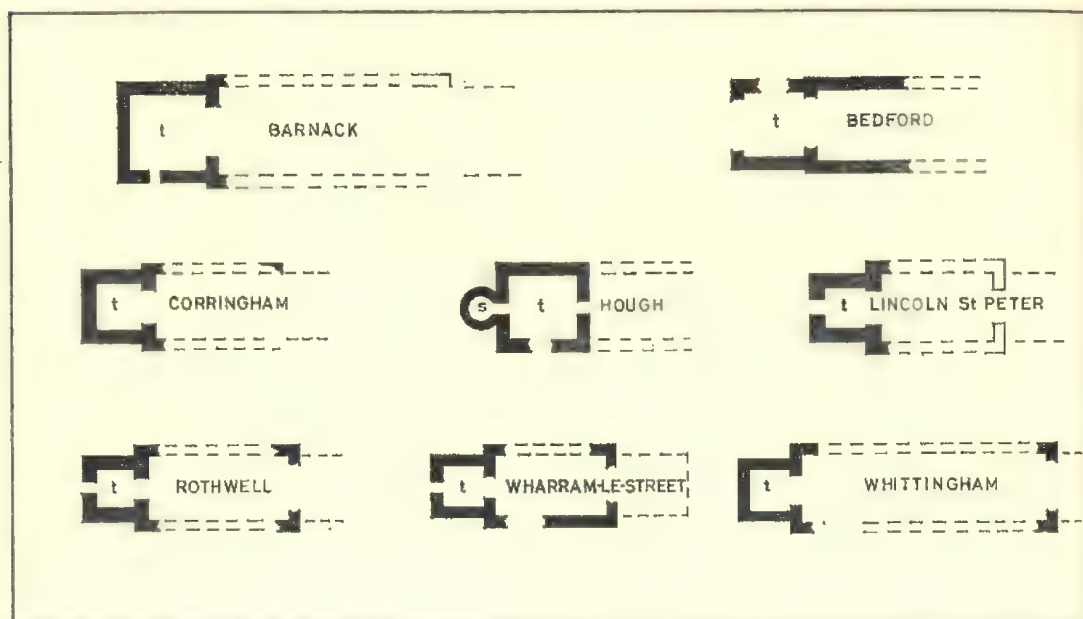


FIG. 733. WEST TOWERS WITH INCOMPLETELY DEFINED CHURCH PLANS

evidence, and at Notley and Whitfield it is not clear that the apses found last century were necessarily Anglo-Saxon.

So far as code-symbols are concerned, the churches of Table 11 whose chancels are square-ended can be given the symbol uCLs, where the u denotes that the number of cells is not known with certainty; the remaining churches in Table 11 would correspondingly have code-symbol uCLu.

Square west tower, with partial evidence for church. The forty-four churches listed in Table 12 are, of course, considered in the chapter devoted to towers; but here our attention is more particularly directed to the evidence which can be drawn from the partial survival of the nave or chancel. For many of them there is little beyond the west wall of the nave; and, while the survival of the quoins will serve to show that the nave was aisleless, there may still be no conclusive evidence that there were no transepts or porticus. In many cases the continued existence of an aisleless nave may be taken as reasonably satisfactory evidence that this was always the case; and for Lincoln St Peter nineteenth-century records seem to show that much of the original nave and the chancel-arch survived until 1852 (Taylor 1974a). This church

therefore almost certainly was of the two-cell type, with code-symbol t2CLu.

It should be noted that at Barnack there is evidence to show that the ground floor of the tower served as a western sanctuary; and at Earl's Barton and Singleton that the tower was wider than whatever building stood to the east. At Hough-on-the-Hill the square west tower had a round western stair-turret and there is evidence that the nave was the same width as the tower. At Bedford the tower was raised later above an earlier west porch. At Whittingham all four quoins of the nave survive in part, and there is also a fragmentary survival of an arch leading northward from the nave; further investigation might prove whether this serves to define a transverse or an areal plan; equally, at Barnack there is fragmentary evidence of an arch leading north as if to a porticus near the east of the nave (Vol. I: 46-7).

So far as code-symbols are concerned, the churches of Table 12 could be described with the symbol tuCLu to indicate uncertainty both about the number of cells and also about the shape of the east end; and it has already been noted that for Lincoln St Peter there is good reason to believe that the church was of two cells and could therefore be described with the symbol t2CLu.

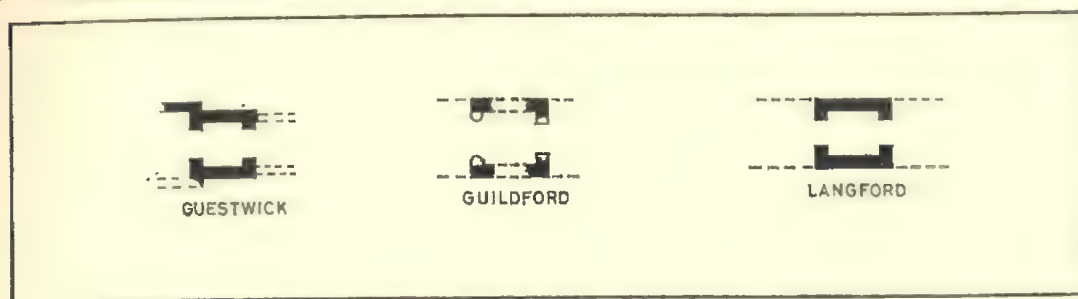


FIG. 734. AXIAL TOWERS WITH INCOMPLETELY DEFINED CHURCH PLANS

Round west tower with partial evidence for church. The sixteen churches listed in Table 13 have also been considered in relation to their towers, but here we must consider what evidence is available about the nave or chancel. At Bessingham, Colney and Howe there are fragmentary remains of eastern quoins of the naves to define their eastward extent; moreover, since they are both short, there is a strong inference that there was in each case a narrower chancel rather than that the single cell constituted a unitary church. At Fornsett there are problematical remains which indicate the survival of part of the outline of an Anglo-Saxon window in the south wall of the chancel. These four churches therefore almost certainly had code-symbols r2CLu; and the other churches in Table 13 could appropriately be assigned the symbol ruCLu.

West porch and partial evidence for church. Only one church, Titchfield, now falls into this category, although we have seen that Bedford originally did

so until its west porch was later raised to form a tower. The appropriate code-symbol for these churches with west porches would be puCLu.

Square axial tower. The six churches of this paragraph provide a welcome addition to the limited evidence available about axial-towered churches in Section 5 where the fully surviving evidence was limited to the two examples of Barton-on-Humber and Dunham Magna. Unfortunately the survivals of this paragraph are somewhat fragmentary: at Guestwick there is clear evidence for stumps of walls of the chancel, the arch between the chancel and the tower is complete, and there is a vestige of a quoin to show that the nave was wider than the tower. At Guildford there is no visible evidence for either nave or chancel, and the arches opening east and west are post-Saxon, so this example must be received with caution and has been shown in parentheses in Table 14. Langford is much the most complete example, with splendid

TABLE 12. *Square west towers, with partial evidence for church*

1. Alkborough	12. Corringham	23. Lincoln M	34. Skipwith
2. Appleton	13. Earl's Barton	24. Lincoln P	35. Sompting
3. Barnack	14. Glentworth	25. Middleton	36. Stevington
4. Bedford	15. Hale	26. M Fryston	37. Stowe-nC
5. Billingham	16. Harmston	27. Mwearmouth	38. Swanscombe
6. Bolam	17. Harpswell	28. Morland	39. Thurlby
7. Branston	18. Heapham	29. Ovingham	40. Wharrah S
8. Bywell A	19. Hornby	30. Oxford	41. Whittingham
9. Clapham	20. Hough	31. Rothwell	42. Wickham
10. Clee	21. Hovingham	32. Scartho	43. Winterton
11. Colchester	22. Jevington	33. Singleton	44. York

TABLE 13. *Round west towers, with partial evidence for church*

1. Aslacton	5. Gayton	9. Hales	13. Norwich M
2. Bessingham	6. Gissing	10. Herringfleet	14. Roughton
3. Colney	7. Haddiscoe	11. Howe	15. Tasburgh
4. Fornsett	8. Haddiscoe T	12. Kirby Cane	16. Thorington

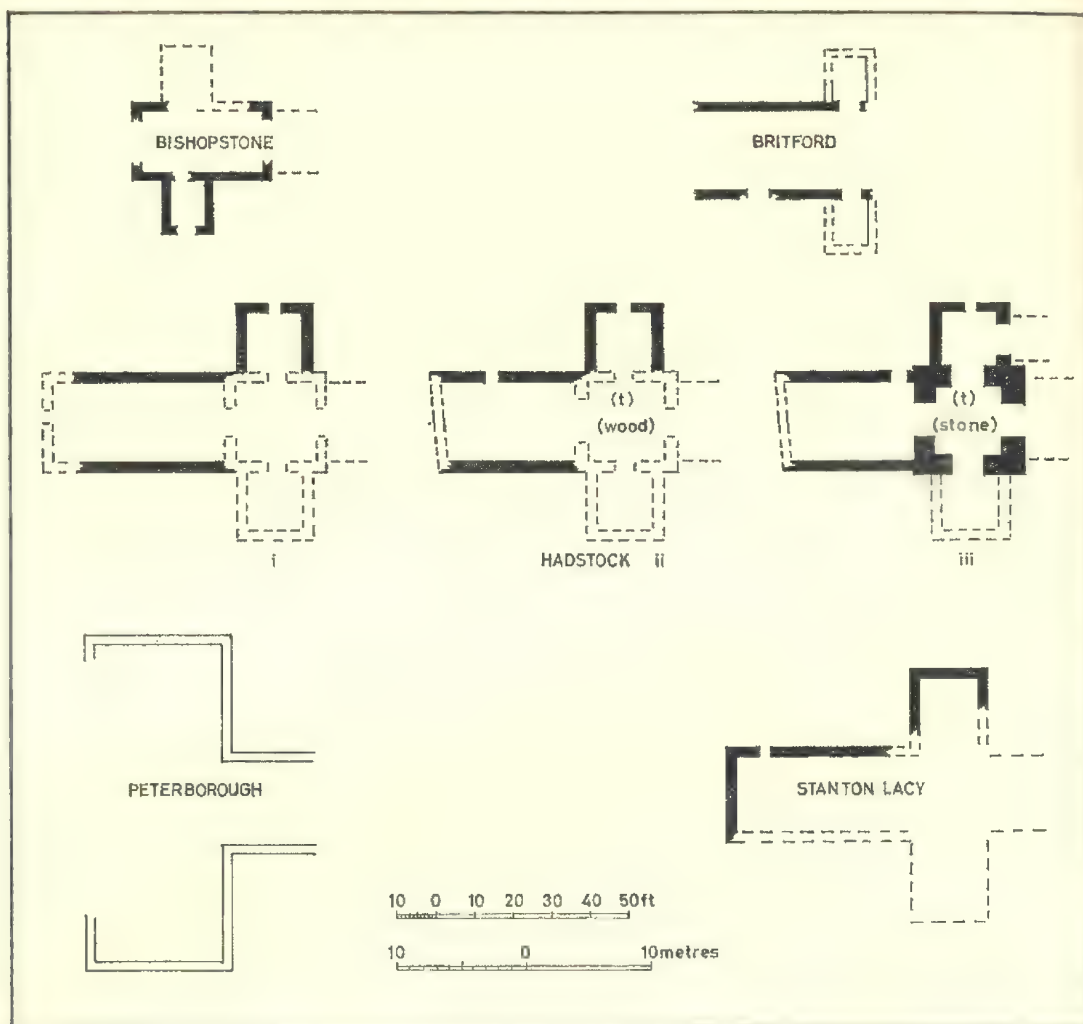


FIG. 735. INCOMPLETELY DEFINED TRANSVERSE PLANS

east and west tower-arches; but unfortunately there is no visible evidence for the widths of the nave and chancel or for their attachment to the tower. North Leigh is difficult to interpret and only the western arch survives. Waithe has been so heavily restored as to be of little value for evidence, and at Weybourne there is no visible evidence for the nave or chancel.

TABLE 14. Square axial towers

1. Guestwick	3. Langford	5. Waithe
2. (Guildford)	4. N Leigh	6. Weybourne

For all six of these churches the appropriate code-symbol would be 3CLu(t)

TRANSVERSE PLANS

Nave with transepts or porticus. The five churches listed in this paragraph give welcome additions to our knowledge of similar plans listed in Section 5, and conversely the study of complete plans in Section 5 makes it easier to interpret the incomplete evidence given by these five. Moreover Laughton-en-le-Morthen and All Hallows in London (p. 1011) can be considered under much the same heading for they undoubtedly belonged originally to churches with a similar plan and they differ now only because for them the original naves have disappeared, leaving the porticus in a position which is somewhat difficult to interpret.

TABLE 15. *Nave with transepts or porticus*

1. Bishopstone	3. Hadstock	5. Stanton L
2. Britford	4. Peterborough	

Before considering the evidence of these five churches it will be best to mention recent work at Hadstock which has shown that the plan has developed through at least three Anglo-Saxon phases of which the first had porticus on either side of the nave, opening to it through relatively narrow doorways; only in the third Anglo-Saxon phase did the lateral chambers assume their present transeptal form with wide arches supporting a central tower (Rodwell 1976).

The five churches therefore yield six plans, of which three fall into the cellular transverse pattern and three into the integrated transverse pattern, thus:

<i>Cellular</i>		<i>Integrated</i>	
Bishopstone	uCTu	Hadstock iii	5ITu(t)
Britford	4CTu	Peterborough	uITu
Hadstock i-ii	4CTu	Stanton L	uIT(t?)

It should further be said that the Peterborough plan is that of a continuous transept, as at North Elmham iii; while the plans of Hadstock iii and Stanton Lacy are those of a more or less regular crossing with transepts which at Hadstock were almost certainly lower than the nave but at Stanton Lacy may well have been the same height.

Of the cellular transverse plans, that at Bishopstone has long been so recognised. That at Britford has often been misunderstood as an Anglo-Saxon transeptal church with much the same ground plan as the later present church, and with small cells in the re-entrant angles between the nave and transepts. The careful investigation by Chambers in 1958-60 leaves no doubt that the church was similar in general plan to Bishopstone, i.e. a four-cell church with a chancel, and with porticus flanking a wider nave. This is also the plan now established for Hadstock i and ii.

It should be noted that fresh evidence from Shorne and Whittingham might show that one or both belonged also to this class.

Porticus with no surviving nave. The two churches to be considered in this paragraph are clearly to be associated with those of the preceding paragraph, but they differ not only by the absence of any

substantial remains of their naves but also by the fact that the porticus appear to have been at or near the west of the church rather than at the more usual position beside the east of the nave.

At *Laughton-en-le-Morthen* we are presumably to imagine the surviving remains as constituting a north-western porticus such as has recently been shown to have survived at Sherborne, though it remains an open question whether the Laughton one also implies a westwork such as certainly formerly existed at Sherborne. At *All-Hallows-by-the-Tower* in London there is evidence of a more fragmentary kind of a south porticus near the west of the nave. So little fabric remains that it is not clear whether this represents part of what might be called a western transept (as at Laughton and Sherborne) or whether All Hallows originally had a nave flanked by porticus (as at Brixworth); in the latter event, the plan would be of the areal type rather than transverse.

It is of course not possible even tentatively to assign code-symbols to these plans.

Square central tower. Only two churches fall into this category, *Newton-by-Castleacre* and *Wootton Wawen*. The evidence for the four arms of the church is made clear at Wootton by the survival of the four Anglo-Saxon arches that led outward from the central space beneath the tower. At Newton, by contrast, only the eastern arch survives in its Anglo-Saxon form. The western arch to the nave is of later Gothic form, and a blocked southern arch has a cruck-shaped form like one or two East Anglian tower-arches. The evidence for destroyed transepts is far from satisfactory (Vol. I: 461) and it is most regrettable that opportunity was not taken during recent repairs to investigate beside the church on the south.

If both lateral chambers were to be established at Newton the appropriate code-symbol would be 5CTu(t); and this is also appropriate for Wootton.

AREAL PLANS

Under this heading we consider both areal and areal-transverse plans, particularly because, in the uncertain state of evidence about the main church at Hexham, it is not clear to which type that church belonged.

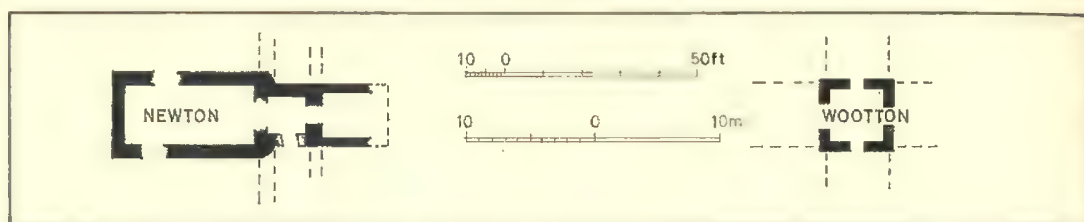


FIG. 736. CENTRAL TOWERS WITH INCOMPLETELY DEFINED CHURCH PLANS

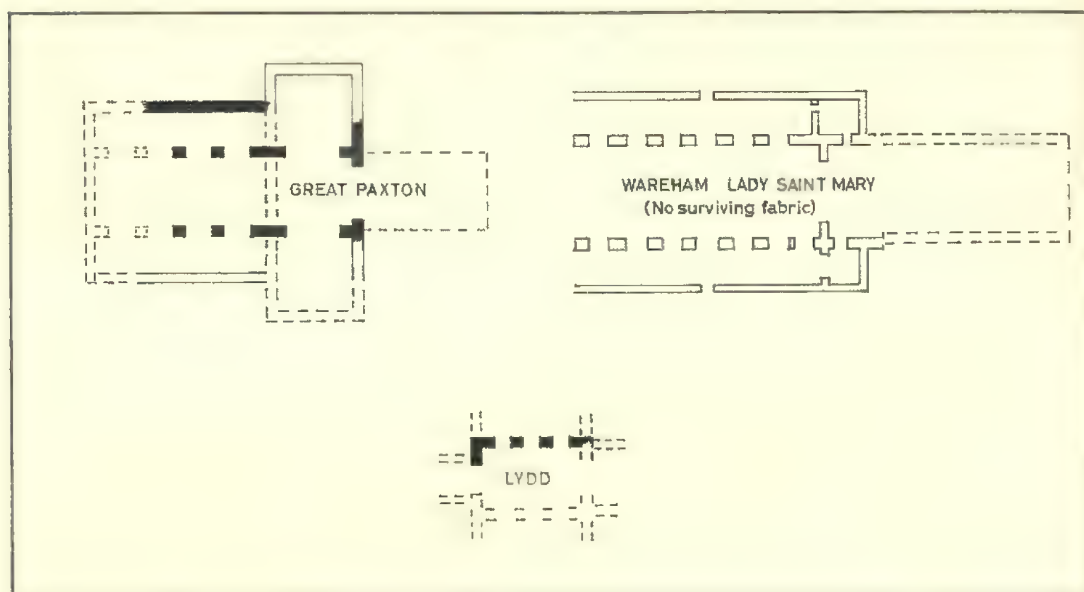


FIG. 737. INCOMPLETELY DEFINED AREAL AND AREAL-TRANSVERSE PLANS

TABLE 16. *Integrated areal plans*

1. Hexham	3. Paxton
2. Lydd	4. Wareham L

We have already noted above that London, All Hallows, might perhaps also belong to this group. Plans showing the evidence for the main church at Hexham and a possible reconstruction were given in Vol. I: 299 and 307; but the evidence clearly allows other interpretations one of which (Bailey 1976) seems most attractive. Plans are shown for Lydd, Great Paxton and Wareham Lady St Mary in Fig. 737 on the same scale as those for the well defined plans. These show that the small church at Lydd and the great church at Wareham were both of the integrated areal type, while Great Paxton was integrated areal-transverse.

It has been mentioned above that a full understanding of the spatial effect of a church either

internally or externally cannot be given by its plan alone but needs understanding in three dimensions. This is illustrated most effectively by Wareham which in plan is clearly of the areal type whereas Hutchins' engraving of 1774 (reproduced among the plates of Vol. II as Fig. 602) gives a clear impression of low transepts. This impression arises from the raising of the central porticus on each side of the nave to two storeys; it should be noted that a similar transeptal appearance used to be given by the two-storeyed porticus at Deerhurst until their roofs were lowered to the same alignment as the roofs over the western parts of the aisles.

It is clearly not possible to assign a code-symbol to the plan of the main church at Hexham. For Lydd and Wareham the appropriate symbol would seem to be mIAu, with the possibility of a prefix p at both places. For Paxton the appropriate symbol is mIATu, with the possibility of a suffix (t) if it

6. CHURCHES WITH PARTIALLY DEFINED PLANS

could be shown that there had been a central tower surmounting a more or less regular crossing.

CRYPTS

Two of the churches considered in this section have crypts, both reliably to be associated with St Wilfrid's buildings at Ripon and Hexham. In Table 10, Hexham is counted against the areal plans and therefore only Ripon is counted against crypts. The similarity in design and construction between these two crypts is very marked, and leaves no doubt that they arise from a common inspiration. They are discussed in more detail in Section 7.

SYNTHESIS OF SECTIONS 5 AND 6

It will be convenient now to group together into a single table the numbers of plans of various types for which evidence survives either in the well defined plans of Section 5 or in the partially defined plans of this Section 6. The result is shown in Table 17.

Since the cellular linear type so heavily outnumbered all other types, it is of interest also to show a breaking down of the 78 and 127 components of that type into the constituent groups which arise by distinguishing the churches which had no appendages and those which had western porches, square west towers, round west towers, stair turrets, or axial towers. These are set out in Table 18 which also shows percentage occurrences.

TABLE 17. *Numbers of churches of the various types*

Type	Well defined plans		Incompletely defined plans	
Unitary	15		0	
Cellular				
Linear	78		127	
Transverse	25		7	
Areal	9		0	
Areal-transverse	2		0	
	—	114	—	134
Integrated				
Linear	1		0	
Transverse	3		3	
Areal	1		3	
Areal-transverse	1		1	
	—	6	—	7
	135		141	

Table 18 shows well the impact which is made by the incompletely defined plans on the relative balance between the constituents of the cellular linear type: for example if we had accepted only the well defined plans we would have said that the two-cell churches with no appendages constituted 69 per cent of the whole, while churches with square west towers constituted only 14 per cent; if on the other hand we had been considering only the incompletely defined plans these two constituents would have represented respectively 47 and 34 per cent of the whole; and when we consider the total surviving evidence we find that the first constituent class represents 56 per cent and the second represents 26 per cent. It should at once be said that no one of these three pictures can con-

TABLE 18. *Analysis of cellular linear churches*

Type-code	Well defined plans		Incomplete plans		Total numbers	
		%		%		%
pCL	8	(10)	1(a)	(1)	9	(4)
tCL	11	(14)	44(b)	(34)	55	(27)
rCL	2	(3)	16(c)	(13)	18	(9)
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	21	(27)	61	(48)	82	(40)
CL	54	(69)	60(d)	(47)	114	(56)
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	75	(96)	121	(95)	196	(96)
s2CL(t)	1	(1)	0	(0)	1	(0)
3CL(t)	2	(3)	6(e)	(5)	8	(4)
	—	—	—	—	—	—
	78	(100)	127	(100)	205	(100)

(a) Titchfield; (b) Table 12; (c) Table 13; (d) Table 11; (e) Table 14.

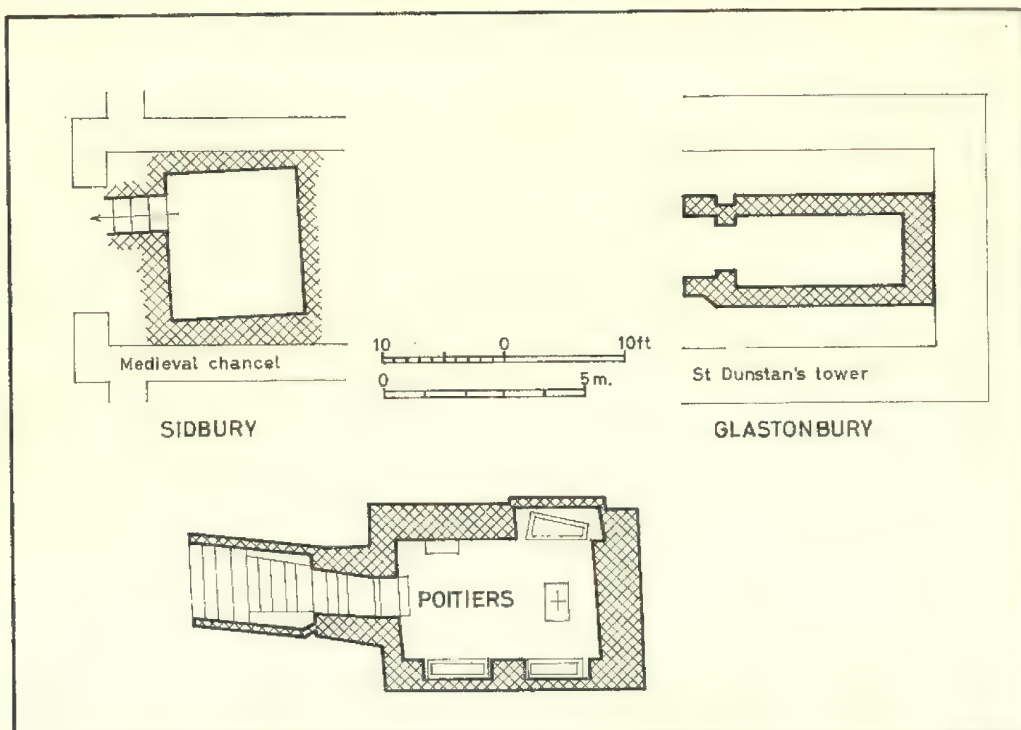


FIG. 738. MAUSOLEUM CRYPTS: GLASTONBURY, SIDBURY, POITIERS

fidently be claimed as correct. The important point is that the differences should be accepted as good cause for caution in making over-confident deductions from evidence that is as dependent on chance survival as is all numerical evidence about Anglo-Saxon churches.

SECTION 7. CHURCHES WITH CRYPTS

The crypts of the Anglo-Saxon period were not spacious vaulted halls such as are to be found beneath the sanctuaries of many of our Romanesque and Gothic cathedrals but small chambers generally reached by narrow corridors which led down from the body of the church. There is good literary evidence (particularly for the corresponding period on the Continent) to show that the object of these crypts was to house relics, and that the passages were designed to provide a convenient means of circulation for people who came, often in large numbers, to venerate the relics and to worship beside them. In this early period the relics

were usually placed so as to be directly below the principal altar of the church, and sometimes there was a small window in the floor close to the altar so that the priest officiating there could see the relics in the crypt beneath (Taylor 1969a).

The principal historical evidence for Anglo-Saxon crypts is the account by Eadmer of the cathedral church of Christ at Canterbury (Taylor 1969c: 105) which describes the need for a considerable flight of steps from the choir of the singers to lead up into the sanctuary because it was raised above a crypt built in the likeness of the confessionary of St Peter at Rome.

The complete list of Anglo-Saxon churches at which structural evidence of crypts has survived is as follows:

Brixworth. A ring crypt, now unroofed and wholly outside the present sanctuary. There are remains of stairways and blocked doorways which led up from the crypt westward into the church.

Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey. A remarkable circular crypt with a concentric annular passage; now wholly unroofed and standing only to ground level.

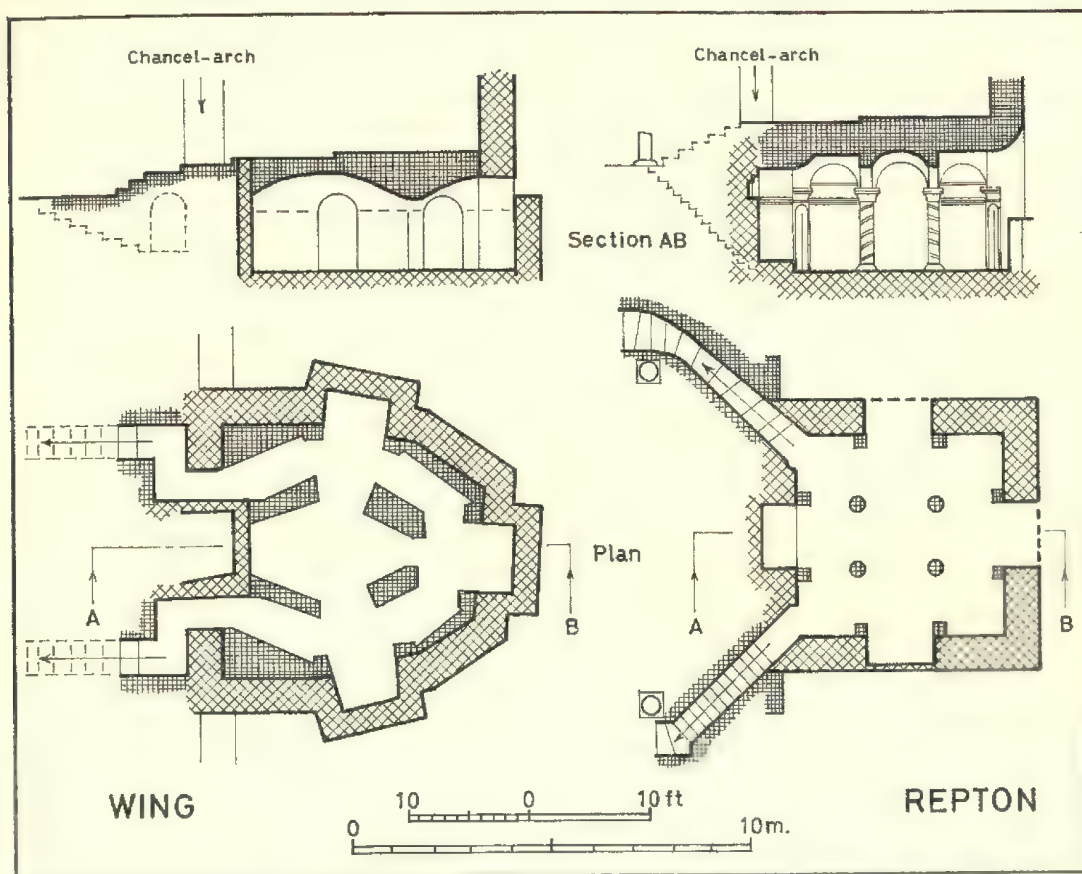


FIG. 739. CHAMBER CRYPTS: REPTON, WING

The east and north recesses at Repton have not yet been investigated and are therefore not shown in detail.

Cirencester. A rectangular relic-chamber was approached by a curved passage of which traces survive on the south, while any trace of the corresponding northern passage has been destroyed by the sleeper wall for the north arcade of the later Norman church.

Glastonbury. A rectangular burial chamber which lay outside King Ine's early church was unroofed and overlaid by St Dunstan's later eastward extension of the principal church of the abbey.

Hexham. A substantial rectangular vaulted chamber survives, with considerable parts of three passages so arranged that two provided a circulation which allowed pilgrims to view the relics without entering the relic-chamber, while the third gave direct access to it. The western passage is still used for access. The other two have long been blocked except for the parts nearest the crypt.

Repton. A roughly square crypt beneath the present chancel of St Wystan's church is covered by a stone vault supported in the centre by four freestanding twisted columns.

Recesses in the outer walls represent either places for tombs or earlier windows or doorways. Access to the crypt and circulation for pilgrims was provided by cutting passages that led (and still lead) westward up into the church from the NW and SW corners of the crypt. Prior to the cutting of these passages access must have been through one or more of the recesses (Taylor 1971: 374 and 382).

Ripon. A substantial rectangular vaulted chamber survives in a form almost identical with that at Hexham, but with only two passages in place of Hexham's three. The passage which leads westward up into the nave has until recently been the only means of access; but in 1975 the second passage, which now leads up into the entrance to the choir, was re-opened in order to provide a circulation for visitors to the crypt. These visitors therefore now follow much the same path as was used many centuries earlier by those who passed through the crypt to pray and revere the relics.

Sidbury. Only the lower parts of the side walls of a simple rectangular chamber survive here, below the floor of the

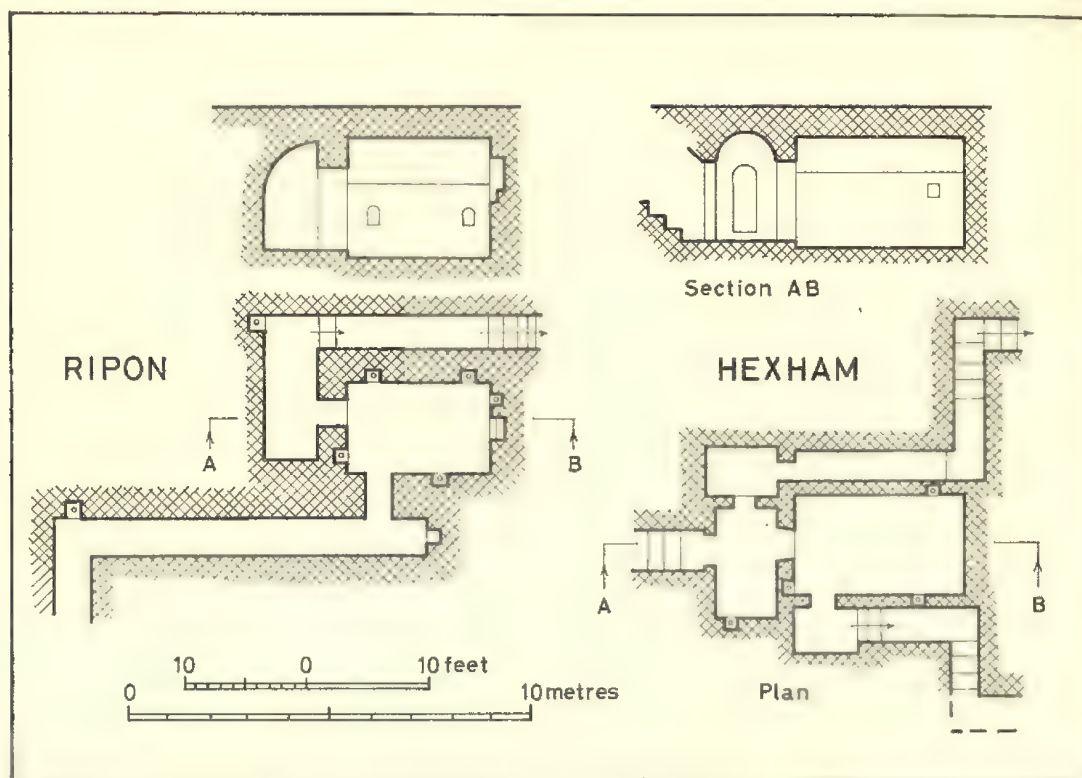


FIG. 740. CHAMBER CRYPTS: HEXHAM, RIPON

early-Norman sanctuary of the church. These probably represent a free-standing burial chamber like that at Glastonbury rather than a crypt for relic-worship in connection with the Church.

Winchester. The excavations carried out from 1961 onward have established that the original four-cell church was extended both eastward and westward. The eastern extension included not only the provision of a crypt at about the position of the original altar, with the new altar raised up above the new crypt, but also an entirely new chamber further east, and probably outside the main body of the church. This external eastern crypt was a type widely current in the later part of the Carolingian empire and in the succeeding Ottonian empire.

Wing. A polygonal space beneath the present apse appears originally to have been a single open chamber which only later was provided with a stone vault supported on four large piers of masonry. The vault carries the floor of the sanctuary, and the piers divide the crypt into a central chamber surrounded by an ambulatory. The relics appear to have been in a small compartment at the west, roughly beneath the present chancel-arch. On either side of this compartment, narrow passages led upward into the nave. These passages, of which considerable parts remain, are undoubtedly contemporary with the vaulting of the crypt.

These brief accounts indicate that the surviving crypts fall into two classes. The first class, to which only Glastonbury and Sidbury belong, would be described as burial chambers, while all the others would best be described as reliquary crypts, although this does not preclude the possibility of their having also been used for burials. It should be noted that Eadmer's more or less contemporary account of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church at Canterbury which was destroyed by fire in 1067 shows beyond doubt that there was a crypt beneath the eastern sanctuary in that church, although there is still disagreement about its precise form and date (Taylor 1969c: 108-11; Gem 1970; Gilbert 1970).

A plan of the burial chamber at Glastonbury is given in Fig. 738 alongside a plan of the so-called Hypogée des Dunes at Poitiers. This is of similar design, but survives in a much more complete state, with inscriptions which serve to establish its purpose as a burial chamber and oratory, and also with sculpture which indicates a date about the seventh century (Hubert 1967: 56-63).

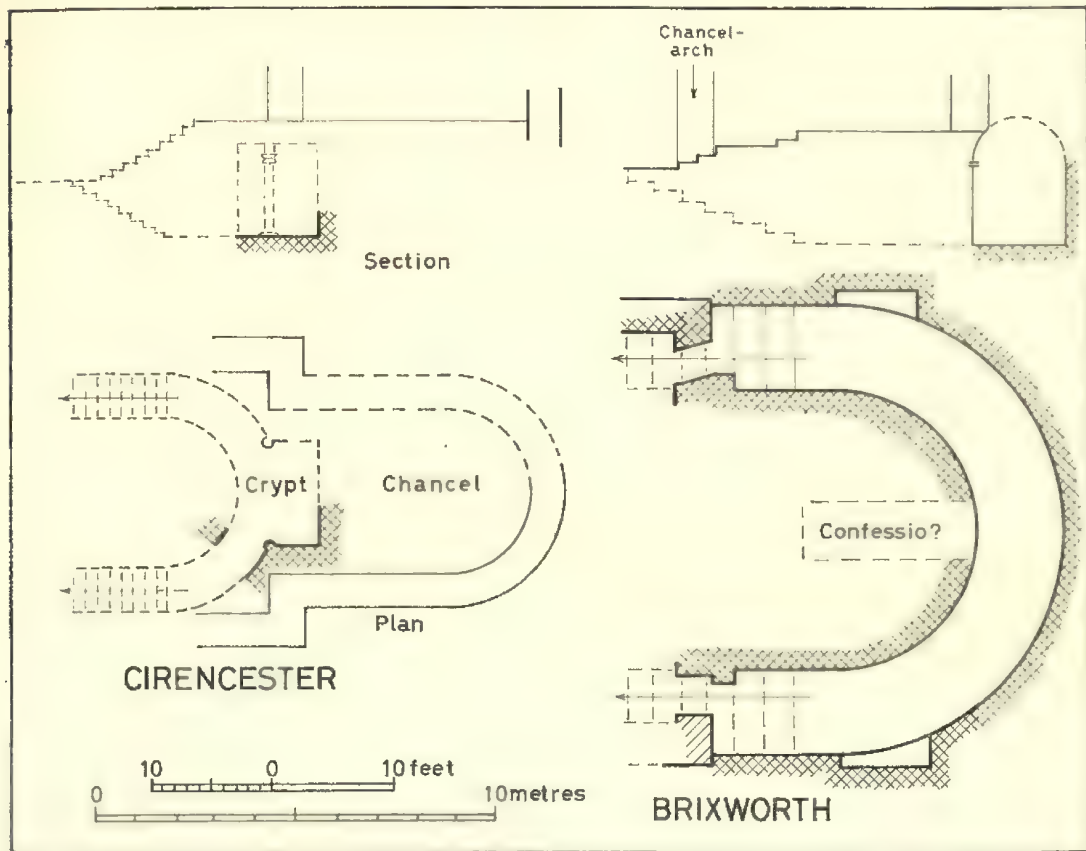


FIG. 74I. RING CRYPTS: BRIXWORTH, CIRENCESTER

Plans of the surviving reliquary crypts are given in Figs. 739-41. It will be seen that they fall into two more or less distinct types:

(a) *Relatively large chambers.* Canterbury (St Augustine), Hexham, Repton, Ripon, Wing.

(b) *Ring crypts.* These consist primarily of narrow passages for circulation, with only small recesses or chambers for prayer and meditation beside an altar or relics. Brixworth and Cirencester fall in this class, and the eastern crypt at Winchester may also have been similar. The arrangement at Wing is in some ways a combination of both types in that a circulation round an outer passage has three recesses on its outer side, while arches lead inward to a central chamber.

SECTION 8. MULTI-STOREYED CHURCHES

The study of upper storeys in Anglo-Saxon churches can conveniently be considered under three separate headings:

(a) Galleries over part of the church, usually at the west of the nave.

(b) Upper rooms in towers.

(c) Upper floors over the whole or part of the church.

As in other sections of this chapter, the structural evidence is given only briefly below, leaving reference to be made to Volumes I and II for fuller details. The purpose of now collecting complete lists of the occurrence of the different types of structural features is, of course, to allow an assessment to be made of the extent to which these features were used in different parts of the country and in churches of particular periods. The consideration of all related examples in a single place also helps in solving the difficult problem of the purpose for which these upper areas were designed to be used. Here it is sufficient to say that the galleries seem usually to have served as chapels, while upper chambers may have been chapels but may also have served for domestic purposes, including safe storage.

GALLERIES

Structural evidence for galleries over the western part of the nave is clearly to be seen in the following churches:

Deerhurst. A doorway from the first floor of the tower opens to the nave at a level which corresponds to a floor-level that would arise by setting joists on corbels which survive at the west of the nave.

Jarrow. A lateral doorway in the south wall of the church is at the same level as a doorway from the first floor of the tower. There are also indications of housings for joists at an appropriate level to have supported a floor at the sills of these doorways.

Stoke d'Abernon. An upper doorway has survived near the west of the south wall of the church.

Tredington. Parts of upper doorways survive on either side of the nave, and the north and south windows to the west of these doorways are set at a higher level than the six other windows which light the eastern area of the nave.

Wing. An upper doorway survives on each side of the nave, near the west.

In addition to these five well attested examples of western galleries there are very many examples of doorways which open at first- or second-floor level from western towers towards the nave. These have not been claimed as establishing evidence for a western gallery except for Deerhurst where the additional evidence of the surviving corbels seems clearly to settle the former existence of the gallery.

UPPER ROOMS IN TOWERS

In addition to the doorways just mentioned above as leading from western towers to upper levels within the nave there is a considerable group of towers from which doorways open to the outside at upper levels. These two classes of doorways seem clearly to establish that the towers had floors internally at the levels of the doorways and that the rooms concerned had some practical use, since otherwise it would be difficult to understand why

the builders had taken the trouble to provide the doorways. Full lists of these upper doorways are given in Sections 6 and 9 of Chapter 6, and a brief discussion is also given in the first of those sections of the uses to which the upper rooms may have been put, including treasuries, chapels, and domestic use.

Stair-turrets. There is exceptionally strong evidence for the regular use of upper rooms in the towers of the six churches listed in Table 19 where stone-built stair-turrets of distinctively Anglo-Saxon type have survived beside the towers.

TABLE 19. *Anglo-Saxon stair-turrets*

1. Brigstock	3. Broughton	5. Hough
2. Brixworth	4. Elmham N	6. Wimborne
		(Appendix F)

In all of these except Brigstock, stone stairs are still in place although only a fragment of the stair and turret remains at North Elmham. At Brigstock the stairs seem always to have been of wood. It is worth noting that at Brixworth, Broughton and Hough-on-the-Hill the distinctively Anglo-Saxon parts of these circular stone stairways survive up to second-floor level.

Other special evidence of use. At Deerhurst St Mary and Skipwith there is special evidence of the use of upper rooms in the towers. At Deerhurst there are elaborate aumbrey-like recesses in the side walls, and at Skipwith a large rectangular recess in the east wall is beside a south window specially placed as if to give good light to the recess.

UPPER FLOORS OVER THE WHOLE OR
PART OF A CHURCH

Consideration has already been given in Section 6 of Chapter 6 to the evidence that is provided by upper doorways to indicate that the whole or a great part of the space above the following seven churches was covered by floors.

TABLE 20. *Upper floors*

1. Barton	4. Dunham	6. Newton
2. Deerhurst M	5. Langford	7. Norton
3. Dover		

The evidence there discussed seems to indicate monastic rather than liturgical use for these upper

chambers, and the well-worn condition of the steps leading from the upper level of the tower at Deerhurst towards the space above the nave indicates that there was considerable traffic over a long period.

SECTION 9. WESTERN SANCTUARIES

A western sanctuary is clearly specified in Eadmer's eleventh-century account of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church at Canterbury which was destroyed by fire in 1067. Unfortunately his words are not sufficiently precise to settle beyond doubt whether the arrangement was a chapel in a western gallery, such as is described in the fullest detail in Angilbert's orders of service for his early ninth-century abbey of St Riquier at Centula, or was a ground-floor western chapel, such as several which have left structural remains in Germany (Taylor 1969c: 110-11; Gilbert 1970: 206-7). Eadmer's words are of sufficient importance to warrant their quotation here in full, as translated by Professor Willis (1845: 12):

The (western) extremity of the church was adorned by the oratory of Mary, the blessed Mother of God; which was so constructed that access could only be had to it by steps. At its eastern part, there was an altar consecrated to the worship of that Lady, which had within it the head of the blessed virgin Austroberta. When the priest performed the divine mysteries at this altar he had his face turned to the east, towards the people who stood below. Behind him to the west, was the pontifical chair constructed with handsome workmanship, and of large stones and cement; and far removed from the Lord's table, being contiguous to the wall of the church which embraced the entire area of the building.

It is interesting to note that the ground-floor chamber of the west tower at Barnack shows arrangements which (apart from the steps) resemble this description of the western sanctuary at Canterbury. A gabled seat is built into the west wall of the chamber, and there are aumbries in the north and south walls in a way which suggests that an altar may have stood close to the tower-arch. At present the floor of the nave is above the level of the floor in the tower, but the plinths of the tower-arch indicate that originally both floors were at the same level.

There are no other structural remains like those

at Barnack, and it is only fair to add that the arrangements there were interpreted by Baldwin Brown as a place for law-suits (1925: 282). But an Anglo-Saxon monk-poet Aethelwulf, writing in the early part of the ninth century described how he was taken in a vision through a church which had both an eastern and a western sanctuary; although it cannot be claimed that the poet's words absolutely preclude the interpretation that the western sanctuary was in a gallery, it is a much more natural reading of his words to believe that they describe a sanctuary on the main floor at the west of the church (Taylor 1974d: 166):

Proceeding at length, we hastened to the west side. The *porticus* there gleamed and shone in high distinction. Here shining with gold flamed a thing marvellously lovely, a consecrated altar, which sent gifts to God, the highest one. Here sapphire set in beryl had made ready a splendid chair, on which the blessed monk had seated himself.

In addition to these three examples which may all be regarded as being open to some form of doubt there are the firmly based structural evidences of western galleries, as noted above in Section 8 at Deerhurst, Jarrow, Stoke d'Abernon, Tredington, and Wing. The continental literary evidence for altars in galleries may be taken as justifying the belief that the primary purpose of these galleries was their use as western sanctuaries on special occasions, particularly in the way described in Angilbert's orders of service for St Riquier (Lot 1894: 296-306).

Examples survive in Germany of cathedrals with sanctuaries at both east and west, both at ground level, e.g. at Worms and Mainz; and although these are of later date they spring from earlier arrangements at those places, and there is both literary and archaeological evidence for Carolingian arrangements of a similar type at Fulda (Hahn 1953). Examples also survive of churches with eastern sanctuaries and western gallery-chapels, e.g. Corvey and Werden in Germany and Maastricht in Holland. In all of these the western gallery-chapels form parts of elaborate westworks, comprising great western transeptal towers like those shown in the illustration to Hariulf's chronicle of the abbey of St Riquier. Finally it should be noted that recent investigation at Sherborne has shown clear evidence for the former existence of a west-work of this type (Gibb 1975).

SECTION 10.
FAMILIES OF CHURCHES

One of the most interesting results of recent study of early churches has been an appreciation of the extent to which, from the early Christian era until close on the twelfth century, the needs of the great episcopal and monastic establishments were held to require a multiplicity of separate churches rather than a single great cathedral or abbey church such as we now associate with those needs. To some extent the multiplicity of churches was designed to provide special buildings for special needs, and this is recorded explicitly in Eadmer's account of Canterbury cathedral where he tells that the eleventh archbishop, Cuthbert, built a new church to the east, almost touching the great one; this he dedicated in honour of St John the Baptist; and he built it 'that baptisms might be celebrated therein, that certain judicial trials which are wont to be held in the church might be carried on there, and lastly that the bodies of the archbishops might be buried there' (Taylor 1969c: 102).

There seem, however, to have been many other factors which gave rise to an urge to add to the number of separate churches, and it is convenient to set out a few of these here (Lehmann 1962). In the early days it was the rule that a church had only one altar, and therefore when it was desired to honour a second saint it was necessary to build a second church to house the new altar. Even when this rule fell into abeyance it seems sometimes to have been felt undesirable to set up an altar to an important saint within a church already dedicated in honour of another saint, in case either might be offended by the implied order of priority in which they had been placed; the building of a separate church could avoid this embarrassment. There seems also to have been a real desire for services of a processional character, and these could be made even more attractive by moving from one church to another. Moreover in Jerusalem the movement had particular significance as it led in succession to churches on the sites particularly associated with the life of Christ; and to some extent in any family of churches a similar feeling could be aroused if the individual churches were appropriately dedicated. Finally there seems to have been in some cases an idea of encircling the principal church with a ring

of others just as in the defence of a city a ring of outposts might be established (Bandmann 1964: 385). Some of these concepts may seem far-fetched to modern readers but some of our actions will no doubt seem equally strange to our successors. It is of interest to note that, even when the principal church of a monastery had become provided with many altars, and even when the orders of service provided for elaborate processions from altar to altar, as was the case at St Riquier about A.D. 800, there was still felt to be a need for subsidiary churches within the great monastic enclosure. The desire for subsidiary churches, as considered in this section, is also connected with the need which expressed itself in a steadily increasing complication of the plans of individual churches in the way which we have seen in the preceding sections and will study in more detail in Section 11.

It will be convenient now to record briefly the structural evidence for families of churches in Anglo-Saxon England:

Canterbury, St Augustine's Abbey (Vol. I: 136, Fig. 61). The original church of St Peter and St Paul was built by King Ethelbert, and close to the east a second church of St Mary was built by his son King Edbald. About 50 yds further east and almost in the same alignment are the remains of the church of St Pancras for which there is no early written record but which is commonly regarded on structural evidence as being of much the same date. Excavations in 1957, still not definitively published, have given evidence for a fourth church probably later than all the others but in the same alignment and about 20 yds west of the original entrance to the church of St Peter and St Paul (M.A. 1958: 186).

Glastonbury. (Vol. I: 253, Fig. 110). King Ine's church of St Peter and St Paul was built east of the greatly revered Old Church of wattle, to the west of which St Dunstan built the one-cell church of St John the Baptist.

Hexham. (Vol. I: 307, Fig. 131). The fragmentary evidence which was found during the early years of this century seems to show that there were two separate buildings, a large aisled church enclosing the crypt which is reliably to be attributed to St

Wilfrid, and a small single-cell apsidal church about 20 ft to the east.

Jarrow. The evidence here is confusing, but there is now good ground for believing that the major Anglo-Saxon church was demolished in 1787 to give way to a nave which was itself replaced by the present nave in 1866. The present chancel seems originally to have been a separate one-cell church standing close to the east and later joined to the main church by a porch that was even later raised to form the present tower. Recent excavations within and beside the nineteenth-century nave have established parts of the alignments of the main and outer walls of what appears to have been the original western church, in general agreement with the plan made before its demolition (Cramp 1976: 30).

Lindisfarne. Reference has already been made in this chapter to an outlying cell of Lindisfarne on the mainland for which a poem by one of the community describes the original church, of St Peter, built by the founder, and a second church, of St Mary, built by the fourth abbot (Taylor 1974d: 164-5).

Monkwearmouth. The evidence for a family of churches at Monkwearmouth is Bede's record that, in addition to the main church of St Peter, the monastery had a second church dedicated in honour of St Mary, and an oratory in honour of St Lawrence, which was in the dormitory of the brethren (*H.A.B.*: 382).

Rochester. Fresh evidence recorded in Appendix G for Rochester suggests that it had a cathedral complex of three churches.

SECTION 11. THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHURCH PLANS AND ITS CONNECTION WITH FORMS OF WORSHIP

The development of church plans as described above can now be analysed further under several headings:

(a) *The addition of further cells to a church.* We have seen in this chapter examples of this type of change at Canter-

bury St Pancras, Deerhurst St Mary, Escomb, Kirk Hammerton, Ledsham, and Potterne. At Escomb and Kirk Hammerton single lateral cells have been added in a way which would suggest some simple use such as a vestry. At Canterbury St Pancras and Ledsham lateral cells were added on either side of a nave to which the normal entry seems to have been from the west; there is therefore good reason to believe that the lateral cells were added for use as chapels, and at Canterbury there is the confirmatory evidence of survival of a later altar in the southern chapel. At Reculver a simple cellular transverse church was converted into a cellular areal church by the addition of further porticus so as to flank the whole of the nave on both sides and also enclose it on the west. The additions at Deerhurst were by far the most ambitious in character, comprising lateral chambers of two storeys near the east of the nave, later extended westward by the addition of further chambers which may have been only of one storey, although on the north there is clear indication in the surviving fabric that at least one of these additions had an upper storey. It should of course be noted that we cannot preclude the possibility of upper chambers over the lateral porticus of some of the other churches, particularly when we remember Eadmer's reference to lateral towers, with chapels, at Canterbury cathedral.

(b) *Transformation of an integrated church into cellular form, or conversely.* We have seen at Canterbury St Pancras how the originally integrated plan was transformed into a cellular plan by blocking the outer openings of the triple arch so that the chancel ceased to be fully open to the nave and was separated from it by a wall pierced only by a single arch about 9 ft in width, instead of the triple arch which was originally about 23 ft wide. It is impossible to say whether this was done for structural reasons, to support an arch which was proving too weak to carry the wall above, or whether the change represented a desire to give the chancel greater separation from the nave. The second alternative is perhaps indicated as the more likely of the two since the cellular type with a narrow chancel-arch forms such an overwhelming majority of the surviving Anglo-Saxon churches.

There is no clear evidence of the converse change in Anglo-Saxon times. At Breamore, Deerhurst, and Repton the cross-walls which formerly separated the central space or choir from the nave have indeed been removed, thus turning a cellular form into an integrated one; but there is every reason to believe that these changes were made after the Anglo-Saxon era and that they do not represent changes in pattern of worship during that era.

(c) *The addition of accessory features such as porches and towers.* The addition of western porches has been recorded in this chapter at Ledsham and Monkwearmouth; and the addition of western towers at Bracebridge, Carlton-in-Lindrick, Framingham Earl, and Marton. Moreover we have seen the conversion of western porches into towers at Bardsey, Corbridge, and Monkwearmouth. The porches at Ledsham and Monkwearmouth had upper storeys; and at Deerhurst the first-floor chamber certainly led by a doorway to a gallery at the west of the nave while the second-floor chamber had aumbries which suggest liturgical use. There seems good reason, too, to believe

that the towers provided means of access to chambers above the naves.

(d) *The provision of western galleries* (Vol. I: 341-2). At Jarrow there is a clear instance of the later modification of a church by cutting away its west wall, adding a new porch, and providing a western gallery.

(e) *Linking crypts to churches by passages*. There is very clear evidence at Repton to show that the crypt beneath the chancel was only later linked directly to the church by the passages which now lead up from its western corners to the two aisles. Similarly at Wing there is clear evidence that the passages which led from the crypt to the nave are contemporary with the vaulting of the crypt and therefore later than its main outer walls. In both cases, therefore, it seems that a crypt which had formerly been accessible only from outside was modified so as to provide direct access to it from within the church. Such a change is most easily to be understood as a means of linking the crypt directly into the services of the church; but it could alternatively be associated with a desire to keep the crypt and its contents under closer supervision. The provision of two passages, however, seems clearly to indicate that ease of circulation was desired, and by analogy with the history and design of corridor crypts on the Continent this can be taken as clear indication that provision was being made both for circulation of pilgrims and for movement to relics in the crypt during some of the services in the church.

(f) *The provision of further members of a family of churches*. Bede (*H.E.* II, 6) records that at Canterbury King Edbald (616-40) built a second church in honour of the holy Mother of God, in the monastery of St Peter and St Paul. Similarly we have seen that the poet Aethelwulf records that, in the cell of Lindisfarne of which he was a member, the founder built a church which was dedicated in honour of St Peter, and the fourth abbot added a church dedicated in honour of St Mary.

(g) *The linking together of members of a family to form a larger single church*. There are two well-known instances of this operation, at Canterbury and Jarrow respectively. That at Canterbury survives up to ground level as a ruin, and is clearly defined by the almost contemporary record of Gocelin as the work of Abbot Wulfric (1047-59). At Jarrow the eastern compartment and the linking porch and tower both survive as standing fabric but the western church has vanished. There seems good ground to associate the tower with Aldwine, who restored the monastery between 1074 and 1083; but there is no documentary evidence to indicate a date for the earlier linking of the eastern and western churches by the oblong porch which carries the later tower.

PORTICUS AND TRANSEPTS

It is perhaps appropriate to introduce here a brief note on the probable distinctions between the uses of the somewhat isolated porticus on the one hand and the transepts on the other hand. The mere fact that transepts were much more integrated into the main body of the church suggests that they were

so designed in order to serve as an integral part of the space that was being used for the main services. Porticus, on the other hand, by virtue of their comparative isolation from the main body of the church, were appropriate for private prayer or meditation. Moreover we have seen that at Canterbury St Peter and St Paul they were designed from the outset for burial-chapels.

PURPOSES OF THE VARIOUS CHANGES

There is very little direct evidence to define with certainty the purpose of these various changes. It seems most likely that the addition of further cells to a church was designed to provide for additional altars, and that the same reason explained the addition of further separate churches, thus fulfilling the same need in a rather different way.

Single-storeyed porches were no doubt designed to give a certain amount of protection from cold and wet, while multi-storeyed porches or towers served in part as stairways and in part for upper chambers such as treasuries, chapels, or access to galleries.

The addition of western galleries could be explained either in terms of a desire to provide for liturgical processional needs or to give a private upper chapel for a patron or lay abbot.

The linking together of several members of a family of churches is no doubt to be explained as part of the more general movement which shortly thereafter led to the complete replacement of the Anglo-Saxon monastic or cathedral churches by the great Norman churches in which full provision was made for all liturgical needs within one building.

SECTION 12. COMPARISON WITH CONTINENTAL NOMENCLATURE

The primary purpose of the system of classification proposed in this chapter is, of course, to enable Anglo-Saxon church plans to be placed into a small number of well defined groups, and so to aid the study of the development, purpose, and dating of particular types of plans. It is, however, desirable to compare the system here developed with systems that have been used for similar purposes for continental churches of much the same period. A brief

note has already been given in Section 2, above, to indicate the relationship between certain of the names used in this analysis and the corresponding names used in more general architectural works both in England and on the Continent. It is the purpose of this section to show the correspondence between the names used in this chapter and those used by three continental writers: the first two, Lehmann (1958) and Boeckelmann (1956), were concerned mainly with aisleless Carolingian buildings, mainly in Germany; the third, Grodecki (1958), was concerned mainly with aisled buildings of the Ottonian period but over a wider geographical area and including some consideration also of the earlier period.

Lehmann grouped the simple aisleless Carolingian churches into eight types, and Boeckelmann into five, omitting Lehmann's classes 1, 7 and 8. In the following tabular comparison between Lehmann's classification and ours as set out in Section 2 of this chapter it will be noticed that there are no examples of Lehmann's class 5 in England and that his class 8 with a westwork is treated separately in Section 9 of this chapter on the basis that a porch, a tower, or a westwork can be added as a separate unit to any of the basic forms.

It should at once be said that Lehmann discusses plans on a much more comprehensive basis in his great pre-war treatise *Der frühe deutsche Kirchenbau*, but there he is much more concerned with the more elaborate later buildings than with the smaller cellular buildings which are so much more closely analogous to the majority of the Anglo-Saxon buildings, but whose existence in continental north-west Europe had hardly come to be recognised until after the war. It will be seen that there is a reasonable agreement between the system of

classification developed in this chapter and those proposed by Lehmann and by Boeckelmann. But whereas the Lehmann and the Boeckelmann classifications are limited to those which each author regarded as distinctive types that occurred in appreciable numbers, ours is not only a general and comprehensive system of classification for all the types which occur in England but is also adequate to cover the types listed by the other authors.

In this connection it might also be noted that Lehmann's special class 5 of which there are no examples at present known in England could formally be included in our classification as a unitary plan which has a triple-apsidal east end (code-symbol U3a), just as we have churches of unitary plan with apsidal east ends (Ua) and with square east ends (Us).

If we turn now to the Ottonian churches, whether those discussed by Grodecki or those by Lehmann, there are many fewer examples surviving in England of these more elaborate churches. The nomenclature discussed in this chapter is adequate for describing the English examples and it can conveniently be made more directly comparable with continental usage by amplifying it where necessary with the additional terms that have already been mentioned in earlier sections such as the regular crossing, the continuous transept, and low transepts. There is as yet no known survival in England of the elaboration that is so common a feature of Ottonian nave-arcades, known as *Stützenwechsel*, whereby there is a rhythmic alternation of the supports, as between rectangular piers and circular columns; nor is there anything like the elaboration of sculpture for capitals or imposts.

Lehmann's classification

1. Simple rectangular cell
2. Rectangular nave with separate rectangular choir
3. Rectangular nave with separate apsidal choir
4. Rectangular nave with separate apsidal choir, and lateral chambers
5. Rectangular nave with three eastern apses
6. Aisleless cruciform church with regular crossing
7. Aisleless cruciform church with continuous transept
8. Rectangular nave with apsidal choir and westwork

Taylor's classification

- Unitary, square-ended
- 2-cell linear, square-ended
- 2-cell linear, apsidal
- 4-cell transverse, apsidal
- None
- 5-compartment integrated transverse (with regular crossing)
- 3-compartment integrated transverse (with continuous transept)
- (Treated separately)

SECTION 13. COMPARISON WITH CONTINENTAL EVIDENCE

INTRODUCTION

In the previous section a somewhat formal comparison has been made between nomenclature for Anglo-Saxon churches and for continental ones of the same periods. It now remains to make the much more important comparison between the types of plans that we have recognised as having been current in Anglo-Saxon England and the types that are to be found from the same period on the Continent.

In introduction it should be said that the present time is a difficult one for making these comparisons because of the great output of fresh continental material as a result of post-war excavation, in part arising from the special opportunities for investigation in war-damaged churches and in part the outcome of a new and wider appreciation of the capabilities of the study that has come to be known as medieval archaeology. This study links together the work of many disciplines such as historians, architectural historians, archaeological excavators, and a host of ancillary scientific investigators who enable useful evidence to be obtained from finds to which little attention was paid in the past (Borger 1968; Fehring 1971). It has come to be recognised both in England and on the Continent that many of the datings that were more or less confidently assigned to buildings on the basis of earlier investigations must now be regarded as suspect until fresh work on these more thorough lines can be undertaken to confirm or amend them; and in direct connection with our present study of plans it has come to be appreciated that many of the 'accepted reconstructions', even of the most important and commonly studied buildings, must now be rejected or drastically revised. This need for revision has been very clearly emphasised and illustrated, using the notable example of the great church at Fulda, by two scholars, including one of the editors of the great German *corpus* of pre-Romanesque church buildings (Fischer and Oswald 1968: 268). Thus it is no longer profitable or indeed possible to make simple comparisons between English and continental plans on the basis of those that have long been

accepted simply because they are included in the standard works up to the middle of this century; and it should be emphasised that this difficulty applies alike for British and continental standard works; in both cases it is necessary to consider carefully not only whether the plan itself is based upon reliable evidence but also whether the date which is assigned to it has been established beyond doubt.

The plans. For buildings of which considerable parts still stand or can be traced as foundations there is little difficulty in establishing the reliability of the plan. But the situation is quite different for the commonly accepted 'reconstructed plans' of buildings for which there are very fragmentary remains. For these buildings it will usually be necessary to go right back to the original reports in order to establish the degree of reliability of the reconstruction. In tracing the history of such plans onward from the original reports, through successive studies, down to recent times it will often be found that, while the original author drew attention to uncertainties, later scholars have become less careful in this respect; and thus reconstructions which were put forward on a tentative basis have come to appear as if they were fully supported by material evidence. I have with sorrow to report at least one such crime for which I must accept responsibility: (Vol. II: 519) where the plan of Rochester St Andrew is shown as if a triple chancel arch had been established by Canon Livett's excavation in 1889. By contrast, his own report makes clear that this was not so; the intermediate study by C. R. Peers in 1901 showed the triple arch in dotted outline.

The dating. It is desirable here to discuss in more detail some of the reasons why the dating of church plans of our period has presented particular difficulty. In the main the difficulties arise because of a lack of evidence; and doubtful datings which are put forward in tentative fashion become current in the literature of the subject in the same way as has been noted above in connection with doubtful reconstructions. One particular source of doubtful datings deserves special mention, namely attempts to bring whole buildings or parts of them into relation with historically recorded dates of erection

or alteration of a church. In this connection it is important that the strictest standards should be maintained and that a particular building or part of it should be claimed as being associated with a particular historical record if, and only if, there is the clearest evidence that this association is beyond doubt. The need for strict standards is, of course, a universal one, and errors arising from laxity in this matter are by no means confined to Britain. The general principles, and examples of the dangers of neglect of them, have been fully set out by several continental writers (e.g. Fehring 1971: 41); a very special risk of further error is that scholars in one country are apt to regard with greater reliability than is justifiable the pronouncements of their colleagues in other countries, simply because they are rather less familiar with the background than they are with similar work in their own country.

Inadequacies of the following comparisons. In order to make a logically satisfactory comparison between Anglo-Saxon and contemporary continental church plans, it would be necessary to undertake a review of the continental evidence on the same thorough basis as has been done in this chapter for the English evidence. This is clearly not a task that could conveniently be undertaken single-handed by an author who is simultaneously undertaking the massive analysis of all the features of Anglo-Saxon churches as set out in this book. Therefore the following comparisons must be regarded as provisional in the sense that, while they are based upon fairly complete evidence from England, the evidence from the Continent is chosen in the main from those sites which the author has visited in a series of tours extending over six seasons, supplemented by such study as has been possible in Oswald, Schaefer and Sennhauser's *Vorromanische Kirchenbauten* (1966-71), and in the current continental books and journals.

COMPARISON

Simple bulk comparison. The simplest readily available comparison, and perhaps one of reasonable reliability, is provided by comparing the English evidence of this chapter with the plans set out in Figs. 3-7 of the report of a conference held at Munich in March 1955 (Bellmann 1955). Those

figures show the evidence then available for Germany and neighbouring countries; covering a total of ninety-four plans. The analysis of these gives the following results, beside which are set the corresponding figures for the Anglo-Saxon churches (from Section 5, above).

TABLE 21. *Comparison of occurrence of types of pre-Romanesque plans*

	Continental 6	Anglo-Saxon 15
Unitary		
Cellular		
Linear	34	78
Transverse	12	24
Areal	0	9
Areal-transverse	2	2
	—	—
	48	113
Integrated		
Linear	8	1
Transverse	6	4
Areal	10	1
Areal-transverse	14	1
Uncertain	2	0
	—	—
	40	7
	—	—
Total	94	135
	—	—

It is at once apparent from these figures how much more common are the integrated types on the Continent than in England, and particularly the more elaborate integrated sub-classes of areal and areal-transverse types. To some extent this may be due to the much greater extent to which the evidence of vanished churches has been recovered in Germany by post-war excavation; and also to the much greater survival of the simpler cellular churches in the less industrialised conditions of England. But the discrepancy is shown in an even more marked fashion if the figures for both countries are set out in percentage form as in Table 22.

Comparisons of detail. It will be convenient next to make a series of generalised comparisons of features which, by simple inspection of the plans in this chapter and those in the report of the 1955 Munich Conference, seem to stand out as presenting obvious differences between England and the Continent, or conversely as presenting similarities where in the past there have been general impressions that there were marked differences. In other

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TABLE 22. *Percentage occurrence of pre-Romanesque plans*

	Continental 6	Anglo-Saxon 11
Unitary		
Cellular		
Linear	36	58
Transverse	13	18
Areal	0	7
Areal-transverse	2	1
	51	84
Integrated		
Linear	9	1
Transverse	6	2
Areal	11	1
Areal-transverse	15	1
Uncertain	2	0
	43	5
Total	100	100

words it will be useful to consider what rather generalised deductions can be based on representative examples of about one hundred churches on either side of the channel, by contrast with impressions that have in the past usually been based on much smaller samplings.

Two-cell churches. As has already been said, it was commonly believed until after the second world war that the simple two-cell church, which constitutes so great a majority of the Anglo-Saxon plans, was of relatively rare occurrence on the Continent. That this is indeed not the case is clearly brought out by Table 22 where the frequencies of occurrence are seen to be 36 per cent on the Continent and 58 per cent in England.

Narrower chancels. The usual two-cell plan consists of a rectangular nave and a narrower chancel, sometimes apsidal but more often rectangular. In England the usual extent of the narrowing from the nave to the chancel can with some accuracy be described as one wall's thickness on either side, so that the outer faces of the walls of the chancel are aligned more or less precisely with the inner faces of the walls of the nave. Inspection of Figs. 722-730 will show that there are few exceptions from this general rule, and that when there is a divergence it is usually quite small except for a few churches where the chancel is roughly the same width as the nave.

By contrast, in thirty-four continental two-cell churches there are five or six in which the chancel is very markedly narrower than the nave.

Chancel of the same width as the nave. By contrast with the normal rectangular nave and narrower chancel there are indeed two-cell churches in England for which the nave and chancel are of the same width although clearly separated by a cross-wall and chancel-arch. The examples shown in Figs. 722-730 are Bradwell, Deerhurst St Mary, Reculver, and Wing. These are all apsidal and the first three are also cellular. In the past there has been a tendency to see in apsidal cellular churches a type which must be associated with Kent, and particularly with St Pancras at Canterbury (Peers 1901); but too much insistence either on similarities within the 'Kentish type' or on its limitation to Kent or to a particular date can lead to error. It should be noted that only one of the four churches named above is Kentish and that of the apsidal churches in Kent many have chancels narrower than the naves (such as Canterbury St Pancras, Lyminge, and Rochester). Moreover although Canterbury St Peter and St Paul is often named and illustrated as apsidal and with a chancel of the same width as the nave, it should always be borne in mind that there is no evidence whatsoever for its chancel. These points have perhaps been too greatly stressed here, but to claim the equal-width apsidal chancel as an early Kentish type is an undue simplification of a complex situation, and it can lead to error when, for example, it stands as the basis for regarding this type of church as one which St Boniface would most likely have introduced to the areas which he converted to Christianity (Boeckelmann 1956: 44-5). The continental examples illustrated at the 1955 Munich Conference do not include any instance of this type.

Lateral porticus. Transverse cellular churches like Bradford-on-Avon or Canterbury St Pancras, have sometimes been claimed as a specially English type (Fletcher 1965: 26), but this is an error which is made particularly clear by Fig. 5 of the Munich Conference which illustrates nineteen *Einschiffige Kreuzkirchen* of which Speyer (St German), Spiez, Romainmôtier I and II, Geneva, and Hornbach fall closely into this pattern (Bellmann 1955: 121).

It is also of interest in the same figure to see plans which seem to provide close parallels for the rather unusual arrangement of Deerhurst iv; the continental plans are those of Trier (Liebfrauenkirch) and Geneva (St Gervais), both of which show porticus within the re-entrant angles between the chancel and the main lateral chambers. The Trier analogue is less close because the main lateral chambers appear on plan to be open to the nave (integrated rather than cellular) but the Geneva example is undoubtedly cellular; and, like Deerhurst, has been shown to have developed in successive phases.

The larger churches. It is very much more difficult to make useful comparisons between English and continental examples of the larger churches, particularly because the English evidence is still so meagre for the aisled and transeptal types. So far as standing fabric is concerned notice has already been directed to the massive simplicity of most examples, for instance the plain rectangular piers at Brixworth and Wing. These are, of course, not without analogues on the Continent, for example at Nivelles or at Einhard's two churches at Steinbach and Seligenstadt, or even in Charlemagne's great palace chapel at Aachen; but in the continental churches there is usually a much greater precision in the execution and a much greater consistency in the dimensions of all repeated units.

Arrangements in three dimensions. Of course it is not only in ground-plans that comparison with continental evidence can be of great value. For example, in the interpretation of the gallery and upper chambers at Deerhurst, comparison with the fabric at Corvey and with the records of Centula can be of crucial importance; and in the interpretation of the arrangement of crypts it is essential to see the English evidence in proper relation to the continental evidence from which there are not only more surviving examples but more references in texts which give glimpses of the uses to which the buildings were put.

SECTION 14. ACCESS TO THE CHURCH

In Chapter 6 we have already considered the question of access to churches in so far as evidence

for this is provided by the doorways that were under consideration. But in many ways the well defined plans of Section 5 of this chapter provide a more certain source of information. It will therefore be desirable to list the evidence provided by those plans under five headings:

Plans which show with certainty that entry was from the west only

Plans which show entry from the west and also from the sides

Plans which show entry from the west, but with no absolute evidence to preclude there having been entry also from the sides

Plans which show with certainty that entry was from the sides only

Plans which show entry from the sides, but with no absolute evidence to preclude there having been entry also from the west

The churches which fall into these five classes are listed in Tables 23 to 27, below; in addition it will be appreciated that there are over thirty of the well defined plans which give no precise information about access for the simple reason that in each of them there are gaps not only in both side walls but also in the west wall.

TABLE 23. *Sure evidence that entry was from the west only*

1. Bradwell	3. Canterbury P	5. Elmham S
2. Canterbury M	4. Chithurst	6. Thetford Mi

TABLE 24. *Entry from the west and also from the sides*

1. Deerhurst M i-vi	3. Potterne
2. Elmham N	4. Reculver

In the case of Elmham there are surviving doorways both in the west tower and also in the north of the transept; at Potterne there was entry from the west, and also through the north porticus and the baptistery; at Reculver there are surviving doorways at the west and also in each of the north and south porticus (in their east walls).

TABLE 25. *Entry from the west but no absolute evidence to preclude entry also from the sides*

1. Bardsey*	7. Dunham	13. Pentlow
2. Bracebridge ii*	8. Exeter	14. Sherborne
3. Brixworth i*	9. Holton*	15. Winchester
4. Canterbury A*	10. Jarrow (west)*	i-ii
5. Corbridge*	11. Kirkdale	16. Winchester
6. Deerhurst M vi*	12. Ledsham*	iii*-v*

For the churches marked with an asterisk the west entry to the nave was from a porch or tower, which was itself entered from the west except at

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Bardsey where doorways survive on the north and south of the porch-tower, and at Ledsham where there is a doorway on the south only.

TABLE 26. *Sure evidence that entry was from the side only*

1. Bardfield	7. Broughton	13. Framingham ii
2. Barsham	8. Clayton	14. Heysham Pa
3. Barton	9. Coln Rogers	15. Lavendon
4. Beechamwell	10. Corhampton	16. Lexham
5. Bosham	11. Deerhurst O	17. Norwich J
6. Breamore	12. Escomb	18. Rumbolds

In most cases the secure evidence that entry was from the side only is provided by the survival of an intact west wall or of a west tower without any exterior doorway. In addition there are surviving Anglo-Saxon lateral doorways in the following churches: Barton (N and S), Broughton (S), Corhampton (outlines only, N and S), Deerhurst O (N, and indications on S), Escomb (N), Heysham (S).

TABLE 27. *Entry from the side, but no absolute evidence to preclude entry also from the west*

1. Boarhunt	8. K Hammerton i	15. Seaham
2. Bradford	9. K Hammerton ii	16. Selham
3. Daglingworth	10. Lusby	17. Stanley
4. Dover	11. Melton	18. Stoughton
5. Framingham i	12. Missenden	19. Thornage
6. Greensted	13. Quarley	20. Wareham M
7. Jarrow (east)	14. Rivenhall	21. Worth

Objects and significance of the different types of entry. There must have been good reasons for the different types of layout of doorways of main access to the church, and these ought to give clues to the ideas and to changes in liturgical practice. On the evidence at present available I have, however, not been able to make any satisfactory progress in interpreting these.

SECTION 15. GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF TYPES OF PLANS

The geographical distribution of towers is a subject which has been discussed in Chapter 9 and need

not be repeated here. The discussion in this section can therefore be restricted to the variations in distribution of the main types of plan and of the shapes of the east end. The latter subject shows a more distinctive pattern of distribution and will therefore be treated first.

APSIDAL AND SQUARE EAST ENDS

Apsidal east ends. The well defined plans show apsidal east ends at nineteen places, representing in all twenty-six independent plans.

It will be seen from Fig. 742 that these apsidal east ends show a marked concentration in the south; apart from the small east church at Hexham all of them lie south of the Wash. It should also be noted from Section 6 that the consideration of churches with partially defined plans did not add any further structural evidence for Anglo-Saxon apsidal east ends. It will be noticed from Table 28 that the distribution of apsidal east ends extends widely beyond the confines of the early kingdom of Kent.

Finally mention should be made of three different methods of building an apsidal east end; the first two have walls of uniform thickness, laid out in the one case in a semicircular plan, and in a polygonal plan in the other case; the third method has a polygonal shape externally and semicircular internally so that the walls vary in thickness. The three methods are used as follows:

Semicircular walls: Bradwell, Canterbury P, Cirencester, Elmham N, Elmham S, Hexham, Lyminge M, Pentlow, Rochester, Stanley, Stoke, Worth

Polygonal walls: Deerhurst M, Wing

Polygonal outside, semicircular inside: Brixworth, Reculver

It should be noted that there are only foundations (and no standing walls) in justification of the assertion that the apses were semicircular at Bradwell, Cirencester, Elmham S, Lyminge M, Rochester and Winchester; and that for Dunham and Sherborne the evidence for apsidal shape does not

TABLE 28. *Apsidal east ends*

1. Bradwell	6. Dunham	11. Pentlow	16. Stoke
2. Brixworth	7. Elmham N	12. Reculver	17. Winchester
3. Canterbury P	8. Elmham S	13. Rochester	18. Wing
4. Cirencester	9. Hexham	14. Sherborne	19. Worth
5. Deerhurst M	10. Lyminge M	15. Stanley	



FIG. 742. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF APSIDAL EAST ENDS

See Table 28.

allow any pronouncement about finer details. Moreover, at Deerhurst M the apse was originally semicircular and only later rebuilt in the polygonal form.

Square east ends. The well defined plans show square east ends at fifty-two places as listed in Table 29.

It will be seen from Fig. 743 that these plans are distributed over the whole country in much the same way as are the fully surviving plans themselves. There are indeed more in the south than in the north, but this is true of the plans as a whole, and is indicative either of a greater survival or of a greater original concentration of churches of all types. It should also be noted from Section 6 that

TABLE 29. *Square east ends*

1. Avebury	14. Deerhurst O	27. Marton	40. Stafford
2. Barsham	15. Dover	28. Melton	41. Stoughton
3. Barton	16. Elmham N i, ii	29. Milborne	42. Stow
4. Beechamwell	17. Escomb	30. Missenden	43. Swavesey
5. Boarhunt	18. Glastonbury ii, iii	31. M Wenlock	44. Thetford Ma
6. Bradford	19. Heysham Pa	32. Norwich J	45. Thetford Mi
7. Broughton	20. Holton	33. Potterne	46. Thornage
8. Cambridge	21. Inworth	34. Repton	47. Thursley
9. Cheddar	22. Jarrow	35. Richborough	48. Tichborne
10. Chickney	23. Kingston	36. Rivenhall	49. Wareham M
11. Chithurst	24. K Hammerton	37. Rumbolds	50. Wharham P
12. Cringleford	25. Lexham	38. Seaham	51. Winstone
13. Daglingworth	26. Lyminge ME	39. Selham	52. Wittering

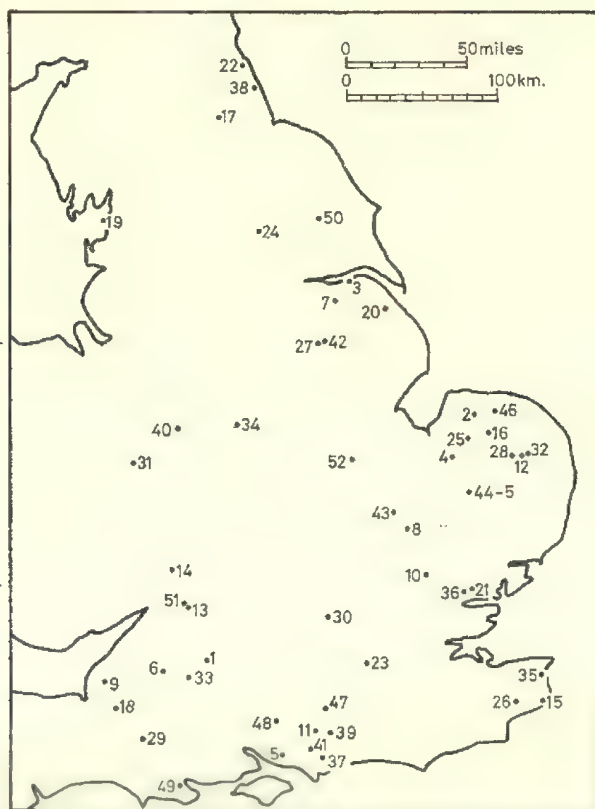


FIG. 743. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF SQUARE EAST ENDS
The churches are denoted by the numbers used in Table 29.

while the consideration of churches with partially defined plans added another six churches for which there was good evidence for square-ended chancels, these were fairly evenly distributed about the country, with Barrow, Hart, and Sockburn in the north, and Burcombe, Godalming, and Witley in the south.

Summary. The evidence indicates that apsidal east ends were much more popular in the south than in the north, but that they were by no means confined to Kent. Moreover the square shape was more popular than the apsidal not only in the north but also in the south except possibly in Kent where the survivals show apses at four places and square east ends only at three.

UNITARY PLANS

The small numbers of unitary plans for which there is evidence show a scatter over most of the

country, but with no appearance in Kent and next to none in Mercia or Lindsey. On the whole it should be said that the numbers of examples are too small to justify any firm conclusions and that variations in distribution may well depend more on chance discovery than on genuine geographical variations in popularity of the type.

CELLULAR PLANS

The seventy-eight cellular linear churches of Table 4 are fairly uniformly distributed over the country as a whole, but this is less true of the twenty-four cellular transverse churches of Table 5 where Repton and North Elmham ii are as yet the only examples found in Mercia, Lindsey and East Anglia. The numbers of survivals of areal and areal-transverse types are too small to justify any generalisation except to say that Tables 6 and 7 show only Jarrow in the north in comparison to ten examples in eight places in the south.



FIG. 744. DISTRIBUTION MAP OF INTEGRATED CHURCHES

See Tables 8, 15 and 16.

INTEGRATED PLANS

The seven integrated plans of Table 8 clearly represent too small a group to define a reliable space distribution, and even if we add the less fully defined plans from Tables 15 and 16 we gain only seven more. Fig. 744 shows these fourteen churches and indicates at least that plans of this type have left recognisable traces widely distributed over the whole country.

SECTION 16. SIZE AND PROPORTIONS OF CHURCHES IN PLAN

The absolute size of a church was no doubt settled in relation to the numbers of the community it was to serve; but the proportions of the nave in terms of length and breadth are likely to represent the taste of the builder or the fashion of the district or the time; for example it has been said that the

early Northumbrian churches have naves with a length more than three times their breadth whereas for the early Kentish churches the length is between one-and-a-half and one-and-three-quarters times their breadth (Clapham 1930: 41). Moreover, where both nave and chancel survive, it will also be desirable to consider the relative sizes of these two cells; but the numbers available for consideration are smaller, and the results will be correspondingly less reliable than those for the proportions of naves, for which there are over eighty examples.

SIZE AND PROPORTIONS OF NAVES

There are some ambiguities about the dimensions which should be used even for the well defined plans of Section 5, for example because they include plans such as those of Beechamwell, Lexham and Thornage which represent single-cell nave-and-chancel churches, and also there are churches such as Breamore, Brixworth, Deerhurst M,

Dover, and Dunham for some of which it is clear that the nave and a central space or monks' choir have later been thrown into one. In the following analysis the single complete cell of the nave-and-chancel church has been reckoned as the nave; and for the churches with monks' choirs rather arbitrary choices have been taken.

The naves have then been grouped together, as shown in Fig. 745 at intervals of 5 ft in lengths and breadths; so that the representative plan for each group is correct to within 2.5 ft for each member of the group. Moreover against the name of each church in the group the length and breadth of its nave is given (in feet). Similarly with each of the plans at 5 ft intervals there is given its dimensions in feet and its ratio of length to breadth, approximating to the values for all the naves in that group. It will be seen that there are only two square naves: Potterne and Barton-on-Humber. The largest ratios of length to breadth are 3.5 for Thornage and 4.1 for Beechamwell; but both of these are one-cell nave-and-chancel churches, so that the longest true naves illustrated are those of Winchester i at 72 ft and North Elmham at 66 ft; while the largest ratios of length to breadth for true naves cluster round 3.0: viz:

Coln Rogers	2.9	Escomb	3.0	Ledsham	2.7
Daglingworth	2.7	Heysham Pa	2.8	Seaham	2.8
Deerhurst M	2.8	Jarrow (east)	2.5	Wing	2.9
Elmham N	3.2	Lavendon	3.0		

It will be seen that these include the Northumbrian group but also a number of others elsewhere in the country.

The shortest nave is that at Potterne which also shares with Barton-on-Humber the smallest ratio of length to breadth, 1.0, since both are square. The Kentish churches do indeed have length to breadth ratios about 1.5 as Clapham said, but they are by no means unique in this respect, for it will be seen from Fig. 745 that this region from 1.4 to 1.8 is heavily populated, being indeed about the mean of the distribution.

It will be noticed that the very long nave and chancel defined only by foundations and robber-trenches at Cirencester has been omitted from these discussions because it is uncertain in what way the space was divided between nave, possibly monks' choir, and chancel.

RELATIVE SIZE AND PROPORTIONS OF NAVES AND CHANCEL

As a rule chancels are appreciably smaller than naves both in length and breadth. In many churches the chancel is narrower than the nave by about twice the thickness of the side walls, so that the outer faces of the walls of the chancel are aligned with the inner faces of the walls of the nave; indeed as will be seen in Table 30 this arrangement applies to eighteen of the churches with well defined naves and chancels. Of the remainder, eight have the side walls of the chancel inset by more than two wall-thicknesses, while twelve have them inset by less than two (including Reculver which is the only well defined example of a chancel with its walls precisely in the same alignment as those of the nave although this is roughly true for Deerhurst M and Wing, and also for the destroyed chancel at Bradwell).

TABLE 30. *Relative widths of naves and chancels*

A. Chancels narrower than naves by two wall thicknesses

1. Boarhunt	7. Cringleford	13. Selham
2. Broughton	8. Daglingworth	14. Thetford Mi i
3. Canterbury P	9. Deerhurst O	15. Thetford Mi ii
4. Cheddar ii	10. Escomb	16. Wareham M
5. Chickney	11. K Hammerton	17. Wharram P iii
6. Chithurst	12. Marton	18. Worth

B. Chancels narrower by more than two wall thicknesses

1. Barton	4. Holton	7. Stoughton
2. Brixworth	5. Potterne	8. Winchester i
3. Dover	6. Rumbolds	

C. Chancels narrower by less than two wall thicknesses

1. Barsham	5. Missenden	9. Rivenhall
2. Bradford	6. Norwich J	10. Wharram P iv
3. Deerhurst M	7. Pentlow	11. Wing
4. Inworth	8. Reculver	12. Wittering

On the average, chancels are about half the length of their naves; of the thirty-eight well defined naves and chancels listed in Table 30 in all but eight the ratio of the length of the chancel to that of the nave lies between 0.6 and 0.4, the exceptions being Barton and Wharram P iv (0.8); Canterbury P and Pentlow (0.7); Brixworth, Daglingworth and Deerhurst M (0.3); and Escomb (0.2).

SIZE AND PROPORTIONS OF CHANCEL

Since chancels are as a rule only slightly narrower than their naves and are on the average only about

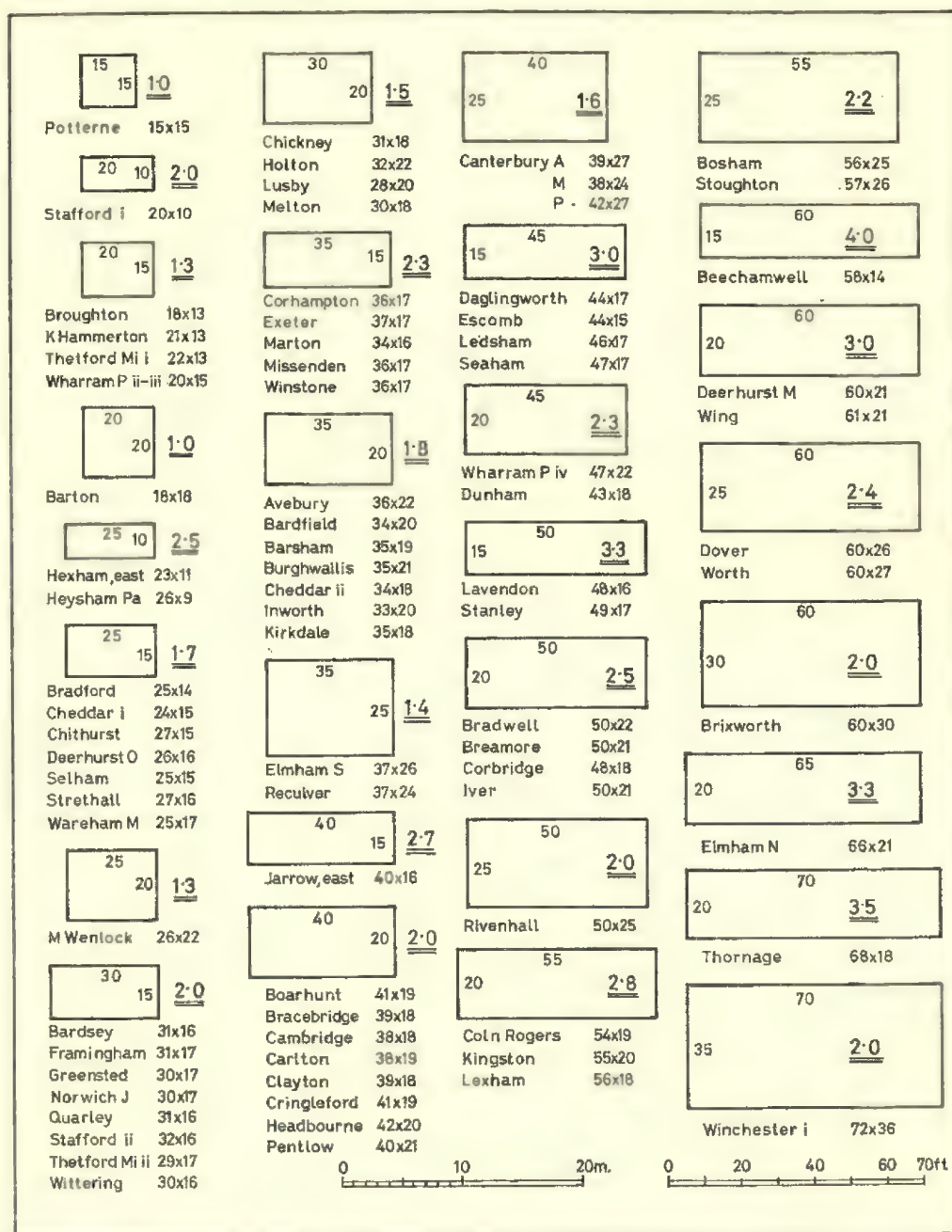


FIG. 745. CHART SHOWING SIZE AND SHAPE OF NAVES

The representative plans are drawn at intervals of 5 ft in length and breadth, as marked on each plan. The doubly underlined numbers denote the ratio of length to breadth for each plan.

half as long, it follows that on the whole their ratio of length to breadth will be appreciably smaller than for naves; indeed, by contrast with naves there are five chancels which are wider than they

are long, and six whose length equals their breadth within a tolerance of 6 in. The evidence is summarised in Table 31 which shows for each chancel the ratio of its length to its breadth.

CHAPTER 15 ANGLO-SAXON CHURCH PLANS

TABLE 31. *Proportions of chancels*

A. Length and breadth almost equal

1. Boarhunt	3. Escomb	5. Reculver
2. Chickney	4. Potterne	6. Wareham M

B. Length greater than breadth

1. Barton	1.3	10. Deerhurst O	1.2	19. Selham	1.1
2. Bradford	1.3	11. Dover	1.3	20. Stoughton	1.3
3. Brixworth	1.1	12. Holton	1.2	21. Thetford Mi i	1.2
4. Broughton	1.2	13. K. Hammerton	1.5	22. Wharram P iii	1.2
5. Canterbury P	1.4	14. Marton	1.6	23. Wharram P iv	2.1
6. Cheddar ii	1.4	15. Missenden	1.3	24. Winchester i	1.1
7. Chithurst	1.1	16. Norwich J	1.4	25. Wing	1.1
8. Cringleford	1.2	17. Pentlow	1.6	26. Wittering	1.2
9. Daglingworth	1.2	18. Rumbolds	1.5	27. Worth	1.5

C. Length less than breadth

1. Barsham	0.8	3. Inworth	0.9	5. Thetford Mi ii	0.9
2. Deerhurst M	0.9	4. Rivenhall	0.9		

It will be noted that there is no chancel which is very much shorter than its breadth, the greatest divergence being Barsham where the length is 0.8 times the breadth. It will also be noted that Wharram Percy iv stands out from all others by reason of the very long proportions of its chancel, 2.1 times its breadth, whereas no other has a higher proportion than 1.6 (Marton and Pentlow).

VOLUMES AND INTERIOR SPACES

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

In earlier chapters we have considered evidence which standing fabric can give about upper floors and other details which usually do not appear from a ground-plan. Having now considered plans exhaustively in Chapter 15 it is desirable to relate the evidence of standing fabric directly to the plans, and thus to construct the clearest possible picture of the buildings in three dimensions both in relation to their appearance as seen from outside and also as regards the disposition of their internal spaces. These are obviously difficult problems, and it is important not to claim for any solution a greater certainty than is fully justified by the evidence. Recent archaeological investigations suggest that architectural historians have in the past been inclined to go too far beyond the evidence in their reconstructions of pre-Romanesque buildings, particularly by extrapolating in a way which would perhaps be justifiable for Romanesque buildings but which may well lead to quite false conclusions in our earlier domain for which there is so much less analogous material to provide guidance for extrapolation. Indeed, it has been suggested that many reconstructions which have long been accepted in the literature of our period must be abandoned before reliable fresh progress can be made (Fischer and Oswald 1968: 268). It will therefore be best to confine our claims about the nature of external volumes or internal spaces to facts for which we can cite evidence from the standing fabric. In a very few places where we go beyond the facts, specific mention is made so that such extrapolations can be treated with reserve.

Height of walls and pitch of roofs. Two important features of a building depend on the height of the walls and the pitch of its roofs. The standing fabric

of a considerable number of buildings shows that there are wide variations in height of walls, but a fairly uniform use of roofs with a slope of 45° or even steeper. Moreover, although doorways and windows sometimes proclaim that tall walls did imply the former presence of upper floors that were in regular use; yet there are other buildings such as Bradford-on-Avon in which tall walls do not seem to be associated with upper chambers, since Irvine satisfied himself during his exhaustive study that there was no trace of original upper floors (Taylor 1972b: 117).

Internal spaces. The standing walls of many churches give sure evidence that, both in small and simple buildings like Bradford and also in large and complicated churches like Deerhurst St Mary, the requirements of services could be met even when separate parts of the building were linked by openings no larger than mere doorways. But the standing walls of other churches such as Wing and Stow give equally sure evidence for wide and tall arches that provide a high degree of integration.

By contrast with this adequate survival of evidence for the bald facts about the shape and connection of internal spaces, most churches have suffered so much modification through the years that there is unfortunately very little structural evidence for details of the original liturgical arrangements. For information about these matters we must turn to other sources, as described in Chapter 18; and it is on such evidence that altars have tentatively been shown in two churches in Fig. 748.

SECTION 2. EXTERNAL APPEARANCE

The isometric drawings of Fig. 746 show at the same scale as the plans of Chapter 15 the external

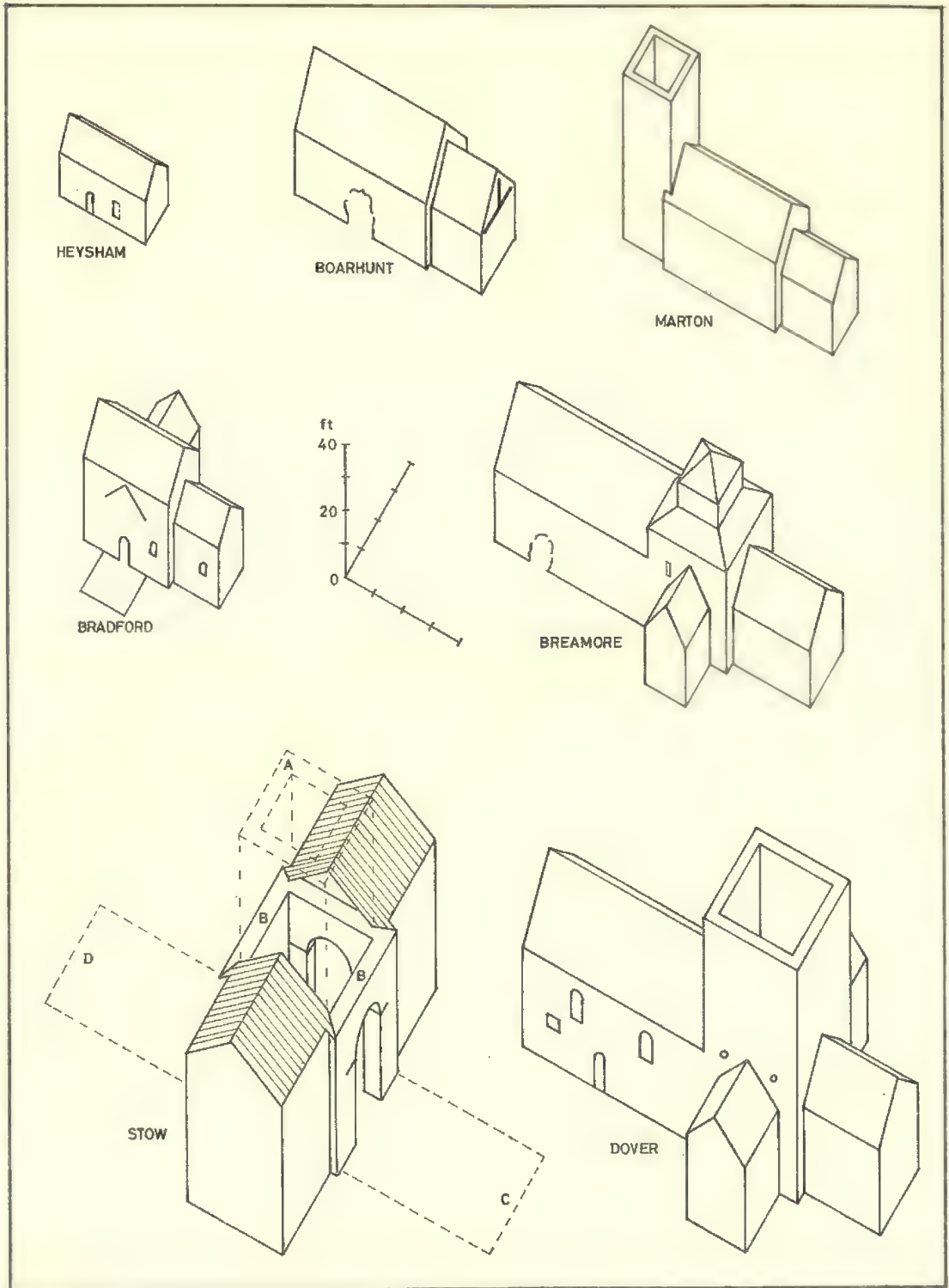


FIG. 746. EXTERIOR APPEARANCE OF TYPICAL CHURCHES

appearances of seven buildings of different type chosen to give an impression of the grouping and proportions of individual units in some of the more important classes of surviving buildings. Not all classes are illustrated, particularly because of uncertainty about the arrangement of roofs for features such as the lateral porticus at Deerhurst and the apsidal chancel there and elsewhere. With the exception of the small chapel at Heysham each of the buildings illustrated belongs to a considerable group for which there is firm evidence of up-standing fabric to define a closely similar general arrangement of volumes. It will be desirable to refer briefly to the structural evidence which settles the main features shown in each diagram and to cite a few other representatives of the group to which each belongs, since only thus can assurance be given about the reliability of the forms that are shown.

One-cell buildings. In spite of its ruinous state the small chapel of St Patrick at Heysham gives the clearest available evidence for this group; its east wall survives in a fairly complete state and shows that there was no east window; at the top of the north-east quoin there is enough of the springing of the gable to determine a pitch of about 45° ; and in the south wall there is a complete doorway and a vestigial flat-headed window. Much more fabric survives in the one-cell churches at Beechamwell, Jarrow and Thornage, but for none of them does the evidence seem complete enough to specify the original pitch of the roof.

Two-cell buildings. Boarhunt has been chosen to illustrate this group because of its comparatively unchanged original state, and particularly because the string-course and pilaster-strip in the gable of the east end show very clearly that the original roof must have been at least as steeply pitched as the present one. It cannot be said with certainty whether there was originally an east window in the place now occupied by a small lancet, nor are the blocked rough outlines of lateral doorways positive proof that these were the original positions of entry. Other well preserved two-cell churches at Corhampton, Escomb and Wittering are all consistent with the same general pitch for the roof,

while the first two have evidence of original lateral doorways.

Two-cell buildings with west towers. Marton has been chosen to illustrate this group because the pitch shown for the roof of the nave is clearly defined by a gable in the east wall of the tower above the present low-pitched late medieval roof; the gable itself is built of horizontally coursed rubble like the walls of the nave and chancel, while the masonry above is of the same herring-bone fabric as the rest of the tower. In spite of the addition of aisles to the nave, and major alterations to the chancel, the layout is determined by the quoins. Other well preserved members of this group at Bracebridge and Kirk Hammerton confirm the pitch of the roof, and the latter provides an original south doorway.

Four-cell transverse buildings. Bradford-on-Avon has been chosen to illustrate this group although its south porticus has been destroyed and is vouched for only by the marks of its roof and by Irvine's evidence of foundations, both of which are indicated in Fig. 746. In spite of the many vicissitudes through which this building has passed, its main walls and gables survive in a remarkably complete state and clearly specify not only the general form shown in the figure but also the almost certain absence of any east window and of any windows other than those which survive quite low in the side walls. Other members of this group with standing fabric, but in a less well preserved state, include Bradwell, Bywell St Peter, Ledsham, Stoughton and Worth; of these the first and last are apsidal but otherwise all would have given much the same external visual impression; the latter two, however, have much wider openings to the lateral chambers so as to give a completely different internal effect to which we refer in Section 3.

Five-cell transverse buildings. Breamore has been chosen as one illustration of this group in spite of its rebuilt chancel and demolished north porticus because of the well preserved south porticus and because its later two-stage receding tower suggests a survival of an original form. The pitch of the roof of the south porticus is well over 45° , and

this is confirmed by the tear-away scars left by the roof of the north porticus. The object of this very steep pitch may have been to make provision for a doorway of access under the roof from the lateral porticus to an upper chamber in the tower; one rectangular window lights this region on the south side and two on the north side. As a second illustration Dover has been chosen in spite of its ruinous condition before Scott's restoration of 1860-2; the roof-lines are vouched for not only by Scott's descriptions and his restoration but also by independent drawings of the pre-restoration state (Bloxham 1882: 40 and Puckle 1864). The south doorway and windows at two levels survive in the fabric; and so also do three levels of openings in the west wall. Dover and Breamore also illustrate marked differences in the size of their internal arches, to which we shall return later.

Integrated transverse buildings. Stow has been chosen to illustrate this group because its four surviving great arches make it the most completely integrated transeptal pre-Conquest structure for which we have standing fabric. Fig. 746 shows in firm lines the surviving central space and transepts; the ill defined areas of the pre-Conquest nave and chancel are indicated by faint broken lines; the late medieval tower A is shown by faint broken lines, standing wholly inside the pre-Conquest central space B. The absence of a pre-Conquest stone tower such as has survived at Norton suggests that Stow may have had a multi-stage receding tower of the same general form as that at Breamore. The present steeply pitched roofs date only from the restoration of 1850-1; there is no evidence in the fabric for their original pitch, but at Norton, which provides the closest analogy, the gable-lines of all four arms of the church survive on the pre-Conquest tower, with pitches above 45° (Vol. I: 468).

SECTION 3. INTERIOR SPACES

The chief internal factors of which the standing fabric can give evidence are, on one hand, the degree to which the space is integrated (or in our case much more frequently divided into almost separate compartments) and on the other hand the degree to which the space seems to have been

treated on a single level or to have made provision for use at several different levels. In the smaller and simpler buildings a single level is clearly indicated, as would be expected; and the plans have already shown that most of them are cellular with only narrow doorways to link the separate compartments.

MULTIPLE LEVELS

Churches with west towers or tall porches, however, lead us on to consider upper levels, because so many have first-floor doorways in the west wall of the nave. It is uncertain how many of these indicate that there was a western gallery over a substantial part of the nave, but additional evidence is provided at Deerhurst by corbels which would have carried the floor of the gallery; and at Tredington the fabric provides very clear evidence of a gallery extending over roughly half of the nave and reached by upper doorways near the centre of each side (Vol. II: 625). Deerhurst also provides evidence for lateral porticus at two levels as is shown in Fig. 747 by the round-headed upper doorways which led to the upper floors of the porticus while smaller doorways led to the lower levels. Moreover the regular use of the roof-space above the nave is indicated by the very worn treads of the steps which formerly led from the third-floor chamber of the tower eastwards into the space above the nave. The figure also shows how (apart from the belfry) the rooms in the tower were ultimately all divided by a cross wall which seems most easily to be explained in terms of using the smaller western space to house a wooden stairway such as still connects the second and third floors.

In addition to Deerhurst and Tredington first-floor galleries at the west of naves are very clearly indicated by standing fabric at Jarrow and Wing (Vols I: 342 and II: 669). Moreover there is structural evidence for the use of chambers over all four arms of the transeptal church at Norton (Vol. I: 468).

INTEGRATED AND CELLULAR SPACES

The dissected isometric drawings of Figs. 747-8 give a few three-dimensional examples of the

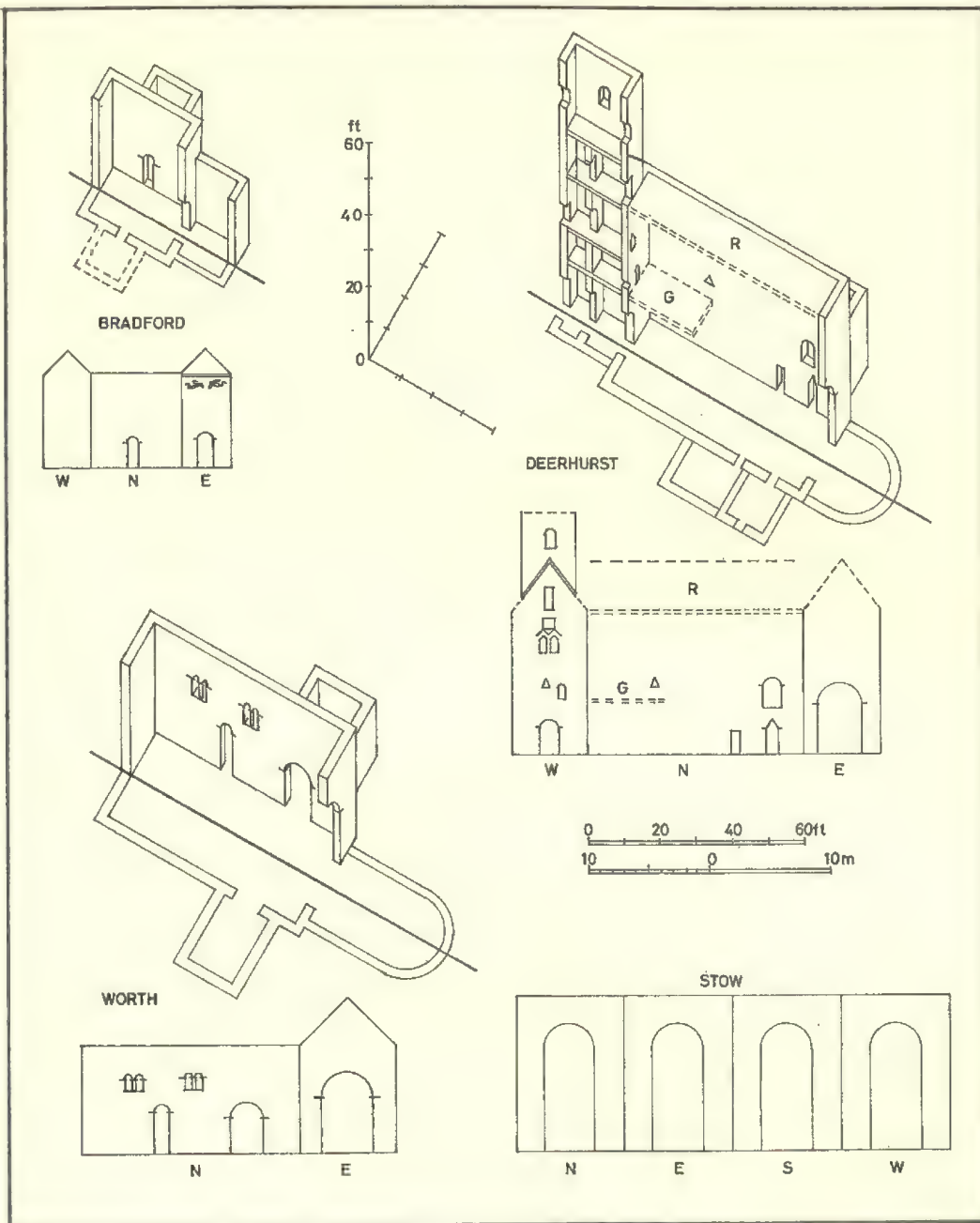


FIG. 747. INTERIOR SPACES: MAIN FLOOR AT ONE LEVEL

wide variations which we have seen in the plans of Chapter 15 whereby in the great majority of Anglo-Saxon churches the individual spaces are linked only by narrow doorways, while for a small intermediate class low transepts open to the nave through fairly wide arches, and finally there are only a few churches where the interior space is

integrated by wide and tall arches such as those at Stow or by continuous arcades such as those at Great Paxton or Wing. In order to present the clearest possible visual comparisons and contrasts between the sizes of the arches concerned, these two figures show not only isometric projections but also elevations of the side and end walls of the

naves, thus allowing the arches to be drawn without distortion.

Cellular churches. Although the cellular arrangement applies to the great majority of our churches, it seemed sufficient to show only two examples in Fig. 747 where Bradford illustrates one extreme case of a four-cell church of remarkable height, yet with openings no larger than doorways to link any of its compartments; by contrast to the small and simple plan of Bradford, Deerhurst presents many separate cells round a long nave, but the surviving openings on the ground floor are all doorways except for the chancel-arch.

Low transepts. The first step towards integration of interior spaces is shown in Fig. 747 by the low transepts of Worth where the lateral arches have clearly ceased to be doorways although they are still small by comparison with the chancel-arch. Worth has been chosen to illustrate this group because it alone has preserved its original lateral arches as well as its chancel-arch. At Bitton, Dover and Stoughton the arrangements were probably much the same; and although the lateral arches are of post-Conquest date at Dover and Stoughton they are still lower and narrower than the axial ones, thus indicating clearly that the original lateral ones were even smaller. At Breamore, although the external appearance as shown in Fig. 746 suggests low transepts not unlike those at Dover, the internal arrangement is cellular with only doorways to link the porticus to the nave.

Integrated transverse churches. The interior space at Stow has already been shown in isometric projection by the omission of the Norman nave and chancel from Fig. 746; but to emphasise the contrast with low transepts like those at Worth, the four arches of Stow are shown in elevation in Fig. 747 beside the large chancel-arch and the small transeptal arch of Worth. In external bulk Norton is almost as impressive as Stow, particularly because much of its central tower is Anglo-Saxon; but by comparison with Stow's four arches of 14 by 35 ft, Norton's two surviving lateral arches of about 11 by 17 ft clearly mark out a lower degree of integration; moreover we can be reasonably certain that the destroyed original axial arches were

of much the same size as the surviving lateral ones because the Norman arches which replaced them, although wider, are not much taller.

Integrated areal churches. The two churches in Fig. 748 have been chosen not only to illustrate two different types of areal plan but also to show marked differences of level from the nave to the chancel, by contrast with those of Fig. 747 where such differences are small and have been ignored in the drawings. We return later to these matters of levels and for the moment consider only the integration of the internal space.

At Wing the arches between the nave and its aisles are appreciably wider than the piers that support them, so that the openings through the wall exceed the solids and thus give a true sense of integration. By comparison with Wing's 10 ft openings between 6 ft piers we should note that Brixworth's openings are just over 7 ft between piers over 8 ft wide; therefore Wing can legitimately be regarded as an integrated church, while Brixworth is more appropriately to be regarded as cellular. The integration at Paxton, however, is much greater than at Wing, and greater even than is shown by our simplified diagram in which the comparatively slender quatrefoil piers are shown as square columns; the voids are in fact nearly 8 ft wide, separated by piers just over 2 ft thick. Moreover the layout at Paxton is of transverse areal type, and although the transepts had lower roofs than the nave, yet the surviving northern lateral arch differs little from what must have been the size of the chancel-arch; the lateral arch is complete whereas only the jambs of the chancel-arch have survived; yet as Fig. 748 shows they had much the same height.

Finally it should be noted that Fig. 748 shows by broken lines not only the uncertainties about the original westward extent of both Wing and Paxton, but also the possibility that Paxton may have had a cross wall separating a central space or monks' choir from the nave and thus forming a more or less regular crossing which may have supported a tower, or a receding lantern like that at Breamore. Paxton is not alone in having rather problematical indications of a former monks' choir separated from the nave. Clearly recorded evidence of foundations survive from records of restorations

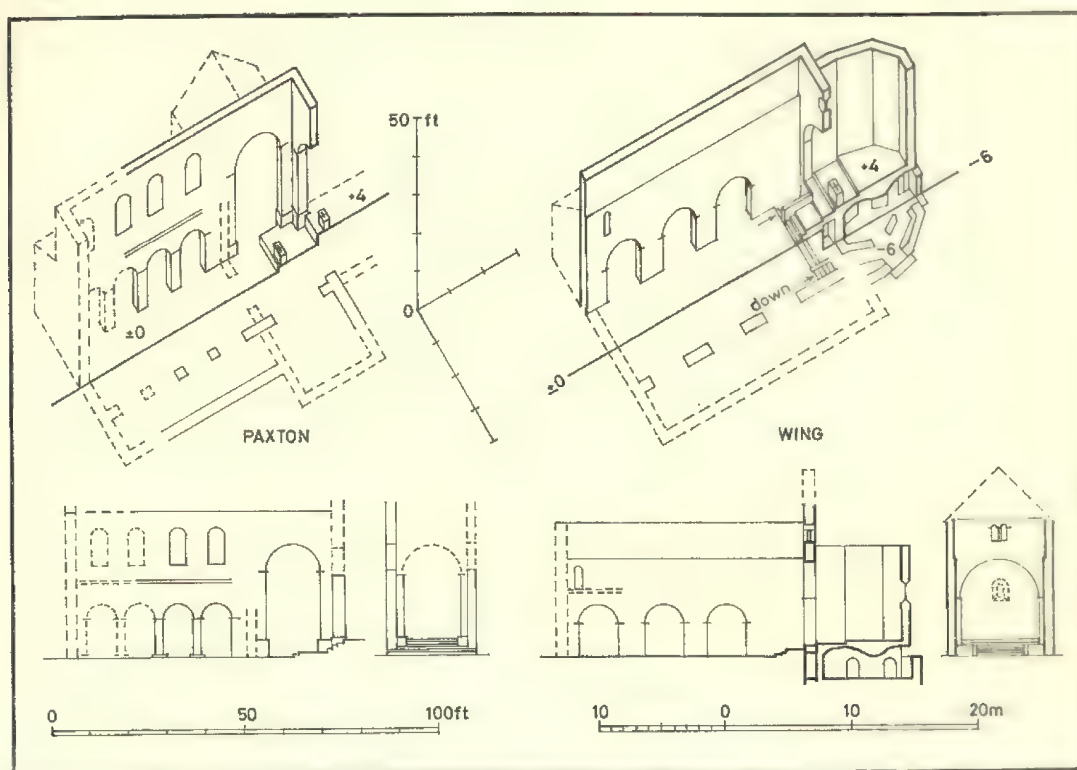


FIG. 748. INTERIOR SPACES: MAIN FLOOR AT VARYING LEVELS

last century at Deerhurst and Repton (Butterworth 1887: 89 and Cox 1886: 232), and rather tentative earlier suggestions about a similar cross wall at Hadstock were confirmed by recent excavations (Rodwell 1976: 58–64).

MULTIPLE LEVELS AT THE EAST

The second lesson which the churches of Fig. 748 were chosen to illustrate is the provision of a chancel at an appreciably higher level than the nave, a level which demanded a considerable flight of steps and not merely the single step or even pair of steps which form the usual transition from the nave to the chancel. Moreover the choice of Paxton and Wing was made in order to emphasise that a considerable flight of steps need not always imply a crypt as it does at Wing but may represent an arrangement chosen for its own desirability as seems to have been the case at Paxton. The elevations of Paxton show how a considerable podium in the central space is approached by two steps from the nave (wrongly shown as a single step in

Vol. II: 485–6); from this podium four further steps lead up through the chancel-arch into the chancel itself. There seems good reason to believe that one altar stood on the raised level in the central space and at least one more stood in the chancel; we return to the reasons for this belief in Chapter 18. For simplicity of drawing, the multiple steps have been shown as single units in the isometric projection of Paxton, and altars have been shown close beside each change of level.

The arrangements at Wing are in some ways easier to understand and are more clearly specified by the structural remains. The raised sanctuary stands over a considerable crypt whose floor is approximately 6 ft below the level of the nave and 10 ft below that of the sanctuary. Stairs, now blocked, led down from the east of the nave to form a circulatory system through the crypt for pilgrims and liturgical processions, while a broad central flight of steps led up to the sanctuary. As at Repton, there seems no doubt that a relic-chamber or confessio lay at the west end of the crypt as shown in Fig. 748, and it would be natural for an

altar to be placed above this, thus no doubt explaining the exceptionally wide chancel-arch. The present position of the altar at the east of the sanctuary may also continue a pre-Conquest arrangement as we know to have been the case at Canterbury cathedral when it was destroyed by fire soon after the Norman Conquest.

The multiplicity of levels at Wing can be closely paralleled in standing fabric at Repton, and in a rather different form at Brixworth.

SECTION 4. INDICATIONS OF DATE

It might be tempting to assume that simple buildings of one or two cells would be the earliest, and that the more elaborate ones of many compartments would be later developments. But surviving two-cell buildings of modest size are clearly dated to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period at Deerhurst (Odda's chapel) and at Kirkdale; and conversely there must have been some quite large early buildings at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, in view of Bede's assertion that when Ceolfrid bade farewell to the community on 4 June 716 the joint monasteries comprised about 600 brethren (*H.A.B.* 382). Thus it seems to follow that neither simplicity nor mere size can be a good criterion.

On the other hand there is clear evidence of early buildings of some considerable size with a number of separate cells, as at Canterbury; and of late buildings with fairly fully integrated spaces as at Paxton; whereas none of the buildings securely known to be early is of the fully integrated type. Thus, while at present there is certainly not a sufficient number of firmly dated buildings to justify any dogmatic claim about the way in which types changed with time, yet it does seem that the passage of time led to the development of integrated interior spaces of a type for which there is no evidence from the beginning of our period. But even this statement needs to be qualified to emphasise that simple cellular churches continued to be built or increased in size by additions even when the use of integrated spaces had become fully developed.

We might therefore tentatively put forward a provisional time-sequence along the following lines. The few large buildings of the earliest period would be cellular as at Canterbury St Augustine,

or would have lateral arcades with comparatively small openings as at Brixworth, whereas most of the early buildings would be small and cellular. As time passed, some larger buildings would develop from smaller ones by addition of more cells, as is clearly known to have taken place at Deerhurst St Mary; while others would be built in a more integrated pattern either with lateral arcades of the more open type as at Wing or else with low transepts as at Worth. Finally, towards the end of our period we would find fully integrated transepts as at Stow or fully open arcades and low transepts as at Paxton. But throughout the whole period we would expect to see two-cell churches such as Escomb in the earliest part and Kirkdale or Odda's chapel in the decade before the Conquest.

This provisional sequence cannot as yet be claimed as proven by clear evidence; indeed the arcades at Wing have been claimed as belonging to period A (Jackson and Fletcher 1962) and the apparently more fully integrated church of Lady St Mary at Wareham has more recently been claimed as belonging to the same early period (*R.C.H.M. Dorset*, 2, 1, 1970: xliii-iv). Although we accepted the first of these claims in 1961 it is my present belief that both these churches belong to the tenth century.

SECTION 5. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES

For reasons which are not easy to formulate there is a sharp difference between the survival of pre-Romanesque buildings in England and in north-west Europe. By contrast with the rich survival of simple two-cell churches in England there is an almost complete lack of standing fabric of this type in France and Germany where their former existence has only comparatively recently been established by excavation. Conversely the much richer survival of larger and more important buildings of our period on the Continent contrasts sharply with their comparative absence in England; although in this field also recent discoveries at Winchester and Sherborne indicate that the differences are indeed likely to be in some part a matter of loss rather than original absence.

Cellular churches. A convenient summary of evidence disclosed by excavations in Germany between 1938 and 1953 shows plans of ninety of these churches, mainly of the cellular type (Bellmann 1955). This evidence is now also available in much more comprehensive form for the whole of north-west Europe (Oswald, Schaefer and Sennhauser 1966-71). It is therefore unnecessary to say more than that the evidence confirms the existence of cellular-linear and cellular-transverse churches of the types known in England, but also with an additional type, unknown here and more or less confined to the alpine regions of Switzerland, in which a single rectangular nave has three apsidal sanctuaries at its east end. Some of these cellular churches of Switzerland have well preserved standing fabric, as at Mistail and Münstair while in Chur there are two in part preserved (St Martin and St Lucius) of which the latter also has a ring-crypt below the triple apse.

More developed churches. Details of the greater churches are also given in the references mentioned above and it will therefore be sufficient to mention the closer analogues of the more important surviving English examples. For the low transepts of an aisled church such as Great Paxton there are many continental analogues such as Celles-les-Dinant, Hastière-par-Dela and St Gertrude at Nivelles, in Belgium; and Steinbach bei Michelstadt in Germany, all of which, however, have crypts under the chancel, for which there is as yet no evidence at Paxton. It is much harder to find standing fabric which compares closely with the simple English aisleless churches with low transepts such as Worth, Dover and Stoughton; apart from the much more developed example of St Pantaleon at Cologne, it seems that the parallels for the English low transepts are to be envisaged among the churches which now survive only as foundations, as at Spiez, Sursee, and the earlier phases of Romainmôtier (Bellmann 1955: 121). Aisled churches without transepts, as at Wing, do not seem to have been popular on the Continent, although there was an important instance in the main body of the great abbey church of St Nazarius at Lorsch (Oswald, Schaefer and Senn-

hauser 1966-71: 179-81). Aisleless transeptal churches such as Stow and Norton also seem to have been unpopular on the Continent where the only survivor with standing fabric which I have been able to visit is the small church of St Margaret at Epfig (Lehmann 1938: 111).

COMPARATIVE SUMMARY

Both on the Continent and in England the simple parish church seems to have showed little change throughout our period, no doubt because its needs were adequately met by a building of one or two simple cells for private prayer and corporate worship. In both places, however, the growing elaboration of monastic services tended to require more chapels within the principal church to house the growing number of altars which were to be visited in procession. Whereas at the beginning of our period even the principal church might have only one altar, by the time of the Conquest it had many, even though there could still be subsidiary churches within the monastic establishment to which the whole community might go in procession. So far as the monastic or cathedral churches also provided for a parish, their naves already had a separate altar for this purpose, very often the altar of the Holy Cross. These greater churches also had to provide for the safe keeping and display of relics, for processional visits to the relics during certain services, and for orderly visits of pilgrims sometimes in large numbers not only to see the relics but also to pray beside them or even to stay for periods in the hope of help such as the cure of disease. All these needs were no doubt felt in much the same degree in all countries; but on the whole the buildings that were provided to satisfy them seem to have been on a more modest scale in England than on the Continent.

The introduction of transepts may in part have been inspired by the idea of laying out the church in the form of a cross; but it was no doubt primarily designed to allow more space near the centre of the church; and in particular more space for large monastic communities when the general public were confined to the nave.

DECORATION: CAPITALS, IMPOSTS AND SCULPTURE

SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

While the subject-matter of this chapter has of necessity been touched upon in several earlier chapters, it is desirable now to bring it together as a unity; although even here it will be necessary for clarity to separate the discussion of each of the main types into a number of sections depending on the places in the church where they are used.

We shall see that capitals and imposts are used mainly in major arches, doorways and belfry openings, under which headings it will therefore be convenient to group them. Sculpture is also used in these places but in addition it seems to have been used sometimes for decoration of the main surface of walls, and for screens and elsewhere.

Whereas imposts were used on almost all major arches and are preserved on about 90 per cent, they were used more sparingly on other openings. On ground-floor doorways they survive on 53 per cent; and upper doorways, as might be expected, show a still lower rate of 30 per cent. Belfry openings rather surprisingly show a higher rate of 83 per cent.

Capitals were used rarely on major arches or doorways, no doubt because of the prevalence of openings that are cut straight through the wall and therefore have no angle shafts, on which capitals were so regularly used in later buildings. It is therefore on the shafts of belfry openings that most of the surviving capitals are to be found, although here there is a wide variety of usage and in the total of 214 multiple openings only 109 have capitals on their mid-wall shafts.

SECTION 2. THE DESIGN OF ANGLO-SAXON CAPITALS

With very few exceptions, Anglo-Saxon capitals are carried on circular or polygonal shafts and they

themselves support square or rectangular imposts or through-stone slabs. It is therefore natural that the plan of the bottom of a capital should be circular or polygonal and the plan of the top should be roughly square or rectangular. In fact even the capitals which support long rectangular through-stone slabs are mostly square at the top, but just a few are drawn out corbel-wise into long rectangular forms such as are illustrated for Scartho and Sompting in Vol. II: 533 and 561.

A very few capitals are supported by pilasters or stripwork and these are usually of the same general shape in plan as the pilasters themselves, without variation from top to bottom of the capitals. Examples on pilasters are to be seen in the crypt at Repton, illustrated in Vol. II: 512; and on the main walls at Corhampton, Vol. I: 178.

In general Anglo-Saxon capitals have only the simplest geometrical forms which can be built up from cubes, spheres and cones, with variations produced by cutting away oblique slices in a manner similar to the chamfering that is so frequently used on imposts. The different shapes that are most commonly used may be summarised as belonging to the following main types.

Cubical chamfered capitals. The simplest of the Anglo-Saxon capitals are to be found in the crypt at Repton, where no attempt is made to change the square plan at the top into a circular or polygonal form at the bottom. All that is done is to chamfer off the lower half of each face of the cube so as to produce a smaller square plan below, of a size which roughly fits the shaft on which the capital rests. The unchamfered upper area is ornamented by horizontal grooves, and some of the trapezoidal chamfered faces have slightly raised mouldings round their edges. Fig. 749 shows also the rather different capitals which were used

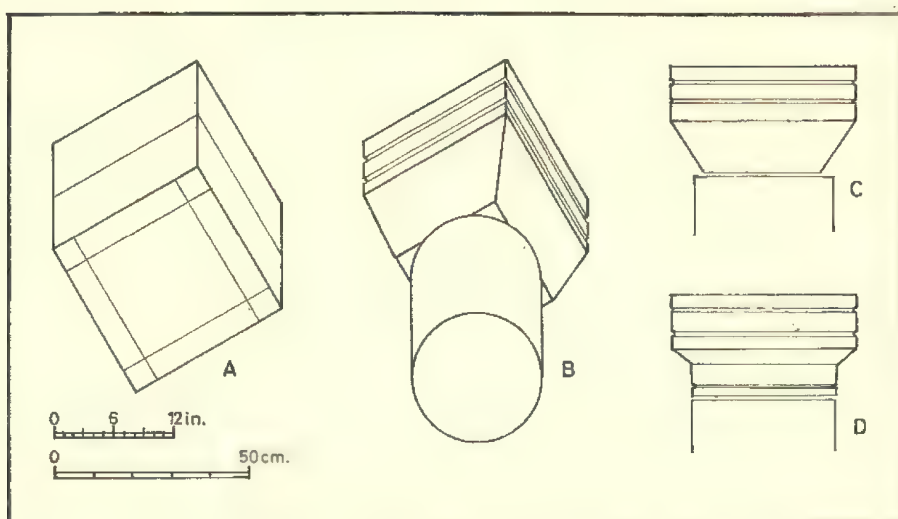


FIG. 749. SIMPLE CUBICAL CHAMFERED CAPITALS

A, cube marked in preparation for cutting chamfers; B and C, resulting chamfered capitals seen obliquely and in elevation; D, more elaborately cut chamfers.

(probably rather later) on the shafts in the doorways leading to porticus on either side of the main church.

Multiple-chamfered capitals. The next simplest of the Anglo-Saxon capitals is cubical in its upper part and is chamfered below by eight slices so as to end in an octagonal shape where it rests on the shaft below. As is shown in Fig. 750 it can be imagined as having been cut from a cube by first sloping off the lower parts of four of its faces, and then by sloping off four of the resulting angles. This form

of capital is obviously appropriate for use on an octagonal shaft, but is also used on circular shafts, and in either case the fillet at the bottom of the capital may be circular in plan. It is used in this way on an octagonal shaft in the north capital of the belfry at St Mary-le-Wigford in Lincoln (Vol. I: 392) and on circular shafts in the doorway at Kirkdale where, however, the chamfers are considerably hollowed rather than plain (Vol. I: 359). Even more primitive examples of the same hollow chamfered type are to be seen in the crypt as Dijon, St Bénigne (Grodecki 1973: 69).

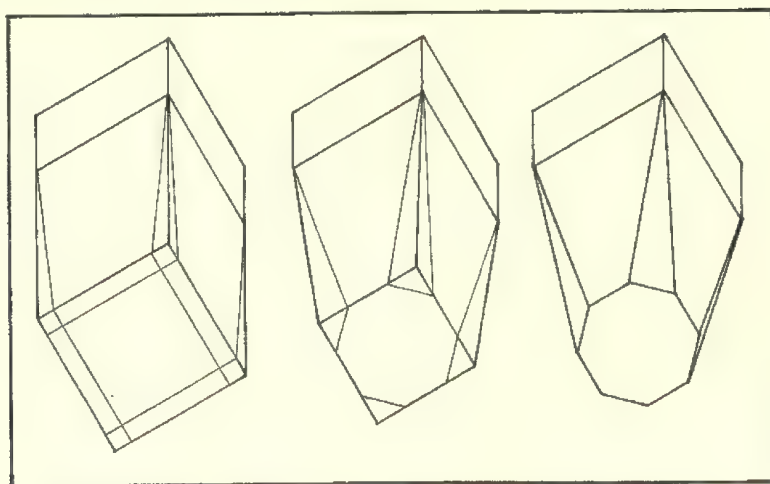


FIG. 750. MULTIPLE-CHAMFERED CUBICAL CAPITALS

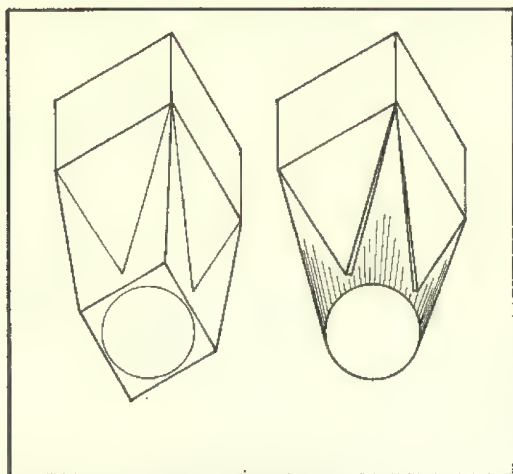


FIG. 751. CUBES, PENDANT TRIANGLES AND CONES

Cubes with pendant triangles and cones. The capitals at Wharram-le-Street and Broughton are closely allied to those described above for St Mary-le-Wigford, but can also be envisaged in association with cones. The four main faces of the cube are first chamfered off as shown. Triangles or sometimes curved approximations to them are then marked on the chamfered faces, and the areas outside these are then cut away to a conical shape as shown in Fig. 751.

Cubes and spheres: cushion capitals. In Romanesque architecture a cushion capital is usually defined as being bounded by the interpenetration of a cube and a hemisphere whose diameter is equal to the diagonal of the cube. The construction may be visualised more simply as an operation which begins by drawing a semicircle on each of the vertical faces of the cube with the upper edges of the cube as the diameters of the four semicircles as shown in Fig. 752; these semicircles constitute the upper part of the capital, while the residue of the cube below them is then shaped away in spherical form to meet the circular shaft on which the capital is to rest. The later Anglo-Saxon cushion capitals in belfries such as those at Alkborough and Dunham (Figs. 692-3, Ch. 8) are fairly accurately of this form; but others which seem to be earlier prototypes, as in the triple window at Brixworth, are of more elongated shape, with little use of a true spherical shape (Fig. 753). Nevertheless they seem clearly to be close relatives from which the

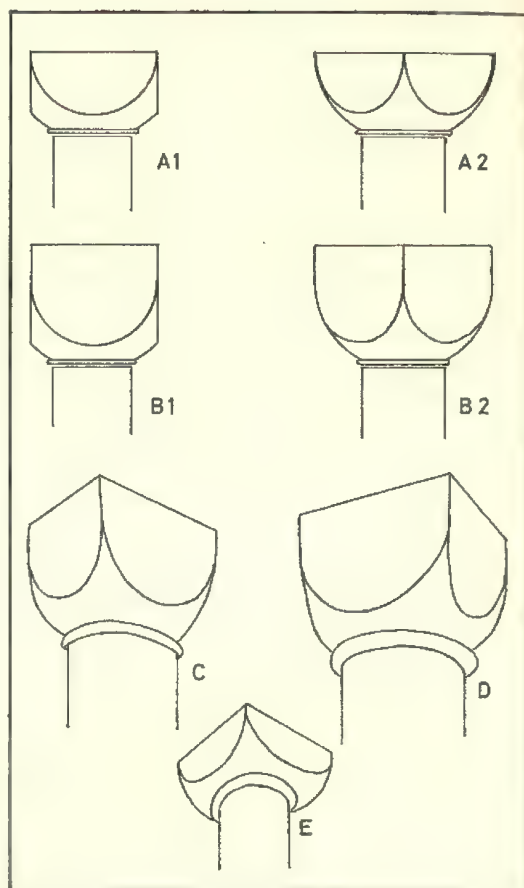


FIG. 752. CUSHION CAPITALS

A1 and 2, elevations of Romanesque cushion capitals seen from the front and diagonally; B1 and 2, similar elevations of cushion capitals with larger cubical block above; below, perspective sketches of capitals at Hildesheim, Speyer, and Ely.

others could develop when the principle of design became more fully understood. Still others such as those at Ickleton (Vol. I: 331-2) are of much flatter shape, but nevertheless have a strong family resemblance; while others such as those on the chancel-arch at Worth (Vol. II: 691-2) do not introduce a spherical shape at all but are to be visualised as rectangular blocks whose lower edges and angles have been rounded away so as to produce a cushion-like shape. At the other extreme, however, there are capitals which have the proper spherical shape below but have a much greater cubical block above, as at Clee, thus giving the capital an elongated and heavier appearance which resembles certain German types as in the cathedral at Speyer or at St Mary-in-the-Capitol in Cologne.

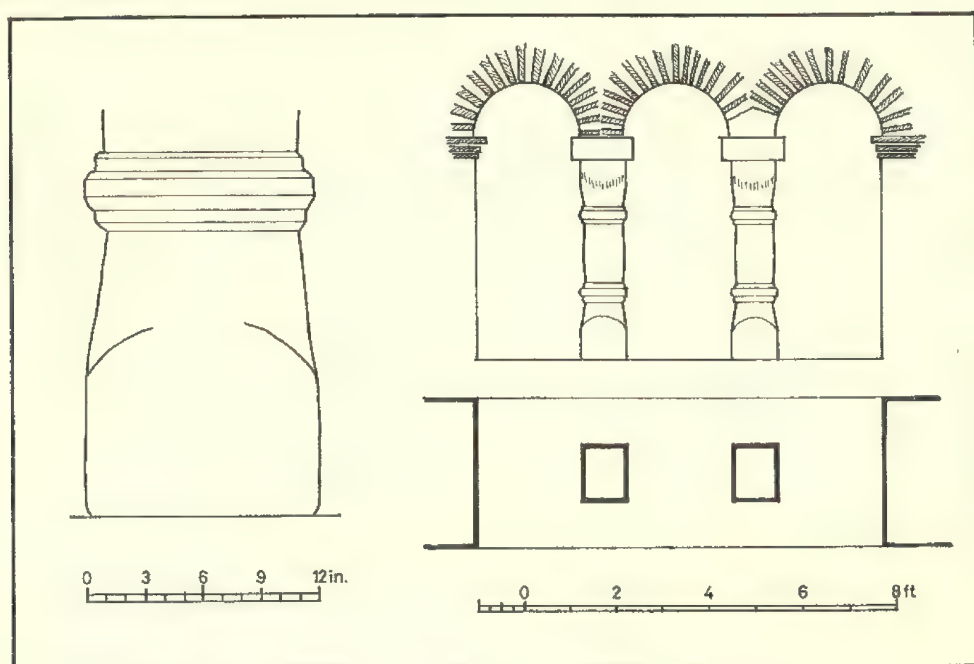


FIG. 753. PROTOTYPE OF CUSHION CAPITALS AT BRIXWORTH

These monolithic balusters include capitals and bases of which the latter approximate more closely to the normal cushion capital than do the former. I am indebted to Mr David Parsons for the enlarged measured drawing of the base.

In summary it should perhaps be said that it is a mistake to regard the many variant forms as incompetent attempts to create the precisely defined Romanesque form; it is probably much more correct to regard them as straightforward operations of relating a cubical top to a circular bottom by curved surfaces which the workman did not see any need to fashion into spherical shape.

Cubes and spheres: simple volute capitals. A quite separate association of cubes and spheres can be made by placing a cube or a flat slice from a cube

on top of a hemisphere whose diameter is the same length as one edge of the cube. The corners of the cube therefore overlap the hemisphere in an awkward fashion but this can be disguised by incising patterns on these projections, or by carving them more deeply to form simple volutes. Capitals of this and related forms are to be seen at Glentworth and other Lincolnshire churches.

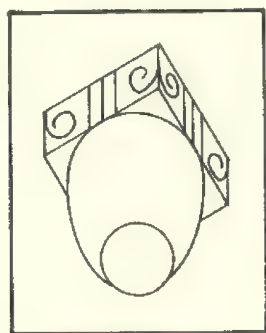


FIG. 754. CUBES AND SPHERES: CAPITALS WITH SIMPLE VOLUTES

Cubes and cones: simple forms. The passage from a circular shaft to a wider square shape above can clearly be effected by means of an inverted conical capital if the upper parts of the cone are cut away into a square plan. Capitals roughly of this shape appear in the east and west windows of the belfry at Great Hale (Vol. I: 277) with simple upright palmette leaves incised on the conical surfaces. At Hale there are also simpler combinations of cube and cone in the north and south windows. The capitals of the balusters in the triple window at Brixworth are perhaps most correctly to be regarded as examples of the cube-and-cone type whereas the bases of those balusters approximate much more closely to the shape of cushion capitals (Fig. 753).

Cubes and cones: volute capitals. A much richer combination of cubes and cones can be developed into capitals with volutes such as appear in Lincoln at St Peter-at-Gowts (Fig. 690, Ch. 8) and in an even richer form at St Mary-le-Wigford (Fig. 691, Ch. 8). In the first form, at St Peter's the upper third of the capital can be visualised as originally in the form of half a cube, whose corners are deeply shaped away to form the volutes; the lower two thirds of the capital, originally conical can clearly be seen to have been quite lightly worked to form the two fillets of cable-ornament and the tall band of upright leaves. In the second form, at St Mary's, the upper half of the capital is to be visualised as originally the greater part of a cube, deeply cut to form the volutes and intervening fillets; the lower half of the capital is more sharply conical than at St Peter's and is cut in a somewhat bell-shaped cone to form leaves whose upper points project in three dimensions from the area above.

Irregular shapes. Although most Anglo-Saxon capitals can be placed in one of the groups described above, there are others which follow no precisely definable geometrical pattern but simply represent the mason's very tentative efforts to link the circular shape of the shaft to the square shape of the impost above. Examples are to be seen on the chancel-arches at Marton and Kirkdale (Vol. I: 414 and 360), and on the north doorway at Reed. Perhaps the most primitive type is to be seen in the west doorway at Hovingham where a splayed collar at the top of the shaft serves to widen the support for the impost above but does nothing to link the round shape of the shaft into the square shape of the impost (Vol. I: 327).

SECTION 3. CAPITALS ON MAJOR ARCHES

Since most major arches are cut straight through the wall in a single square order they usually rest on imposts without any capitals. But capitals sometimes appear, mainly for angle-shafts, and also in association with stripwork and soffit-shafts; and at Great Paxton the arcades are carried on quatrefoil columns with bulbous capitals. With some qualifications to indicate individual variations, the capitals on major arches can be placed in four groups as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. *Capitals on major arches*

(a) <i>Cubical forms</i>		
1. Broughton	TA	Chamfered, pendant triangles
2. Repton	Nave and crypt	Simple chamfers
3. <i>Stoughton</i>	CA	Multiple chamfers
4. Wharram S	TA	Chamfered, pendant triangle
5. Worth	CA	Rounded to give flat cushion
(b) <i>Bulbous or bell-shaped forms</i>		
1. Kirkdale	CA	Bell-shaped
2. Marton	CA	Bulbous with incised ornament
3. <i>Paxton</i>	ARC	Quatrefoil bulbous
(c) <i>Sculptured forms</i>		
1. Carlton	TA	Conical with palmette leaves
2. Milborne	TA*	Collar-shaped with foliage
3. Selham	CA	Interlace and volutes
4. Sompting	TA	Conical with three tiers of leaves
5. <i>Stoughton</i>	CA	Simple chamfers and volutes
(d) <i>Moulded forms</i>		
1. Bosham	CA	on angle- and soffit-shafts
2. Cambridge	TA	on stripwork
3. <i>Paxton</i>	LA	on soffit-shafts

SECTION 4. CAPITALS ON DOORWAYS

Although capitals appear only rarely in association with doorways, they are used in two different ways. In the majority of cases they are found on angle-shafts in recessed doorways, but on three doorways which are cut straight through the wall they are used on the surrounding stripwork, at Corhampton, Diddlebury, and Dunham.

By contrast with belfry openings where cushion shapes and simple volutes are the most favoured types, the capitals used on doorways are mainly of rather elementary cubical forms, either chamfered below to approach the circular shape of the shaft on which they rest, or sloped back in the shape of pendant triangles as at Wharram-le-Street (Vol. II: 650). Volute capitals are used only at two places, Branston and Reed; and at the latter the basic form is bell-shaped below with the volutes incised on a cubic block above.

The eleven places where capitals are used in association with doorways are listed in Table 2, with references where possible to illustrations elsewhere in this volume or in Volumes I and II.

TABLE 2. *Capitals on doorways*

(a) <i>Cushion</i>	
Winstone (south doorway)	
(b) <i>Stepped</i>	
Dunham (Vol. I: 219)	
(c) <i>Cubical, multiple-chamfered</i>	
Broughton (Fig. 662, Ch. 6)	Diddlebury (Fig. 657, Ch. 6)
	Kirkdale (Vol. I: 359)
(d) <i>Cubical, with pendant triangles</i>	
Wharram S (Vol. II: 650)	
(e) <i>Splayed collar</i>	
Hovingham (Vol. I: 327)	
(f) <i>Moulded</i>	
Corhampton (Vol. I: 178)	
(g) <i>Volutes</i>	
Branston	Reed
(h) <i>Uncertain</i>	
Kirk Hammerton	

The doorways at Branston, Kirk Hammerton and Reed are illustrated in the plates at the end of Volume II as Figs. 404, 507 and 553. Those at Kirk Hammerton are too weathered to be accurately described.

SECTION 5. CAPITALS ON BELFRY OPENINGS

It is an interesting fact that many more capitals are used in belfry windows than anywhere else in Anglo-Saxon churches in spite of their distance from the ground and the consequent difficulty of appreciating the effort that has been devoted to shaping them. Moreover as can be seen from Table 3 many of these capitals have been cut into complicated shapes, and several carry quite delicate sculpture. In considering capitals used in belfry openings we think naturally of those on the mid-wall shafts, where indeed they occur in 109 out of the total of 214 openings; but it is important also to remember the special case of Haddiscoe where the belfry openings have angle-shafts and capitals, so that a total of twelve capitals are used at this one church, four on mid-wall shafts and eight on angle-shafts.

Details of the several types of capitals used on the mid-wall shafts of belfry windows and of the churches in which they are used are given in Table 3 where the number given after each name shows how many capitals are involved; for example at Brixworth the triple window at the west of the nave has two capitals. The names printed in italics denote churches at which more than one type of capital is used, and the names of Brixworth,

Deerhurst St Mary and Wing are printed in square brackets to draw attention to the fact that their windows are not in belfries. Moreover at Deerhurst it would perhaps be more logical to regard the through-stone as an impost rather than a capital and to regard its support as a pier rather than a mid-wall shaft. It will be noticed that the number of capitals listed in Table 3 against Haddiscoe is only four because the title of the table limits the scope to capitals on mid-wall shafts and thus excludes the further eight capitals on the angle-shafts.

SECTION 6. CONTINENTAL ANALOGUES FOR CAPITALS

The cushion capital is so uniformly used in later Anglo-Norman architecture that it has often popularly been regarded as a direct importation to England from Normandy as part of the outcome of the Conquest. But it was not in use in Normandy, or indeed generally in France as a whole, before the Conquest. Indeed the commonest usage for which there are reliable dates in north-west Europe is clearly specified in Germany where there are very heavy, square-shaped cushion capitals in the church of St Michael at Hildesheim, which was begun in 1010 and had three consecrations of which the last was in 1033 (Grodecki 1973: 11). Almost equally square shapes are to be seen at Ottmarsheim consecrated in 1049 (*ibid.*: 16-17). The crypts of St Mary-in-the-Capitol at Cologne, completed in 1049 (*ibid.*: 26) and at Speyer, consecrated 1041 (Klimm 1930: 20) both have very carefully worked cushion capitals which conform precisely to the geometrical definition given in Section 2.

If we could be clear that the eastern double windows of the galleries at Gernrode were part of the original building erected by Count Gero (d. 965), the capitals of those windows would be the earliest securely dated prototypes of the cushion capital in north-west Europe, but these capitals differ so markedly from the corbel-capitals of the multiple windows opening towards the nave that there is a strong indication that they are a later insertion; moreover there are quite independent structural indications that the lateral galleries arose from a change of intention and that the nave as a

TABLE 3. *Capitals on mid-wall shafts in belfry openings*

(a) <i>Cushion</i> (48)					
1. Alkborough	4	5. Forncett	4	9. Lincoln M	1
2. Clee	4	6. Harmston	1	10. N Leigh	4
3. Corringham	4	7. Heapham	3	11. Norwich M	4
4. Dunham	4	8. Hornby	4	12. Rothwell	4
(b) <i>Scalloped or mitred cushion</i> (14)					
1. Bracebridge	4	2. Branston	4	3. Haddiscoe	4
(c) <i>Sculptured cushion</i> (3)					
Barton 3					
(d) <i>Stepped</i> (1)					
[Deerhurst M 1]					
(e) <i>Cubical chamfered</i> (11)					
1. Bosham	1	2. Lincoln M	1	3. M Fryston	4
				4. Newton	4
				5. [Wing	1]
(f) <i>Volutes and leaves</i> (18)					
1. Glentworth	4	3. Harpswell	2	5. Lincoln P	2
2. Harmston	1	4. Lincoln M	2	6. Marton	4
				7. Scartho	3
(g) <i>Corbelled</i> (6)					
1. Heapham	1	2. Scartho	1	3. Sompting	4
(h) <i>Special shapes</i> (9)					
1. [Brixworth	2] (Fig. 753)			3. Lincoln P	2 (Vol. I: 395)
2. Hale	4 (Vol. I: 277)			4. Lexham	1 (Vol. I: 389)

Note: The total number of capitals listed in this table is 110 by contrast with 109 openings, because of the two capitals in the triple opening at Brixworth.

whole is later than Gero's death (Oswald 1965: 30; Oswald, Schaefer and Sennhauser 1966-71: 100).

The transition from the circular shape of shafts to the square shape of abaci seems most often to have been achieved in France by methods derived more or less directly from the classical Corinthian capital but this generalisation needs to be qualified by saying that there is also a wide variety of geometrical forms stretching from the primitive hollow-chamfered cubes in the crypt of St Bénigne at Dijon (Grodecki 1973: 69) to sophisticated but ungainly forms such as the multiple collars in the eastern apse of the crypt of St Stephen's cathedral at Auxerre (ibid: 75).

Strange shapes allied to flat cushions are not confined to England but are to be seen on the Continent, as at St Martin du Canigou (ibid: 59) and curves which carry the circle gracefully into the square in a variety of shapes at many other churches of which St Stephen at Nevers may serve as an example (ibid: 76).

SECTION 7. ORIGINS AND DATING OF ANGLO-SAXON CAPITALS

It seems to me difficult to avoid the conclusion that

experiments towards the development of the cushion capital were taking place both in England and also on the Continent (particularly in Germany) throughout the tenth century and the early part of the eleventh. The remarkable spread of fully developed cushion capitals in England after the Conquest can in part be explained as a logical use of methods of mass production. But before the Normans decided to produce these myriads of simple capitals they needed to settle on the design, and its almost total absence in Normandy makes clear that they did not bring it with them to England. It therefore seems hard to escape the conclusion that the design was adopted by the Normans from local English models as being much simpler and quicker to produce than the foliated capitals which had been the normal type in use in Normandy. Therefore I do not regard the cushion capitals of double belfry windows as proclaiming a post-Conquest date, rather do I regard them as part of the Anglo-Saxon development of these forms during the first half of the eleventh century, and as thereby providing the models which quickly led to the popularity of this type in the great wave of Norman building after the Conquest. In this connection it is of interest to note that while the

Normans carried their mass produced methods to the logical conclusion of using cushion capitals to the exclusion of any other forms throughout early buildings such as the cathedrals at Winchester, Gloucester and Worcester, by contrast the Anglo-Saxon belfries of the Lincolnshire towers frequently have a differently treated capital in each of their four faces, as for example in the two Lincoln churches of St Mary-le-Wigford and St Peter-at-Gowts, or at Glentworth and Harmston.

SECTION 8. THE DESIGN OF ANGLO-SAXON IMPOSTS

The purpose of an impost is most probably to be envisaged as two-fold: in the first place it makes a satisfying visual punctuation between the vertical jambs and the curved arch above, and secondly it provides a solid support for the wooden centring which is needed to carry the voussoirs during the erection of the arch itself. For the second purpose the impost needs to have a flat top and also the strength which comes from a thick stone which bonds deeply into the wall. Most Anglo-Saxon imposts are placed on jambs of plain square section in plan and they support arches which are also of plain square section; it is therefore not unexpected that they themselves are also square in plan. Even the few imposts on recessed jambs or below recessed arches, are usually of plain square shape; but occasionally they follow the recessed shape of the jambs or arch. All imposts project from the soffit face of the jambs and arch, and most are also returned for a short distance along the main face of at least one of the walls. But some project only on the soffit, and some are returned for short distances along both main wall-faces, while a few are carried along the whole of one or both wall-faces in the form of a string-course.

In profile many imposts have a plain square section which is distinctive of Anglo-Saxon workmanship; a few have a stepped profile which is also distinctively Anglo-Saxon; a few have barbaric mouldings which could scarcely be envisaged as the work of Normans; and others have chamfered profiles, straight, hollow, or (exceptionally) quirked, in ways which would be equally usual in Norman settings.

SECTION 9. IMPOSTS ON MAJOR ARCHES

Of the 119 major arches listed in Chapter 5 all but twelve have imposts whose main features are summarised in Table 4 and discussed in this section. The fact that so high a percentage of the major arches have imposts can be taken as proof that the builders regarded these as an almost essential part of a large and important arch, for we shall see that imposts were used much less frequently in doorways and hardly at all in windows. While this distinction between the treatment of major arches and smaller openings is no doubt largely associated with the special need for elaborate wooden centring in large arches, yet the decorative treatment of many imposts shows that practical requirements did not wholly outweigh aesthetic considerations; and it is, of course, a commonplace that in Norman and later buildings the imposts, and more particularly the capitals which supported them, came to be used as major decorative features. By contrast with those later developments, the Anglo-Saxon imposts were usually simple; they usually rested on piers of plain square plan, and their own profile was usually of the simplest kind. Sculpture is used on the imposts of fewer than twenty arches and, apart from Bibury, Hackness, Milborne Port and Sompington, it is mainly restricted to simple geometrical forms.

Details of the profiles used for imposts on major arches are given in Table 4; no distinction however is made in that table between the various types of chamfer (whether a straight or a hollow chamfer or whether a quirk is also used). Brief notes are appended to the several parts of the table to indicate refinements which cannot conveniently be included in the table.

SECTION 10. IMPOSTS ON DOORWAYS

Whereas imposts were used on the great majority of major arches, they were used (or at any rate have survived) on only 53 p.c. of ground-floor doorways and only 30 p.c. of upper ones. We have noted that one practical use of imposts is to provide a seating for the wooden centring of an arch, and it will be obvious that this consideration

TABLE 4. *Imposts on major arches*

(a) <i>Plain square impost</i>			
1. Barrow CA	7. Brixworth CA	13. Lavendon TA	19. Skipwith TA
2. Bessingham TA	8. Colney TA	14. M Overton TA	20. Stowe-nC TA
3. Bosham CA	9. Corhampton CA	15. Missenden CA	21. Tasburgh TA
4. Bradford CA	10. Hackness CA	16. Paxton LA	22. Wittering CA
5. Brigstock TA	11. Hales TA	17. Rothwell TA	23. Wootton TA*(4)
6. Britford LA(S)	12. Holton TA	18. Scartho TA	

23 churches; 12 TA, 4 TA*, 8 CA, 2 LA, making 26 in all

The impost at Barrow were originally square but have been chamfered in modern times; those at Bosham and Paxton rest on moulded capitals; the north one at Hackness has a band of sculpture on its east face; those at Colney are hidden by Victorian plaster; and those at Market Overton and Wittering are exceptionally thick and have oblique rather than vertical faces.

(b) <i>Chamfered impost</i>			
1. Barton TA*(W)	9. Clayton CA	17. Inworth CA	25. Rumbolds CA
2. Bosham TA	10. Clec TA	18. Jevington TA	26. Stoughton CA
3. Bracebridge TA, CA	11. Corringham TA	19. Langford TA*(W)	27. Stow TA*(4)
4. Britford LA(N)	12. Escomb CA	20. Lincoln M TA	28. Thurlby TA
5. Broughton TA	13. Fornsett TA	21. Lincoln P TA	29. Warcham M CA
6. Carlton TA	14. Glentworth TA	22. Marton TA, CA	30. Wharrah S TA
7. Chithurst CA	15. Haddiscoe TA	23. Mwearmouth OA	31. Winstone CA
8. Clapham TA	16. Hovingham TA	24. Newton TA*	32. Winterton TA

32 churches; 18 TA, 7 TA*, 10 CA, 1 LA, 1OA, making 37 in all

The impost at Broughton and Wharrah rest on chamfered cubical capitals; and those at Marton (CA) and Stoughton on simple sculptured ones.

(c) <i>Stepped impost</i>			
1. Barton TA*(E)	5. Howe TA	8. Norton TA*(2)	11. Wing ARC
2. Bradwell CA	6. K Hammerton CA	9. Notley CA	12. Worth LA(2)
3. Brixworth ARC	7. Lydd ARC, OA	10. Paxton ARC	13. York TA
4. Colchester TA			

13 churches; 3 TA, 3 TA*, 3 CA 2 LA, 4 ARC, 1 OA, making 16 in all

At Paxton the stepped impost of the arcade are carried by bulbous capitals.

(d) <i>Moulded impost</i>			
1. Alkborough TA	4. Cambridge TA	7. Deerhurst O CA	10. Ryther CA
2. Barnack TA	5. Corbridge TA	8. Dover TA*(2)	11. Worth CA
3. Boarhunt CA	6. Deerhurst M CA, LA(2)	9. Langford TA*(E)	

11 churches; 4 TA, 3 TA*, 5 CA, 2 LA, making 14 in all

In addition there are moulded impost on the surviving jambs of the destroyed chancel-arches at Kirkdale and Paxton.

(e) <i>Sculptured impost</i>			
1. Botolphs CA	4. Dunham TA*(2)	7. Milborne TA*(2)	10. Sompting TA
2. Coln Rogers CA	5. Hadstock LA	8. Pattishall CA	11. Strethall CA
3. Daglingworth CA	6. Ledsham CA	9. Selham CA	12. Whittingham TA

12 churches; 2 TA, 4 TA*, 7 CA, 1 LA, making 14 in all

In addition there is floral sculpture on the surviving impost of the destroyed chancel-arch at Bibury.

(f) <i>No impost</i>			
1. Bitton LA	2. K Hammerton TA	3. Titchfield OA	4. Wing CA

4 churches; 1 TA, 1 CA, 1 LA, 1 OA, making 4 in all.

(g) <i>Imposts doubtful</i>			
1. Barsham CA	2. Brixworth OA(2)	4. Deerhurst M OA	6. Wareham L CA, ARC
	3. Corbridge OA	5. Guestwick TA*	

6 churches; 1 TA*, 2 CA, 1 ARC, 4 OA, making 8 in all

II. IMPOSTS ON BELFRY OPENINGS

	(h) Frequency of occurrence of types						
	TA	TA*	CA	LA	ARC	OA	Total
Plain square	12	4	8	2	—	—	26
Chamfered	18	7	10	1	—	1	37
Stepped	3	3	3	2	4	1	16
Moulded	4	3	5	2	—	—	14
Sculptured	2	4	7	1	—	—	14
None	1	—	1	1	—	1	4
Doubtful	—	1	2	—	1	4	8
	40	22	36	9	5	7	119

has much more importance for arches of wide span and springing from points high above the floor than it has for the small and comparatively low arches which span doorways. Moreover many doorways have flat heads, or round heads cut in stone lintels, for either of which no centring is needed. Therefore it may be that imposts appear on doorways mainly on aesthetic grounds, and that their comparatively greater absence from upper doorways is to be interpreted as a straightforward desire for simplification in places where aesthetic considerations were of less importance. Moreover many of the upper doorways are fairly low and narrow so that in those with round heads the use of protruding imposts would indeed cause a measure of obstruction.

The usage of different types of imposts is shown church by church in Table 5 where code letters as defined in Chapter 6 are used to distinguish the position of each doorway, and where a final numerical summary is given to show the different frequency of use of imposts on the ground floor and on upper floors. By contrast with the common use of plain square imposts at all levels, it will be seen that the more elaborate types are rarely used except on the ground floor.

Table 6 shows the result of analysing the numbers of ground-floor doorways with or without imposts into groups in accordance with the types of their heads. It will be seen that for doorways whose round heads are arched with voussoirs and for gabled heads there is a strong preference for imposts but that for all other types there is a preference for dispensing with them.

Stepped imposts. At Colchester the stepped imposts of the west doorway are formed of oversailing courses of brick or tile (Vol. I: 163); at Deerhurst St

Mary the gabled doorway t2E was originally the north light of a double window, and its stepped imposts are delicately cut in massive stones (Vol. I: 197); Scott recorded the stepped imposts of the doorway n1W at Dover as being in very perfect condition at the time of his restoration; at Somerford the imposts are cut on through-stones to show very oblique steps (Vol. II: 557 and Taylor 1969d: 72-3).

Sculpture. In the main the sculpture on imposts is very simple, and the major examples have been illustrated by line drawings in earlier volumes. Brief descriptions, and references to drawings can be summarised thus: Barholm, geometrical patterns (Vol. I: 42); Breamore, cable ornament on the edges; Daglingworth, wheat-ear and chamfer (Vol. I: 188); Earl's Barton, arcading (Vol. I: 223); Hadstock, simple palmette or honeysuckle (Rodwell 1976: pl. X); Kirby Hill, vine-scroll and interlace (Vol. I: 356); Ledsham, interlacing which appears to be modern, though perhaps copied from an original; Lincoln St Mary, chequer. In addition to these eight sets of sculptured imposts on complete doorways there is a single impost at Walkern with double wheat-ear (Vol. II: 629) now on one pier of an arcade but almost certainly originally part of a south doorway of entry.

SECTION II. IMPOSTS ON BELFRY OPENINGS

In this section as in Chapter 8 the term belfry openings will be used to include not only the single and multiple openings actually in belfries but also the small group of eight multiple openings elsewhere in churches. It can also be said at once that imposts are not found on any of the single belfry windows

CHAPTER 17 DECORATION: CAPITALS, IMPOSTS AND SCULPTURE

TABLE 5. *Imposts on doorways*

(a) Plain square imposts					
1. Alkborough	tW	12. Colchester	tIW	23. Lusby	nS
2. Barnack	tS	13. Deerhurst M	tW, tC	24. Mwearmouth	tN, tS, nW
3. Barton	nS, nN	14. Deerhurst O	nN	25. Norton	t2N, t2S, t2E, t2W
	tIE, tIW	15. Earl's Barton	tIS, tIW		
4. Bedford	tIE		t2N, t2S, t2W	26. Rothwell	tW
5. Billingham	t2S	16. Green's N	nIE	27. Scartho	tW
6. Bracebridge	tW	17. Hough	tW, tIW	28. Stevington	tS
7. Bradford	nN, nS	18. Jarrow	nIS	29. Stowe-nC	tIE
	NpN	19. Kirkdale	nW	30. Tredington	nIN, nIS
8. Brigstock	tW	20. K Hammerton	tW, nS	31. Worth	nN, nS
9. Bywell A	t2S	21. Laughton	NpN		
10. Clapham	tW	22. Lincoln P	tIE		
11. Clee	tW				

31 churches; 50 doorways (28 on ground floor, 22 on upper floors)

(b) Chamfered imposts					
1. Arreton	nW	7. Dover	nS, NpN	13. Reed	nN
2. Billingham	nW	8. Headbourne	nW	14. Selham	nN
3. Broughton	nS	9. Hovingham	tW	15. Sherborne	NpW
4. Cambridge	trE	10. Lincoln P	tW	16. Skipwith	trE
5. Deerhurst M	nW, nNa	11. Middleton	tW	17. Stanton L	nN
6. Diddlebury	nN	12. Pentlow	nW	18. Stow	NpW
				19. Wharham S	tW

19 churches; 21 doorways (19 plus 2)

(c) <i>Stepped impost</i>					
1. Colchester	tW	2. Deerhurst M	t2E	4. Somerford	nN
		3. Dover	nIW		
		4 churches, 4 doorways (2 plus 2)			

(d) <i>Moulded imposts</i>					
1. Corhampton	nN	2. Howe	tW	4. Miserden	nN, nS
		3. Limpley	nS		
		4 churches, 5 doorways (all on ground floor)			

(e) <i>Sculptured imposts</i>					
1. Barholm	nS	4. Earl's Barton	nW	7. Ledsham	tS
2. Breamore	nS	5. Hadstock	nN	8. Lincoln M	tW
3. Daglingworth	nS	6. Kirby Hill	nS		
8 churches, 8 doorways (all on ground floor)					

(f) <i>Frequency of occurrence of types</i>			
	Ground floor	Upper floors	Total
Plain square	28	22	50
Chamfered	19	2	21
Stepped	2	2	4
Moulded	5	0	5
Sculptured	8	0	8
	—	—	—
	62	26	88
	—	—	—

TABLE 6. *Association of impost with different types of heads of ground-floor doorways*

Type of head of doorway							
	RV	RL	F	G	Q	?	Total
Imposts	50	2	1	4	4	1	62
No impost	26	5	12	1	6	5	55

and that our studies in this section are therefore confined to the multiple openings which are mainly in belfries but are also in other parts of the church at Barton, Brixworth, Deerhurst St Mary, Wing and Worth. In introduction it is interesting to note that all of this latter small group have imposts whereas for the multiple openings in belfries imposts are provided on about four-fifths (161 out of 206).

We have already noticed that imposts were used less frequently on doorways than on major arches and we have suggested two possible reasons for this difference, namely that a need for imposts to support centring might not be felt important in the smaller openings of doorways and that there might be a positive objection to imposts on the ground that they intruded into the passage-way. The first of these considerations would apply with even greater force to belfry openings whereas the second would not apply at all; and therefore these considerations alone would not help us to explain the fact that imposts are used in belfry openings almost as frequently as in major arches and much more so than on doorways. It may well be that an aesthetic or logical consideration weighed in the minds of the builders who perhaps felt that the great

through-stone slab which supported the heads of the individual lights in the centre of the window ought to be matched by imposts on the jambs.

Further details about the use of imposts on belfry openings are given in Table 7 which is derived directly from Table 17 of Chapter 8, and in which therefore square brackets are used to distinguish the openings of the belfry type used in other parts of the church. In accordance with our usual practice italics are used to indicate the use of two different types of feature in a single church; it will be seen that this happens only in two places, at Barton where simple imposts are used in the earlier building and chamfered ones in the later belfry, and at Wickham where the same variation of usage occurs in two windows which belong to a single building phase.

It will also be seen from Table 7 that only three types of imposts are used on belfry openings by contrast with five types on major arches and doorways. This is probably to be associated with an appreciation by the builders that the more complicated forms of decoration by moulding and sculpture were scarcely appropriate for imposts that were to be placed so high up in the buildings.

TABLE 7. *Belfry openings with imposts*

(a) Plain square imposts (90)			
1. Alkborough	4	7. Bywell A	4
2. Appleton	8	8. Cambridge	4
3. Barton		9. Earl's Barton	4
[tower-nave]	2	10. Glentworth	4
<i>early belfry</i>	4	11. Haddiscoe	4
4. Billingham	4	12. Heapham	4
5. Bosham	3	13. Hornby	4
6. Bracebridge	4	14. Jarrow	2
		15. K Hammerton	4
23 churches, 90 belfry openings			
(b) Chamfered imposts (65)			
1. Aslacton	4	7. Corringham	4
2. Bardsey	2	8. Hale	4
3. Barton		9. Harmston	4
<i>later belfry</i>	3	10. Hovingham	4
4. Branston	4	11. Lincoln M	4
5. Carlton	4	12. Lincoln P	4
6. Clee	4		
18 churches, 65 belfry openings			
(c) Stepped imposts (14)			
1. [Brixworth]	1	3. Dunham	4
2. [Deerhurst M]	1	4. Oxford	7
5 churches, 14 belfry openings			
		16. N Leigh	4
		17. Ovingham	4
		18. Rothwell	4
		19. Scartho	4
		20. Waithe	4
		21. <i>Wickham</i>	1
		22. Winterton	3
		23. [Worth]	3
		13. Marton	4
		14. Mwearmouth	3
		15. Norwich M	4
		16. Wharram S	4
		17. <i>Wickham</i>	1
		18. York	4
		5. [Wing]	1

SECTION 12.
ARCHITECTURAL SCULPTURE

The excellence of Northumbrian sculpture of the eighth and ninth centuries as shown on the many standing crosses or sepulchral slabs has tended to overshadow our estimate of the use of sculpture by the Anglo-Saxons on their buildings. But it is by no means true, as has sometimes been claimed (Fisher 1959: 81), that Anglo-Saxon architectural sculpture is rare; there are over sixty churches in which it has survived *in situ* (Taylor 1966a) and year by year additions are made to the already long list of other examples in museums and elsewhere. It is directly relevant to consider in this volume sculpture which can confidently be claimed as belonging to an architectural setting even though now no longer *in situ*, but we shall exclude from consideration standing crosses and sepulchral slabs.

Architectural sculpture can be divided very broadly into two classes: sculpture which enriches essential features of the buildings such as the jambs, capitals, imposts, arches or hoodmouldings, and sculpture which is applied separately on stones which do not fulfil a direct structural purpose in the building itself. In this second class the most obvious examples are the great Roods which served an important devotional purpose, and thereafter we should consider the purely decorative carved slabs such as those on the tower at Barnack or the roundels at Edenham. We shall discuss the devotional sculpture first.

DEVOTIONAL SCULPTURE

Roods. Representations of the Crucifixion about life-size or larger survive *in situ* at a number of churches over the chancel-arch or entry doorway and thus in a setting which has a clear devotional purpose. Moreover fragments or substantial survivals not *in situ* indicate that there were similar examples at other places. Much smaller Crucifixions also survive mostly as loose stones, and probably therefore most likely to have been originally used in conjunction with the furnishing of the church and its altars. The examples of both types within the churches of this volume are listed in Table 8, those *in situ* being marked with asterisks.

It is interesting to compare this use of devotional statuary in Anglo-Saxon England with the historical reference to the great liturgical stations of the Nativity, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension in Angilbert's abbey of St Riquier (Taylor 1975: 148). In addition to these formal representations of the Crucifixion there are small carvings over the blocked south doorway at Lusby (Vol. I: 403) and high up on the north-west quoin at Ropsley.

TABLE 8. *Roods*

<i>Large Roods</i>	<i>Small Roods</i>
Bitton* (Taylor 1966a: 7)	Daglingworth
Breamore*	Hexham (Taylor 1966b)
Headbourne* (ibid: 5)	Langford
Langford	Marton
	Walkern* (Vol. II: 629)

* *in situ*

Saints. The defaced life-size figure in the west gable of St Peter's church at Monkwearmouth is commonly referred to as a Crucifixion but we have given reasons for believing that it represented St Peter in whose honour the church was dedicated to God (Taylor 1966a: 11-12). There is a much smaller representation of St Peter at Daglingworth, well preserved and identifiable by reason of the saint's keys, but not *in situ*. At Deerhurst St Mary there is a representation of the Virgin and Child over the inner doorway of the west porch. It is difficult to be certain whether this is *in situ*, but its position over the entrance is significant.

Angels. The well-known angels at Bradford-on-Avon and Winterborne Steepleton are probably to be regarded as figures which accompanied Crucifixions that are now lost; but the angel from the gabled panel above the sole surviving bay of the polygonal apse at Deerhurst St Mary possibly represents purely decorative sculpture rather than having the devotional character which forms the mainstream of this paragraph.

DECORATIVE CARVED SLABS

The best known of the purely decorative sculptures not forming part of the main structural scheme of the buildings in which they stand are the great slabs on three faces of the tower at Barnack

(Taylor 1966a: 27-8) and the roundels which rest on a string-course at Edenham (Taylor 1963).

The sundial at Barnack also deserves special mention, as well as the decoratively carved head of the south window of the tower. The *prokrossos* over the west window is discussed separately below.

PROKROSSOI

The strangely projecting animal-heads or *prokrossoi* at Barnack and Deerhurst St Mary are so well known as to need little mention; but there are several others which ought to be considered in relation to them, particularly in connection with the vexed question of their date. In discussing their appearance at Deerhurst Baldwin Brown (1925: 206) says that they are no doubt of Viking origin and may well have been introduced into England as a consequence of the Danish or Norse invasions; he regards their use in England as being more likely soon after the invasions than long afterward, and he therefore places the priory church at Deerhurst in his period B3, i.e. probably in the first half of the tenth century (1925: 439). But it will be seen from the list of *prokrossoi* in Table 9 that there is a well attested example at Escomb, accepted by Baldwin Brown himself and dated to his period A2 (i.e. the latter half of the seventh century). It therefore seems that these projecting beasts' heads need not be accepted as indicating a date after the Viking invasions.

TABLE 9. *Projecting beasts' heads: Prokrossoi*

Alkborough	Escomb	Skipwith
Barnack	Haddiscoe T	Winstone
Deerhurst M		

It should particularly be noted that at Deerhurst there are no fewer than three of the boldly projecting beasts' heads as well as three pairs of animal-head label stops which will be treated separately in relation to hoodmouldings. All three of these Deerhurst *prokrossoi* appear above doorways (t2W, tW, and SpS). The examples at Alkborough and Winstone are also over doorways (west and north respectively) whereas the Escomb example is placed over the sundial, and those at Barnack and Haddiscoe Thorpe are over windows. The Skipwith example, like some similar projecting stones at

Clee, is inconsequentially placed high up on the tower in no relation to other features, and may possibly represent merely the plugging of a put-log hole. It should be noted that the details of animals' faces are clearly to be seen at Barnack, on one of the Deerhurst stones and at Escomb.

ANIMAL-HEAD LABEL-STOPS

One of the most striking forms of Anglo-Saxon architectural sculpture in the round is provided by the label-stops on the three hoodmouldings over doorways at Deerhurst St Mary and the fourth pair by the chancel-arch. These fall into two fairly distinct groups: those by the chancel-arch and on the upper doorway (t2W) are somewhat impressionistic whereas those *in situ* by the south doorway (SpS) and those rebuilt by the central doorway of the porch are highly realistic and of most skilled workmanship. By comparison with related metalwork, Professor D. M. Wilson in a private communication states that he regards these realistic carvings as securely dated to the eighth or ninth century on the ground that there are many close parallels in metal from that period and none after 900. In his opinion, the teeth, the ears, and the eye-sockets provide parallels in general terms, but the most diagnostic elements are the ears in the shape of inverted commas and the rather similar features between the ears on the tops of the heads; these are clearly paralleled in eighth- and ninth-century English metalwork and never in this precise form at any later date. Such ears occur most frequently on the minute animal-heads which embellish the terminals of strap-ends of bronze and silver; they are clearly to be seen on those from Whitby, Talnotrie and Icklingham (Wilson 1964: No. 114, pl. XXXIX; pl. IVd; and No. 24, pl. XIX). Another contemporary parallel occurs on the Ormside bowl, and yet another on the terminal of the Alfred jewel.

Three-dimensional animal-head label-stops also occur on the doorway at Limpley Stoke, in the rather impressionistic style; and complete animals in a rather more two-dimensional treatment are found on the stripwork by the tower-arch in Cambridge.

An architectural detail of the Deerhurst animal-heads (t2W and SpS) deserves mention here. One

would naturally expect that the heads, like the hoodmouldings to which they are attached, would be bonded directly into the face of the wall; but this is not so; the chins of the animals' heads are separated by a narrow gap from the face of the wall, and the heads are held in place by being part of the hoodmoulding from which they hang.

It seems to me just possible that this very peculiar arrangement is to be explained as showing that the hoodmouldings and their pendant animal-head label-stops are later additions to doorways which did not have this sophisticated decoration. The hoodmouldings could comparatively easily be inserted into the body of the rubble walls above the vousoirs or lintels of the door-heads, but it would not have been easy to cut away the great stones of the jambs to provide for the insertion of the chins of the animal-heads. In this context it is interesting to note that Knowles (1927: 147) could not believe the evidence of his own eyes and accordingly showed the northern jamb of doorway t2W notched to provide a seating for the animal's head.

SCULPTURED STRING-COURSES

Two important sculptured string-courses deserve special mention: that which ran across the west face of the porch at Monkwearmouth (illustrated Vol. I: 438 but now completely lost), and the remarkable series at Breedon much of which is of the same high quality as the Northumbrian standing crosses (Clapham 1927) and some of which may still be *in situ* although commonly regarded as being rebuilt into a Norman church (Taylor 1966a: 30).

The rich stores of sculptured string-courses and other carved stones at Hexham now no longer *in situ* have recently been admirably catalogued, illustrated, and placed in their proper setting in relation to the mainstream of Northumbrian sculpture by Professor Rosemary Cramp (1974).

SCULPTURED PANELS FOR JAMBS, SCREENS, OR SHRINES

The remarkable arches at Britford opening on either side of the nave to lateral porticus have been mentioned in Chapter 5 and are described in detail

in Vol. I: 105–8. The constructional details of the two arches are fundamentally different and both are of the greatest interest, but here we are concerned only with the northern one. The jambs of this arch are richly ornamented: vertical strips of stone each about 9 in. wide and over 4 ft tall run up either side of the soffit of each jamb, and stone slabs about 10 in. square line the spaces between; in the eastern jamb the strips carry vine scrolls with bunches of grapes, and alternate stones of the lining are carved with interlacing patterns; in the western jamb the strips are plain and only the lowest stone of the lining is carved with interlacing. The patterns are dated early in the tenth century by Baldwin Brown and to the beginning of the ninth by Clapham and Talbot Rice; most recently they are linked by Professor Rosemary Cramp to the Canterbury groups of manuscripts of the late eighth to early ninth centuries (1975: 186).

The large carved panel preserved in St Laurence's chapel at Bradford-on-Avon was found last century built into the nearby Norman parish church as a door-lintel and was described by Irvine who interpreted it as the lining of a door-jamb (1877: 215). I believe it is more likely to have formed part of a screen, or one wall of a shrine like those of which parts have been preserved at Jedburgh and St Andrews (Taylor 1966a: 29–30; Radford 1955).

Other sculpture which could have belonged to this class is preserved at Hexham, particularly the panels numbered 22 and 23 and the figural slab numbered 20 in Professor Rosemary Cramp's handlist of the Hexham sculpture (1974: 175).

SCULPTURED HOODMOULDINGS AND STRIPWORK

Hoodmouldings. The usually plain square surfaces of hoodmouldings are sometimes enriched with simple sculpture. The most elaborate example is the north doorway at Hadstock where both the impost and the hoodmoulding have a simple palmette or honeysuckle ornament. Other examples are the windows at Glentworth and Stow (palmette), and at Jarrow and Lincoln St Peter (a treatment much like billets).

Stripwork. There are fewer enrichments of strip-

work: the double belfry windows at Haddiscoe have billets on the gable-headed stripwork; and the south doorway of the porch at Ledsham has restored vine-scroll ornament on its stripwork, with the possibility that parts near the ground may be original (Vol. I: 381).

TRANSENNAE

The openwork carved stone slabs in the single belfry windows of the four faces of the tower at Barnack provide a remarkable example of this type of sculpture. This is particularly true of the north and south windows where the interlacing is elaborate, and of a kind known in several groups of Midland crosses, with separate circles tied into the main bands of interlacing (Taylor 1966a: 27). By contrast, the east and west windows have slabs with simple geometric piercings such as are also found at East Lexham (Vol. I: 388-9). Simple figure-of-eight interlacing is used in three circular windows at Cranwich (Vol. I: 182).

TYMPANA

By contrast to the rich survival of Norman carved tympana there are none from before the Conquest which can with certainty be claimed as surviving *in situ*.

The most impressive of the Anglo-Saxon tympana is the Majesty which now stands in the gable of a south porch added later to the well-known Norman church at Castor, Northamptonshire. This is mentioned here not only for its own merits but also to correct Professor Talbot Rice's description of it as a Virgin and Child, and also his illogical dating to the twelfth century on the evidence of a tympanum elsewhere in the church with a dated dedicatory inscription (Rice 1952: 153 and 157-8). The Majesty at Castor has also been attributed to the Normans by Pevsner (1961: 144), but should surely be placed in the ninth century as was done by Clapham (1930: 129). There is other important Anglo-Saxon sculpture at Castor, particularly a base for a cross, and a carved figure from a frieze or shrine like those at Breedon and

Fletton (Kendrick 1938: pls. 69 and 72-4).

An important tympanum at Knook, richly carved in low relief, is still set in an Anglo-Saxon doorway but there do not seem to be any other substantial remains of the church of which it formed a part. Its elaborately interlaced animal sculpture has close parallels in manuscripts of the second half of the tenth century (Taylor 1968a).

Two other tympana are perhaps more difficult to claim with certainty as pre-Conquest, namely those at Hoveringham (Clapham 1930: pl. 59) and Long Marton (Vol. I: 416, Fig. 194). Both of these show conflicts between dragons and an angel, with details which relate them to a lintel in the cathedral at Southwell.

DECORATION OF WALLS

Two notable examples of the decoration of the main surface of walls by sculpture and painting have been found in the excavations at Winchester. The first is a late Saxon sculptured panel which was found sealed in the robbing of the eastern crypt in circumstances which proved that it was discarded at the demolition of the Old Minster in 1093-4 (Biddle 1966: 329-32). It is a stone about 27 by 20 in. showing men and animals in a scene which has been interpreted as a pagan legend associated with the royal house of England at the time of Cnut (1016-35). The second example is a painted stone found face upwards, re-used in the foundations of the south wall of the New Minster (Biddle 1967: 277-9). This stone was properly bedded, forming an integral part of the foundations, and therefore cannot have been placed in position later than the construction of New Minster c. 903, having been taken from some earlier building, perhaps one that was being removed to make way for the new work. The painting, which is thus dated to the ninth century, shows a group of people like some of the representations of choirs in the much later Winchester manuscripts. While the sculptured panel could have been used for the decoration of external or internal walls, there seems little doubt that the painting must have been used for the interior.

ROOFS, FLOORS AND FURNISHINGS

SECTION 1. ROOFS

The study of Anglo-Saxon roof-timbers has only recently begun to yield results and the reader should consult a forthcoming paper in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7, 1978, by Mr C. A. Hewett to whom I am deeply indebted for early information about his results, especially with reference to the Rhenish helm roof of the tower at Sompting. The remainder of the section is accordingly devoted to the pitch and the covering of the roofs.

THE PITCH OF ANGLO-SAXON ROOFS

It has long been appreciated that there is clear evidence from a number of churches for the original slope of the main roofs. This evidence falls under two main heads: in the first group of churches there are well defined creasings on towers to define the pitch of roofs which formerly abutted against them but have since been lowered; and in the second group the original gables have survived, seldom intact, but in all cases with sufficient fabric to define a clear lower limit to the original pitch. Churches which belong to these two groups are named in Table I with notes relating to the evidence; there are several others which could have been included but for most of them the evidence is less secure.

TABLE I. *Churches with evidence defining the pitch of roofs*

A. Evidence from creasing of earlier roofs		
1. Appleton	3. Breamore	6. Marton
2. Barnack	4. Deerhurst M	7. Norton
	5. Ledsham	
B. Evidence from surviving gables		
1. Barton	6. Corhampton	11. Heysham Pa
2. Boarhunt	7. Escomb	12. Mwearmouth
3. Bradford	8. Godalming	13. Sherborne
4. Breamore	9. Haddiscoe T	14. Wittering
5. Corbridge	10. Headbourne	

Although there have been considerable alterations to most of the gables in Class B, the original alignments are defined with considerable precision in several cases by the survival of special features as follows: Barton, upper window in west annexe; Boarhunt, pilaster on east gable; Corhampton, bell-cote in gable; Escomb and Haddiscoe T, upper west windows; Headbourne, Rood on west gable; Godalming and Sherborne, intact plaster on top of east and north gables.

Almost all the roofs of the churches in Table I show a pitch of about 45°, but those of the transepts at Breamore are appreciably steeper. By contrast, the roof of the west porch at Ledsham seems to have had a slope of about 30° as defined by the rows of tiles which can be seen within the later tower, embedded in the west wall of the nave (Fig. 518 of the plates at the end of Vol. II).

ROOFING MATERIALS

Until recently the evidence for roofing materials rested almost wholly on written records. First there is Bede's account that the church at Lindisfarne built by Finan (bishop 651-61) of hewn oak and thatched with reeds was later covered by Eadberht (bishop 668-98), both walls and roof, with sheets of lead (*H.E.*, III, 25). Secondly, Eddius records that when Wilfrid was appointed Bishop of York (in 699) he renewed the ridges of the roof and covered them with lead (Colgrave 1927: 35). Thirdly, in 801 Alcuin wrote to Archbishop Eanbald II of York and with the letter sent a hundred pounds of tin for necessary works and four screens of lattice, adding that 'it seems only right the belfry should be roofed with tin' (Dümmler 1895: No. 226, and Harrison 1960: 237). Finally a poem dedicated to Egbert (bishop of Lindisfarne 803-21) describes an abbey dependent

on Lindisfarne and tells that the original church founded during the reign of Osred (king of Northumbria 705-16) and also a later church built by the fourth abbot both had roofs of lead (Taylor 1974d: 168).

The historical evidence thus tells us of thatch, lead and tin as materials used for roofs in the early to middle part of our period. Archaeological evidence in recent years has confirmed clips for sheets of lead on the roofs of the monastic buildings at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, and in addition has given evidence for the use of stone tiles and lead flashing at these sites (Cramp 1969: 37 and 56; and 1973: 121).

SECTION 2. FLOORS

There does not seem to be historical reference to the floors of Anglo-Saxon churches or monastic buildings, but there is a certain amount of archaeological evidence. Indeed until the church at Reculver was demolished in 1805 it seems probable that the original floor of *opus signinum* was still in use there, since the excavations of 1927 showed that had it survived over much of the nave and the lateral porticus, as described by eighteenth-century writers, a strong mortar set on a foundation of rough flints with a polished red surface of cement and pounded brick. Similar floors were reported by the excavators of St Augustine's abbey and St Martin's church in Canterbury and also by the excavators of the early part of the church at Glastonbury.

Professor Cramp's excavations of the monastic buildings at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow have yielded similar flooring but less thick (1969: 33, 45, 50 and 58). Moreover one of the smaller rooms at Jarrow had a partially paved floor (1973: 122). The Biddles' excavations at Winchester showed that the chancel of the original church of the Old Minster had been paved with flagstones which had been worked with a raised band beside the walls (1970: pls. XLVII-III). The crypt at Repton is to this day paved with irregularly shaped flat stones which cannot with certainty be claimed as original, but the slightly raised plinths about 1 ft wide beside the walls must be original because they are held in place by the massive ashlar blocks of the side walls.

SECTION 3. WINDOW-FRAMES AND GLAZING

WINDOW-FRAMES

As a fortunate by-product of the Anglo-Saxon use of double-splayed windows, a number of wooden slabs have survived, built into the walls in a way which seems to guarantee that they have remained *in situ* since the buildings were first erected. There are also records of the removal of some such wooden slabs within the past century, one of which (for Witley) gives details not only of the oak slabs but also of clip-headed iron nails that were found in position where they had secured the glazing (Vol. II: 677). Of such wooden slabs still in position mention should be made of those in the round-headed windows at Deerhurst Odda's chapel; and those in the circular windows at Barton-on-Humber and South Lopham.

As a further elaboration on these wooden mid-wall glazing slabs there are at Hadstock oak window-frames which are similarly sealed in place in the body of the wall, thus being indicated with some certainty as original (Vol. I: 275).

GLAZING

There are several contemporary records to confirm that the early Anglo-Saxon churches had windows of glass. For example Bede's account that Benedict Biscop sent to Gaul for makers of glass; although his phrase (*H.A.B.*: 368) *ad cancellandas aecclesiae porticumque et caenaculorum eius fenestras* has commonly been translated 'for covering the windows of this church, its cloisters and refectories', we have seen that *porticus* is regularly used in the sense of aisles or chapels, and it is also important to remember that *caenaculum* can be used to denote a gallery, in which sense it is used by Einhard (Teulet 1843, II: 275-7).

Eddius tells that when Wilfrid was appointed to the bishopric of York (in 669) he found the stone buildings of the church in a ruinous condition; the ridge of the roof let the water through, the windows were unglazed, and the birds flew in and out. He therefore covered the ridges with lead and put glass in the windows so as to exclude the birds

and the rain but not to keep out the light (Colgrave 1927: 35).

The archaeological evidence for window-glass from this early period has now become quite considerable. The most extensive finds are from the monastic buildings at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth (Cramp 1969: 34-7 and 48); it should particularly be noted that many of the small glass quarries have grozed edges and that a few sections of H-shaped lead came were recovered, into which it was assumed the quarries had been fitted (*ibid*: 48). These two sites have yielded complete quarries and fragments in a wide range of colours; by contrast at Escomb, where some similar pieces were found, the range of colours was much smaller; but it is perhaps remarkable that window glass should have been found at all in association with so simple a building (Pocock and Wheeler 1971: 27). Excavations at Repton still in progress have yielded a dozen or more fragments and a few complete quarries of window glass with more limited ranges of colours than those of Jarrow/Monkwearmouth but similar quality. Similar glass has also been found at Winchester (personal communication from Mr Biddle).

BASKETWORK STRENGTHENING FOR WINDOWS

Basketwork appears to have been used in two different ways in association with windows. In the first of these it is used to provide additional support for anchoring in place a comparatively thin slab of stone which is used as the outer facing for a window in a wall of small rubble. This use was first reported at Avebury in 1880, by Mr C. E. Ponting by whose good offices three of the circular windows there were saved when all but one had been removed during the addition of a clear-storey to the church in 1878. Pierced square stone slabs like those at Avebury have been re-used as windows to light a modern internal stone staircase at Harmston. The lowest of these has been enriched with open-work floral patterns while the upper two have simple circular openings. In our present context, the central one of the group is of special importance since it shows a series of drilled holes around the main aperture, thus strongly suggesting that its original inner face is now exposed and that

the holes were formerly used as at Avebury to carry rods which anchored the slab in place in the wall. No doubt all three of these window-frames were salvaged from the church and re-used here during total rebuildings which are known to have taken place in the last two centuries. I am indebted to Mr P. A. Rahtz for drawing my attention to fragments of similar, but round-headed, windows which were found in the excavations at Cheddar and of which with his consent I show drawings in Fig. 755.

The second use of basketwork is in connection with double-splayed windows in a wall built of small stones used as rubble concrete, which was no doubt poured round the conical basketwork frames and then allowed to set. At Hales, in Norfolk, two basketwork frames of this sort have survived *in situ* one of which is illustrated in the plates of Vol. II: Fig. 483.

SECTION 4. BELLS

Mention has already been made in Chapter 8 of the evidence that bells were sometimes hung in the openings of belfry windows; and a somewhat similar emplacement for bells is to be seen in the west gable at Corhampton. There is also ample contemporary written evidence for the use of bells. For example in the Regularis Concordia it was provided that at certain times all the bells should ring 'as is the custom among the people of this country' (Symons 1953: 30). In Aethelwulf's early ninth-century poem about an abbey dependent on Lindisfarne he described the lead roofs and the copper bells in the church built by Abbot Sigbald (Taylor 1974d: 165). Both Ethelwold and Dunstan are known to have cast bells, and Archbishop Kinsius of York gave bells to Beverley, Southwell and Stow (Raine 1886, II: 344).

Pits for the casting of bells have now been found in several Anglo-Saxon churches: at Cheddar (Rahtz 1962-3: 65), Gloucester St Oswald (Appendix F, below), Hadstock (Rodwell 1976: 66) and Winchester (Biddle 1965: 255). The fragments of a mould found in the pit at Winchester defined a bell of a size appropriate to a church of the importance of the Old Minster, about 4 ft in diameter at the rim and of the order of 30 in. at the shoulder. The pit, its furnace, and all the material

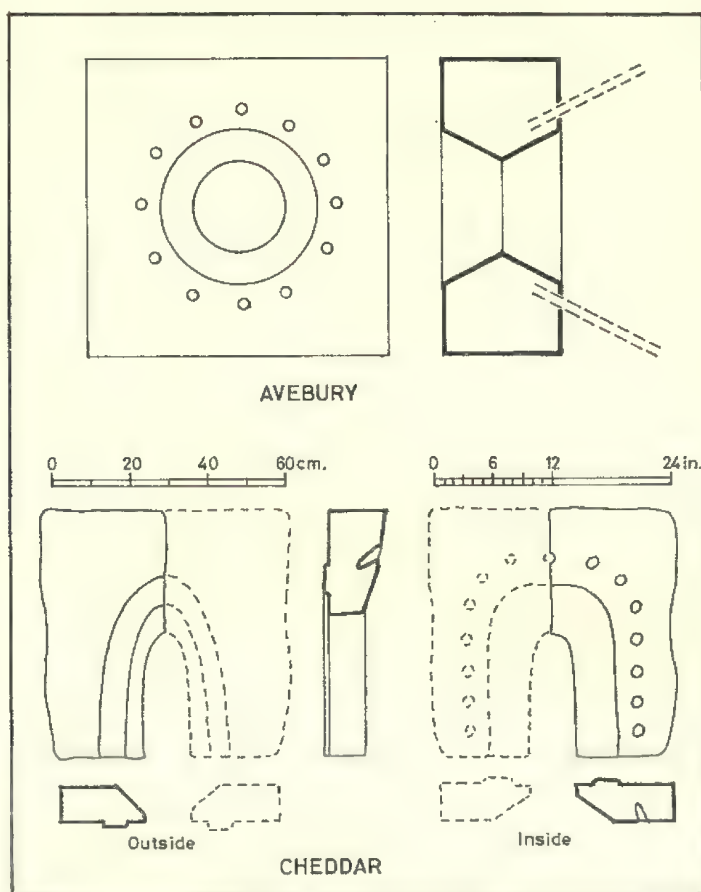


FIG. 755. STONE WINDOW-FRAMES: AVEBURY AND CHEDDAR

associated with them were sealed beneath the upper mortar floor of the central area of the church and should therefore be dated not later than the reconstructions by Ethelwold and Alphege, i.e. before 994 at the latest. For a simple illustrated note about casting bells on the site see McCombe 1965.

By contrast with the large bell at Winchester, parts of a mould at Gloucester St Oswald defined a bell about 1 ft in diameter and thus of a size that might have made marks such as are to be seen in one of the belfry openings at Glentworth and in the bell-cote of the west gable at Corhampton. As at Winchester the bell-pit at Gloucester was fixed by the stratification to the Anglo-Saxon period.

At Cheddar and Hadstock the bell-pits do not seem to be dated with certainty to our period although they are enclosed by Anglo-Saxon walls. A bell-mould at Cheddar defined a bell with a diameter of 21 in. at the rim.

SECTION 5. PLASTER

There seems little doubt that many, perhaps even most, of the Anglo-Saxon stone churches were plastered both inside and out. Bede (*H.E.* III, 4) says that Whithorn, the White House, is so called because Ninian built a church of stone there, using a method unusual among the Britons; and this is commonly interpreted as meaning that it was plastered or whitewashed. It is not always easy to be certain that plaster of early appearance on Anglo-Saxon buildings is of the same date as the buildings themselves, but there are some examples where this can confidently be asserted. One was mentioned by Professor Rosemary Cramp in her address in 1976 to the Royal Archaeological Institute at Monkswearmouth where she reported that removal of part of the Anglo-Saxon barrel vaulting of the entrance porch had exposed the original

plaster of the earlier side walls; this was a smooth pinkish plaster identical with fragments found in the ruins of the monastic buildings (Cramp 1976b: 231). Professor Cramp also reported coloured plaster on the ruined walls of the monastic buildings at Jarrow (1976a: 225).

In the excavations at Repton a large stone coated with smooth white plaster was found in 1975 buried in one of the post-holes for the scaffolding of the chancel, where it had been undisturbed since the erection of that building; and at Deerhurst in 1974 several re-used stones in the foundations of the north porticus were found to carry plaster from their earlier usage.

SECTION 6. SCREENS AND SHRINES

Mention has already been made in Chapter 17 of the use of carved slabs as chancel-screens or as panels for built-up shrines. There are considerable survivals of such slabs at Hexham, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, in addition to the pieces which have been reconstituted as a shrine at St Andrews, and the well-known fragment at Jedburgh (Radford 1955). Other panels which may have been used for similar purposes are to be seen at South Kyme (Clapham 1930: pl. 28), Breedon-on-the-Hill, (*ibid*: pl. 60), Castor (Kendrick 1938: pl. 69) and Bradford-on-Avon (*ibid*: pl. 104). It has also been suggested that the balusters at Jarrow may have been used for screens (Cramp 1976a: 224).

SECTION 7. BURIALS

Mention has been made in Chapter 1 of the original burial-place of St Swithun between the west door of the Old Minster and the tower of St Martin; of the later elaboration of this area as a shrine within the church; and of its preservation as a small chapel outside the north doorway of the Norman church after the demolition of the Old Minster. Abbot Easterwine was buried in the entrance porch of the church of St Peter at Monkwearmouth and Abbot Sigfrid on the south outside the sanctuary; the bones of both these abbots were later translated by Abbot Huaetberct and their bones placed in a single chest, but separated by a partition, near the body of Benedict Biscop (*H.A.B.*: 385). Benedict himself had been buried 'in the porticus of St Peter

to the east of the altar' (*H.A.A.*: 394) or as expressed by Bede 'in the church of the blessed apostle Peter so that after death his body should not be far from the relics and altar of him whom he had loved during his life and who had opened the gates of the heavenly kingdom' (*H.A.B.*: 379). These burials, and particularly the placing of the relics of Easterwine and Sigfrid near to Benedict Biscop to the east of the altar make clear that the altar itself stood at some distance from the east wall of the sanctuary (Taylor 1973a: 53-5).

SECTION 8. FONTS AND BAPTISTERIES

There are not many fonts which can securely be claimed as having served as such from Anglo-Saxon times. For example, although it is clear that the carving on the font at Melbury Bubb in Dorset dates it to the Anglo-Saxon era, the fact that it is upside down on the font indicates clearly that the stone originally formed part of a tapering conical cross-shaft; the same applies to the very damaged font at Wilne in Derbyshire, and possibly even to the important one at Deerhurst, although from the nature of its ornament of spirals and vine-scroll it is impossible to be certain whether it was from the first a font or was only later turned over and holloed out.

The plain conical stone font at Potterne, however, is open to no doubt since the inscription round its rim both settles its purpose and also gives a clue to its date. The inscription is taken from the first verse of Psalm 42 which has slightly different renderings in two different psalters that were in use in Anglo-Saxon England. The so-called Roman psalter has the wording on the Potterne font 'Sicut cervus desiderat ad fontes aquarum...', whereas the Gallican psalter reads 'Quemadmodum desiderat cervus ad fontes aquarum...'. But of the eight surviving psalters written in Anglo-Saxon England four which use the Roman wording date from the eighth century to c. 950 whereas four that use the Gallican date from c. 975 to c. 1050 (Sisam 1959: 47-8). There thus seems little doubt that this inscription belongs to the tenth century or earlier.

The importance of this inscription is not limited to its wording but also extends to the form of the letters themselves, because both C and S are cut in

the angular shape which has been used in support of an Anglo-Saxon date, for example at Breamore and elsewhere (Vol. I: 96). This angular shape is used throughout at Potterne whereas at Breamore angular and curved shapes were intermingled.

The Potterne font is important for yet a further reason because the excavations which established the former existence of a wooden church also disclosed a circular seating cut into the greensand floor of the south porticus with dimensions which match those of the base of the font (Davey 1964: 119 and pl. VIIb). Thus, taking all the evidence into account, Potterne provides a unique example of an Anglo-Saxon font and of the baptistery in which it was used (Chapter 15, Fig. 727).

At Little Billing near Northampton another font whose purpose is clearly proclaimed by its inscription is also indicated as Anglo-Saxon by its angular lettering. This epigraphic evidence for both Potterne and Little Billing was noted and accepted by the compilers of the *Victoria County History* (*Northamptonshire*, 2, 1906: 107-8; and 4, 1939: 74-6, with photograph; and *Wiltshire*, 7, 1953: 212, with photograph).

These arguments have been set out in some detail because the Potterne font has recently been excluded from a list of Anglo-Saxon inscriptions on the ground that it and others 'probably date from after A.D. 1100' (Okasha 1971: 149, with no reasons given).

The historical evidence for baptisteries in Anglo-Saxon churches is limited to Eadmer's account of works by Cuthbert (eleventh Archbishop of Canterbury, 740-60) who constructed a church to the east of the cathedral and almost touching it. This was built that baptisms might be celebrated in it, that certain judicial trials might be held there, and that the bodies of the archbishops might therein be buried (Taylor 1969c: 102 and 126). This at least establishes that in the greater churches baptisteries separate from the main body of the church were used, but it does not settle whether by this date baptism by aspersion had superseded the more complete immersion which was presumably associated with the mass baptisms in rivers during the conversion of the northern kingdoms by Paulinus (*H.E.* II, 14 and 16). Separate baptisteries in minor churches are, of course, attested by Potterne as described above; and it may well be

that square west towers which opened to the church through wide arches originally served as baptisteries, just as many of them still do.

SECTION 9. WOODEN SUPERSTRUCTURE ON STONE FOOTINGS

Recent excavations have indicated the probability or certainty that in several churches wooden walls were built on stone foundations and that at least for some of these the wooden walls were later replaced in stone while for others the original walls were of stone below and of wood above but were later made wholly of stone. For churches which had stone foundations and walls of wood we may cite North Elmham i and ii (Chapter 1: 752 and Chapter 15: 983). The evidence for low walls of stone with walls of wood above later replaced in stone has perhaps been most clearly shown at Hadstock (Rodwell 1976: 60-4), but there seems good reason to believe that much the same must have taken place at Deerhurst where there is evidence of successive raising of the walls of the nave and also of the addition of the south porticus in two phases in the first of which its lower storey was not bonded to the nave while in the later phase its second storey was bonded to the nave (Butler et al. 1975: 360-1). The evidence for massive foundations to bear walls wholly of wood that were later replaced in stone comes also from Deerhurst but from the north porticus (*ibid.*: 361). At St Oswald's priory, Gloucester (Appendix F) the main side walls of stone stand on massive foundations of re-used but unmortared stone; quite different foundations survive to define a western apse, and these are so light as to suggest that the upper walls, which have completely vanished, must have been of wood. The same interpretation would seem appropriate for the very light foundations of the north porticus at Escomb (Pocock and Wheeler 1971: 19). Finally, evidence for a wooden nave on a mortared rubble foundation has been found at Stone-by-Faversham, where the chancel incorporates a Roman building (Appendix G).

SECTION 10. SEATING

Neither written records nor material survivals give

any very complete picture about the arrangements for seating. Stone chairs for abbots or bishops have survived in fairly complete condition at Beverley, Canterbury and Hexham; and there are fragments at Norwich (Radford 1961); and sculptured stones at Monkwearmouth have been interpreted in part as supports for the abbot's chair and in part as an arm-rest for the end of the bench for the clergy (Clapham 1950). At Reculver the fragmentary remains of the apse included the south end of the bench which ran round the interior curve of the east end. Perhaps the most important survival is to be seen at Barnack where the west wall of the tower incorporates a gabled recess which forms the abbot's or president's chair, with a stone bench running along the wall on either side; there are also aumbries in the north and south walls of this room, suggesting that it originally formed a western sanctuary.

SECTION II. ALTARS

As far as is known no Anglo-Saxon altar has survived, but the seating for the main altar in the seventh-century church in the Old Minster at Winchester has been found by excavation, along with post-holes which show that it was covered by a ciborium. Eadmer's account of the multiplicity of altars in the cathedral church at Canterbury at the time of its destruction in 1067 stands in sharp contrast to the simpler and earlier arrangements as described in Aethelwulf's poem where each church in his Northumbrian monastery is described as having one altar (Taylor 1974d). It has already been mentioned in Chapter 15 that the multiplicity of churches in early monastic and episcopal sites probably arose from a conflict between a desire for processional services which moved from altar to altar and the early regulation which provided for only one altar in one church; and in this connection it is interesting to note how the desire for processional services was fulfilled in the pre-Conquest era not only by visiting the several churches within the monastery but also by going much further afield and then returning to the mother church. After the Conquest the greater churches all had a multiplicity of altars and the processions were in the main confined to the precincts of the monastery and indeed to a single church (Knowles 1950: 541).

The tenth-century arrangements in England are very briefly described in Chapter IV of the *Regularis Concordia* (Symons 1953: 31-3), and the corresponding but much more detailed and elaborate arrangements in Angilbert's ninth-century monastery at Centula near Abbeville are fully set out in his statutes for the abbey (Lot 1894: 296-306).

It is unfortunate that so little has survived to show the elaborate enrichment of altars and shrines of the pre-Conquest churches. A few literary references make it clear that they were indeed richly adorned with gold and silver objects which included crosses, chalices, patens, basins and other dishes as well as images of saints, but all of these have vanished (Clapham 1930: 141).

It is difficult to be sure whether there was any general pattern which governed the arrangement of the multiplicity of altars set up in the major churches during the later part of our period. It is likely that each scheme depended on local circumstances, and in particular on the saints who had been commemorated in the individual churches which were later combined into a single larger unit. But a dedication to the Holy Cross seems to have had very general acceptance for an altar accessible to the public and therefore placed in front of the screen which separated the nave from the monks' choir.

The positions of the altars at Centula St Riquier, and the order in which they were visited in various services have been worked out in detail from Angilbert's statutes (Lehmann 1965: 376-80). These studies also show clearly how the nave of the great monastic church served the needs of the local population in spite of the fact that there were five special chapels for their use elsewhere within the monastic city; in particular the baptismal font was in the nave, and the altar of the Holy Cross was by the screen which separated it from the monastic choir (Taylor 1975: 146-52).

The absence of a similar altar in Eadmer's description of the pre-Conquest church at Canterbury need not imply that it was not there, since Eadmer's account was not necessarily exhaustive; moreover soon afterwards Lanfranc's new church had its altar of the Holy Cross in just this position, as described later by Gervase (Willis 1845: 37 and Fig. 3).

Another arrangement which seems to have had somewhat general acceptance was an altar at the east of the monks' choir but separate from the High Altar in the eastern sanctuary. Thus in Eadmer's description of Canterbury the matutinal altar at the east of the monks' choir was below the steps which led up into the sanctuary, the altar of Our Lord was at the head of these steps, and a further altar was against the east wall. Similar arrangements can be seen to have applied much earlier in Angilbert's church about 800 at St Riquier, and also at Corvey about the end of the ninth century (Taylor 1975: 151 and 155). It is by analogy with these arrangements that Fig. 748 in Chapter 16 shows an altar under the crossing at

Great Paxton as well as altars in the eastern sanctuary.

For a general note on the position of the principal altar in early churches see Taylor 1973a.

SECTION 12. GENERAL SUMMARY

This chapter is of necessity rather a miscellaneous collection and it makes no claim to be as complete a record of survivals as is provided in the earlier chapters. Its purpose is mainly to lay a foundation upon which others may build in trying to form a more complete record of these details which are so necessary if we are to form a reliable picture of these vanished churches.

DATING SEQUENCES AND DATE-RANGES

Chapter 18 has completed the typological studies; but it would be a pity to conclude this volume without a summary of the conclusions to which our studies have led about the possibility even now of claiming that certain features may serve to distinguish between the early, middle and late periods of the Anglo-Saxon era while other features were in current use throughout the era and thus do not discriminate between separate periods. It should at once be said, however, that the conclusions must still be treated as provisional and that they do not include any startling new discoveries.

FEATURES THAT WERE IN USE THROUGHOUT THE ANGLO-SAXON ERA

It will be convenient first to consider the features which by themselves do not give any reliable indication for discriminating between separate parts of the Anglo-Saxon era because they are known to have been in use throughout it.

First we may note that two-cell linear plans fall into this class, because they are recorded at Escomb and Canterbury P ii at the beginning of the era and at Deerhurst O at its end. Secondly this is also true of the use of through-stones for the lining of the jambs and heads of major arches and doorways, because we see them in major arches at Escomb and in doorways there and at Monkwearmouth in the earliest period and also at Deerhurst O at the end of the era both in the chancel-arch and in the north doorway. It is also true for megalithic side-alternate quoining, which we see in the earliest part of the era at Escomb and Jarrow, and in the latest part in the towers of churches such as Branston and the two Lincolns, M and P. Next we may note that single-splayed windows as a class give no discrimination between

early and late parts of the era because they appear at Monkwearmouth and Escomb in the earliest part and in many of the latest towers such as Haddiscoe, as well as other settings which are not so firmly datable but would surely not be regarded as earlier than Period C, for example in the tower of Lincoln P or the south transept at Stow, both large windows with facings of dressed stone. Finally, string-courses both plain and sculptured were in use at the beginning of our era at Monkwearmouth, and also in intermediate periods at Barnack and Repton, and in the latest period at Haddiscoe, Masham and Great Paxton.

Plinths. We have seen in Chapter 14 that Baldwin Brown claimed (1925: 23) that plinths indicated a date in Period C; but it has now been established that the multiple plinths at Repton were above the level of the ground at the time of building, and that this was before the middle of the ninth century, possibly much before.

FEATURES WHICH SERVE TO DISCRIMINATE BETWEEN PERIODS

We turn now to features which we have found to be significantly absent from churches of one or more of the three periods within the Anglo-Saxon era and which therefore can at least tentatively be taken to give a reliable indication that churches in which they occur belong to other parts of the era.

The first of these are the *double-splayed windows*, which do not occur in any church firmly established as belonging to Period A (or indeed any which has been claimed for that period). As yet we have no reliably determined date for the first appearance of double-splayed windows, but they are present in the western annexe at Barton-on-Humber which may precede in time the lower

part of the tower-nave. It is, of course, clear that double-splayed windows continued in use to the end of our era, not only in the closely dated examples at Deerhurst O but also in the multitude of churches with other very late features such as Dunham and Haddiscoe Thorpe. Moreover we have seen in Chapter 1 that they were used occasionally in the earliest of the Norman cathedrals.

Megalithic single-splayed windows. Although single-splayed windows as such do not serve to discriminate between separate periods, yet a fairly clear indication of early date is given by the larger single-splayed windows of megalithic construction, especially where the whole opening is lined with dressed stone. Windows of this type have long been recognised as a distinctive feature of the churches at Escomb, Jarrow and Monkwearmouth, all of which can now be regarded as securely dated in Period A; and it is on this basis that they have been used, with other corroborative evidence, to claim early dates for Bywell St Peter, Ledsham and Seaham, as well as the first phases of Brigstock and Corbridge.

Long-and-short quoins and pilaster-strips. Next, and grouped together, we should note long-and-short quoins and pilaster-strips of stone, neither of which have been found on any buildings of Period A and which either alone or in conjunction may be taken to indicate Periods B and C. For the earliest joint appearance of pilasters and long-and-short quoins we have suggested the second half of the ninth century at Barnack (Chapters 11 and 13), while the pilaster-strips on the chancel at Repton may be about the middle of the ninth century. For the persistence of long-and-short quoins to the end of the Anglo-Saxon era we may cite the precisely dated example at Deerhurst O, the obviously late examples at Dunham and Sompting, and the post-Conquest example in the chapel in the castle at Winchester closely dated between 1066 and 1072 (Biddle 1975: 106-9 and pls. XXI-XXIII). For the persistence of stone pilaster-strips to the end of the era we may cite churches such as Sompting, Langford, Tichborne and Milborne Port. Pilaster-strips of rubble occur only in very late settings such as the round towers of some of the East Anglian churches.

Megalithic side-alternate quoining. We have seen that in itself megalithic side-alternate quoining does not serve to discriminate between the three periods of the Anglo-Saxon era; but, if it is used in parts of a church while other parts have side-alternate quoining of smaller stones coursed with the main fabric of the wall, we have seen that the megalithic quoining can reliably be taken to belong to an earlier phase.

Belfry towers. No belfry towers have been established for churches of Period A, and it has commonly been accepted (following Clapham 1930: 116-18) that they are neither to be expected nor indeed to be found before the tenth century in this country. There is little doubt that the majority belong to the tenth and eleventh centuries; but I believe that a few, such as Barnack and the lower part of the tower-nave at Barton, belong to the ninth century.

Belfry openings. We have seen in Chapter 8 that there is at present no clear evidence to discriminate between single and double belfry openings in time. Clearly neither group can be earlier than the Period C (or late Period B) which we assign to belfry towers. We have, however, seen in Chapter 8, Section 6, that it is possible to see a time-sequence in the development of double belfry openings, with about a dozen towers in an early group perhaps C1, about a dozen in an intermediate group perhaps C2, and over thirty in a late group perhaps C3.

Hoodmouldings and stripwork. We have seen in Chapter 12 that the evidence is in general agreement with Baldwin Brown's view that hood-mouldings and stripwork flourished in the later parts of our era; certainly there are no examples reliably confirmed from Period A. Perhaps the earliest examples are at Barnack and Britford, both of which may be placed between the middle of the ninth century and the early parts of the tenth. Moreover there are many examples which continue to the end of the era, as in the belfry windows of the East Anglian round towers.

Plans. It is at present difficult to make secure deductions about date from the evidence of plans

alone, but some tentative conclusions may be worth recording. In the first place we have seen that cellular linear plans persisted throughout the era and therefore give no indication of date. Secondly we should consider the validity of claims that have been made that cellular transverse plans indicate an early period, for example that on this evidence churches such as Bishopstone and Bradford-on-Avon may be claimed for Period A. There are clearly several churches of this type that can reliably be placed in Period A, such as Glastonbury i, Reculver i and Winchester i, but I am not alone in believing that the evidence at present available for Bradford indicates a date in Period C in spite of its cellular transverse plan with tall and narrow doorways. Therefore although I regard a cellular transverse plan as giving an *a priori* indication of an early date I believe that the plan was used (perhaps somewhat exceptionally) through into Period C as at Bradford and Breamore, although there was

an increasing tendency with the passage of time to use wide openings to the lateral chambers such as we see at Worth. In this connection it is important to bear in mind the modifications which were made at Hadstock to change the cellular transverse original plan into the integrated transverse plan of the second and third phases in which it is proper to regard the church as having low transepts.

The progression from an early cellular transverse plan into a cellular areal plan is now confirmed at a number of places: Winchester, Reculver, Glastonbury and Deerhurst St Mary; and these important churches indicate fairly clearly that narrow openings were still tolerated even in the later periods.

The integrated areal plans are perhaps the most difficult to interpret at present, and it is probably best to make no suggestions about dates until the status of Brixworth and Wing can be settled with certainty.

APPENDIX F

ANGLO-SAXON AND SAXO-NORMAN CHURCHES ADDITIONAL TO THOSE DESCRIBED IN VOLUMES I AND II

For the sake of simplicity, additions to the descriptive material of our earlier volumes are divided between Appendices F and G in the following way. Appendix F contains brief descriptions of churches of which we did not know at the time of writing the earlier volumes but which we have subsequently come to regard as having the same claims to be regarded as Anglo-Saxon or Saxo-Norman as the others described there. For these churches we give in Appendix F descriptions set out on the same general lines as those in the earlier volumes, but much more briefly. Not many of these churches have been included in the general analysis of this third volume, partly because few of them satisfy the rigorous analysis of Chapters 1 and 2 and partly because when they were drawn to our attention the compilation of the text of this volume had proceeded too far for including them without major dislocation.

Appendix G contains additions and corrections to the descriptions of the churches already included in Volumes I and II; these are set out in an even briefer fashion than is possible for the new churches of Appendix F.

BEARSTED

Kent

Map sheet 172, reference TQ 802555

HOLY CROSS

Until 1947 no fabric earlier than the thirteenth century was visible in this church, but work on the north wall of the nave then revealed the west jamb and four voussoirs of a simple round arch of plain square section. The impost and the lowest voussoir are both through-stones, and the jamb is built of alternate upright and flat stones; plaster bearing an early consecration cross hides the soffit face of the jamb so that it is impossible to say whether or not it is built of through-stones. The wall is only 2 ft 7 in. thick, and the surviving part of the arch defines an opening about 10 ft 6 in. tall and about 9 or 10 ft wide. Reference: Erwood 1948 and 1949.

BOLTON-UPON-DEARNE

Yorkshire, West Riding

Map sheet 103, reference SE 457026

ST ANDREW

The exceptionally tall south wall of the nave suggests an earlier core for this church than the general impression of the fourteenth or fifteenth century which is given by the windows and doorways. Closer inspection shows that three long-and-short quoins have survived, with very long pillar-stones averaging over 4 ft; the south-east quoin is over 18 ft tall and the south-west up to 10 ft; the lower part of the north-west quoin has been cut away but four long-and-short pairs have survived above. A small round-headed single-splayed window with a monolithic outer face is to be seen in the south wall. Its outer face is enriched by the cutting of a double-stepped rebate all round the edge of the opening. We are indebted to Sir Nikolaus Pevsner for drawing this church to our attention.

CANFORD MAGNA

Dorset

Map sheet 179, reference SZ 032988

Dedication unknown

The present chancel seems quite clearly to have

preceded the nave and to have had the (fourteenth-century) chancel-arch cut through its west wall. The nave, and aisles, and the tower at the east of the north aisle are all Norman; the tower has pseudo-Saxon double belfry windows like those of Syston (Vol. II: 604). Since all of these are later additions to the present chancel (formerly nave) there would be primary evidence for accepting it as Anglo-Saxon if its workmanship were seen to be at variance with Norman standards. There are surviving arches which opened north and south from this early nave to lateral porticus, and there are vestiges of round-headed single-splayed windows; but none of these presents clearly non-Norman workmanship. Reference: R.C.H.M. *Dorset* 2,2 1970: 197-9.

CIRENCESTER

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 157, reference SP 023021

Dedication unknown

The fairly complete ground-plan of a large Anglo-Saxon church has been found by excavation in the grounds shown as 'The Abbey' on the 6-in. Ordnance Survey map, immediately to the north of the great Perpendicular parish church of Cirencester. The remains overlies Roman buildings and are themselves overlaid by ruins of the Norman abbey. The plan (which includes an unusual ring-crypt) has been briefly described in Chapters 1 and 15. References: Brown and McWhirr 1966: 245-54; 1967: 195-7; Brown 1976.

DERBY

Derbyshire

Map sheet 121, reference SK 351367

ST ALKMUND

The nineteenth-century church of St Alkmund in Derby was completely destroyed in 1966-68 to clear the site for a junction and underpass on the Derby inner ring road. We were fortunate in being allowed to see in progress rescue excavations which have still not been published. The whole of

the medieval church had been used for burials which had destroyed much of the evidence of the earlier churches, but four main phases were recognised: the first was a church of perhaps the ninth century with a long rectangular nave and a narrower chancel; this church had been rebuilt using rubble which included a late-ninth-century cross-shaft; a further rebuilding in the twelfth century provided aisles and a doubling of the length of the chancel, with a crypt beneath; later rebuilding widened the aisles and moved the church somewhat to the south as well as providing a tower. An important find was a large stone sarcophagus richly ornamented with interlacing of about the ninth century.

The Anglo-Saxon church had a nave 45 ft long internally by 19 ft, and a chancel 12 ft wide of uncertain length. There were indications of a south doorway about 4 ft wide and about 8 ft from the south-east corner of the nave, suggesting that there may have been lateral porticus. The walls were about 2 ft 6 in. thick on foundations about 3 ft thick and up to 4 ft deep.

EXETER

Devonshire

Map sheet 176, reference SX 921924

ST GEORGE

On the west side of South Street, 200 ft south-west of the west front of the cathedral, St George's church was pulled down in 1843 to widen the street, and its interior was left as an open space, with much of its north and west walls built into adjoining properties. This area was badly damaged by bombing in May 1942. When the site was cleared the exterior faces of the walls of the church were seen after having been concealed for more than a century: characteristically Anglo-Saxon masonry was seen in a long-and-short north-west quoin and in the west doorway which had upright and flat jambs laid in Escomb fashion. The north-west angle of the wall fell in 1945 when the site was being cleared for rebuilding; but parts of the doorway were removed and re-erected on the cathedral side of South Street in the area known as

Vicars Choral. The fabric was roughly coursed rubble which included some pieces of Roman tile. The walls were 2 ft thick on foundations 3 ft thick. Reference: Fox 1952: 25-9.

GLOUCESTER

Gloucestershire

Map sheet 143, reference SO 831189

ST OSWALD'S PRIORY

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records under 918 the death of Aethelfleda, Lady of the Mercians, and her burial at Gloucester in St Peter's church (i.e. the present cathedral); but William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Regum* records that she was buried in the church which she had founded and to which she had brought the bones of St Oswald (Stubbs 1887: 136). The priory of St Oswald is not far from the cathedral, at the north-west of the old city of Gloucester. Until recently the ruins have been regarded as Norman and later (Pevsner 1970: 229). Excavations and structural investigation in 1976 have shown that the standing north wall of the abbey church is earlier than the Norman arcade which has been pierced through it. Its massive and unmortared foundations are of large blocks of re-used stones; the standing wall is also of large blocks, but mortared; at its ends, the wall is continuous upward to the region above the Norman arcade, where it runs from end to end above the inserted arches. There is a light semicircular foundation, but no standing wall, for a western apse; its mortar is continuous with that of the north wall with which it must therefore be contemporary; but the very light foundation suggests a wooden superstructure. The main north wall is shown to be of two Anglo-Saxon periods because the Norman arcade cuts an earlier arch with through-stone voussoirs and a simple hood-moulding which is itself an insertion into the wall as if to open to an added north porticus. Excavation in the nave disclosed a series of five floors all earlier than the insertion of the Norman arcade. Under the earliest floor was a bell-pit with enough of the mould to specify a small bell about 1 ft in diameter inscribed with an alpha-omega sign. I am much indebted to Miss Carolyn Heighway for

opportunity to study the site with her and to record these details before her own definitive publication.

HASTINGS

Sussex

Map sheet 184, reference TQ 825095

ST MARY

The ruins of the castle at Hastings on a high promontory overlooking the harbour enclose the scanty remains of the collegiate church of St Mary. Dr A. J. Taylor interprets these remains as the core of the church which is represented in the Bayeux Tapestry (Stenton 1957: Scene 52). The church must have had a tower over its chancel, with the surviving spiral stairway at the north-west angle of the tower and thus beside the junction of nave and chancel. The stairway (as already noted in V.C.H. *Sussex*, 9, 1937: 17 and n.3) is built in the manner which we have noted at Broughton and Hough-on-the-Hill as being unusual in Norman times because the newel is formed of stones which are separate from the treads. Reference: Taylor, A. J. 1970: 144-9.

INTWOOD

Norfolk

Map sheet 126, reference TG 196041

ALL SAINTS

This church is about 3½ miles south-west from the centre of Norwich and less than a mile from another late Anglo-Saxon church at Cringleford. The indications of Anglo-Saxon workmanship are: first, all four quoins of the nave are built without the use of dressed stone, mainly of uncut flints, but with occasional tiles and brown stones; secondly the exceptionally tall and narrow tower-arch (18 ft by 5 ft 9 in.) has plain square jambs and a round arch also of plain square section; thirdly the round tower has a blocked west doorway and vestiges of a west window both arched with tiles laid irregularly in the manner called 'Tredington

fashion' by Baldwin Brown. It is unfortunate that the tower-arch is wholly plastered so that its construction cannot be seen.

LYMINGE

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 161408

ST MARY AND ST EADBURGA

The historical evidence for claiming parts of this parish church as being a church built by St Dunstan were set out by Canon Jenkins over a century ago in the references named in Vol. I: 409; but although we had read and recorded these papers we did not fully appreciate their true import until this was set out afresh by Dr Gilbert. The evidence not only settles the building of Dunstan's church across part of the north porticus of the ruined church of St Mary but thereby greatly strengthens the claim of those ruins to belong to the church built in the seventh century by the widowed queen Eadburga. References: Gilbert 1964; Taylor 1969b. The last of these summarises the arguments and also draws attention to the need for fresh excavation of this important site.

MISSENDEN, LITTLE

Buckinghamshire

Map sheet 159, reference SU 921989

ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

The main fabric of the nave and chancel of this interesting little church was convincingly argued as being Anglo-Saxon by the vicar, the Rev. W. H. Davis, in a scholarly guide-book *The Church of St John the Baptist, Little Missenden* (1951), which is unfortunately now out of print. The north wall of the nave is pierced by three Norman arches of different dates and sizes, partially destroying two original round-headed single-splayed windows; and the south wall is pierced by two Norman arches but these have not damaged one similar window. The simple round-headed chancel-arch of a single square order has survived intact except for the chamfering of the western edges of its

jamb; its square imposts are formed of two courses of tiles, but other details are hidden by plaster with medieval wall-paintings. The nave is 36 ft 2 in. long and 16 ft 9 in. wide with walls about 18 ft tall and 2 ft 7 in. thick. The chancel is 17 ft long and 12 ft 10 in. wide; the chancel-arch is 7 ft wide and 10 ft 4 in. tall, measured from the floor of the chancel which is now 8 in. lower than the floor of the nave. The one complete window is 2 ft 6 in. tall and 10 in. wide in the outer face of the wall, splayed to 4 ft 6 in. by 3 ft, with the interior sill 7 ft 8 in. above the floor.

MORETON, SOUTH

Berkshire

Map sheet 158, reference SU 557880

ST JOHN BAPTIST

In the latter part of the twelfth century a wide south aisle was added to the originally aisleless nave of this church, opening from it through two pointed Transitional arches on plain round columns. In the thirteenth century an equally large south chapel was opened from the chancel. The nave is long for its breadth (38 ft by 16 ft) and its walls are tall and thin (21 ft by 2 ft 5 in.); but the most characteristically Anglo-Saxon feature is the tall, narrow west doorway with jamb and arch of plain square cross-section, and flat imposts lightly incised to show three superimposed roll-mouldings. The arch appears to be of through-stones and the jamb, though not of through-stones, rest on plain square bases 10 in. high. The doorway is 8 ft 2 in. tall and 3 ft 5 in. wide.

MUCH WENLOCK

Shropshire

Map sheets 118 and 129, reference SJ 624000

HOLY TRINITY

This church is mainly Norman and was dismissed by us as such when we inspected it and the nearby ruins of the priory in 1958. It now consists of a west tower, a nave with south aisle and south entry-porch, and a chancel with a Lady Chapel to

the south and a porch to the north. Jackson and Fletcher set out fully in 1965 the complicated arguments for showing that the long straight south wall of the aisle and Lady Chapel is of two Anglo-Saxon building periods. The earliest fabric is the lower part of the wall of the aisle, up to a height of about 14 ft and the whole south wall of the Lady Chapel, about 20 ft high. All this walling can be seen to be of the same character, and a straight vertical joint can be seen to mark the junction between the wall of the Lady Chapel and the later wall built against it when the south aisle was raised to be even taller than the walling at the east. This later wall incorporates two characteristically Anglo-Saxon broad, flat pilaster-strips like those at Breamore, but here beginning inconsequentially half-way up a wall which has no pilasters lower down. The church must be envisaged as one which originally had a tall south porticus on the present site of the Lady Chapel, with a lower aisle to the west; later, but still before the Conquest, the south wall of the aisle in the same alignment as that of the taller porticus was raised to be even taller than the porticus. Reference: Jackson and Fletcher 1965, where interesting historical details are given as well as photographs of the fabric.

OTFORD

Kent

Map sheet 171, reference TQ 528593

ST BARTHOLOMEW

The east wall of the Norman west tower of Otford church is built over the west wall of an earlier nave which has quoins of rubble. The tower is not very obviously Norman when seen from outside, but the inner faces of its windows and west doorway are straightforwardly Norman. The surviving north wall of the earlier nave is thus indicated as Anglo-Saxon.

PEVENSEY

Sussex

Map sheet 183, reference TQ 645048

Dedication unknown

The outline of a two-cell chapel is clearly marked by foundations in the inner ward of Pevensey Castle, and reasons have been given by Dr A.J. Taylor for believing that they belong to a pre-Conquest church. The foundations are only 2 ft thick and the descriptive pamphlet sold in the castle suggests that they represent Norman footings for a wooden superstructure. They define a nave 40 ft long internally and 16 ft wide with a chancel 10 ft square. It is mainly on historical arguments that Dr Taylor suggests that a chapel with parochial rights was unlikely to be allowed to be built within the curtilage of a Norman Castle and that it is much more probably an Anglo-Saxon church which was already in existence when the castle walls were built around it for the very good reason that it was occupying a desirable position within the Roman walls. Reference: Taylor, A.J. 1970: 149-51.

RICHBOROUGH

Kent

Map sheet 173, reference TR 324602

ST AUGUSTINE

At the eastern side of the fortified area of Richborough Castle and near to its southern corner are the remains of a chapel beside which was a graveyard in which were found many Anglo-Saxon coins covering reigns from Offa of Mercia (757-96) and Edwald of East Anglia, who is unknown except for his coins, to Cnut (King of England, 1016-35). The chapel is mentioned in several Kentish wills and is termed the chapel of St Augustine in one dated 1476. The tradition that Augustine landed at Richborough goes back to William Thorne, a fourteenth-century monk at St Augustine's abbey, Canterbury; but Bede records only that he landed in the Isle of Thanet. The surviving foundations have been briefly described in Chapter 1. Reference: Bushe-Fox 1928: details of chapel: 34-40; evidence of coins: 227-31; plan: pl. 47.

RIVENHALL

Essex

Map sheet 149, reference TL 828178

ST MARY AND ALL SAINTS

This church has commonly been regarded in recent years as Victorian and of interest only because of its thirteenth-century and later glass brought from France last century. The stripping of plaster from its walls, and excavation beside them in 1971-2 showed that much of the fabric is Anglo-Saxon, and that doorways and windows survive *in situ*. The fabric and plan are discussed in Chapters 1 and 15 above. Reference: Rodwell 1973, with plans, elevations and an architectural history of the development of the church to its present state.

TAMWORTH

Staffordshire

Map sheet 120, reference SK 207040

ST EDITHA

The dedication to St Editha sister of King Athelstan (924-39) is of interest since her marriage to the Scandinavian king Sihtric at Tamworth is recorded in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* under the year 926. Recognition of the core of the present church as that of a late pre-Conquest aisleless cruciform church emerged as a result of discussion on the site during the summer meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in July 1963. The church is at present roughly rectangular in plan, with a substantial Perpendicular tower; but it is easy to see how it began as an aisleless cruciform church and later received aisles and chapels which filled the spaces between its arms. At first sight the central crossing is Norman, with heavy round arches and chevron ornament; but these can be seen to be insertions in earlier walls which define a crossing wider than any of the four arms.

In particular the southern parts of the walls of the north transept define a space only 16 ft wide by contrast with the central space about 21 ft square. The original walls of the nave and chancel have vanished; but a plinth on the west face of the cross-

ing near the pulpit runs round the exterior angle of the central space and shows that the nave was narrower. Reference: Sherlock 1963, with plan.

THETFORD

Norfolk

Map sheet 136, reference TL 870823

ST MICHAEL

A sequence of three buildings was disclosed by excavation in 1970 in the south-east part of the Saxon town of Thetford not far from the modern road to Bury St Edmunds. The first building was wooden; its successor, also pre-Conquest was of stone; and this was enlarged, still in stone, in the twelfth century. The second church was dated in the eleventh century; there were heavy wooden posts in front of the chancel-arch as if for a Rood, and the mortared floor of the nave and chancel had been twice relaid before the church was abandoned. The earlier wooden church also had post-holes in front of the chancel-arch, as well as groups of post-holes both in the nave and the chancel seemingly for canopies over altars. Reference: M.A. 1971: 130-1.

WHARRAM PERCY

Yorkshire, East Riding

Map sheets 92 & 98, reference SE 858642

ST MARTIN

The church at Wharram Percy was still in intermittent use until the end of World War II, but after the 1950s it fell into decay. Part of the tower has fallen, the roof has been removed, the site has been completely excavated, and all plaster has been removed from the walls so that the whole of the history of the church has been disclosed. When it was studied in its unexcavated state in the 1950s for the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments its fabric disclosed six basic phases beginning with Norman. In its totally excavated state it shows twelve phases of which three or possibly four are Anglo-Saxon; and there are also a number of sub-phases. The Anglo-Saxon plans

have been mentioned in Chapters 1 and 15 and illustrated in Fig. 729: p. 993. References: Hurst 1976; and M.A. 1969: 252-3; 1973: 159-60; 1975: 229-30.

WIMBORNE MINSTER

Dorset

Map sheet 179, reference SZ 008999

ST CUTHBURGA

A monastery was founded here by Cuthburh one of the sisters of Ine King of Wessex as recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle under the year 718 in connection with other matters. Lioba, St Boniface's chief woman helper in his German mission, was trained here (Whitelock 1955: 719-24); and King Alfred's next elder brother King Ethelred was buried in the monastery (*A.S.C.*, s.a. 871). The present church is much later than any of these events, but it is indicated as having an Anglo-Saxon core by the fact that its central tower is wider than any of its four arms; moreover there are early string-courses both externally and internally on the west wall of the south transept and externally on the north transept and its turret; and in the southern turret the treads of the stairs are separate from the central newel somewhat similarly to those at Hough-on-the-Hill and Broughton (*R.C.H.M. Dorset* 5, 1975: 78-83).

WINCHESTER

In addition to the Old Minster which has been included in all the analyses of this volume and is described briefly in Chapters 1 and 15, mention should be made here of the other Anglo-Saxon churches discovered by the recent series of excavations in Winchester, none of which has been included in the body of this volume. These are simply mentioned here by name, together with references to the excavators' reports for each of them.

St Peter-in-Macellis; Cunliffe 1964: 43-5

St Maurice; M.A. 1960: 143

St Mary in Tanner Street; Biddle 1966: 317; 1967: 262-3; 1968: 263-5; 1969: 305-8; 1970: 302-5; 1972: 104-7; 1975: 309-13

St Pancras; Biddle 1969: 312; 1970: 309-10; 1972: 111-15; 1975: 318-21.

Norman chapel in the Castle, with long-and-short quoins; Biddle 1970: 288-90; 1975: 106-9

In addition to this brief mention two further points should however be recorded here: first that the total excavation of churches such as St Mary and St Pancras, with opportunity to remove all their floors, to dismantle their walls and to study their structure in detail has provided information of inestimable value about the development of the fabric and the changes in liturgical use; secondly that the very early Norman chapel in the Castle gives important evidence about the use of features such as long-and-short quoins after the Conquest.

APPENDIX G

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE DESCRIPTIONS OF CHURCHES IN VOLUMES I AND II

In order to keep this Appendix as short as possible only the more important additions and corrections have been included, and as far as possible these are yet further abbreviated by referring to published material instead of describing them at length. Since counties, dedications, and map references are given in full in the earlier volumes there is no need to repeat them here.

Alton Barnes

New reference: Thompson and Ross 1973.

Avebury

The circular upper windows have an actual aperture about 9 in. in diameter cut about the centre of stones about 12 in. thick, and splayed to a diameter of about 15 in. in each face of the stone. The aperture is so very much closer to the outer face of the main wall than to the inner (6 in. by comparison with 25 in.) that the windows can very naturally be thought of as single-splayed, and are so described in Chapter 7, though in strict logic they should be called double-splayed. In all other double-splayed windows the aperture is very much more nearly at the centre of the wall.

Bardfield, Little

In each of the west, north and south faces of the tower there is evidence of a blocked round-headed window in the lowest stage, resting on the offset, and rather larger than the windows of the stage next above.

Bardsey

The plan (Fig. 18) should not show the east end of the chancel, since there is no evidence for its length; nor should it show precise widths for the chancel- and tower-arches.

Barholm

The pilaster and string-course noted in Vol. I: 42 and illustrated in the plates of Vol. II: Fig. 370 may well be in their original state rather than hav-

ing been cut back later to this form. They may well represent a tau-cross over the original doorway of entry, in a way which could be compared with the Crucifixion at Walkern (Vol. II: 629).

Barnack

The Anglo-Saxon fabric of the tower stands only 52 ft high, not 65 as noted on p. 47.

Barnetby-le-Wold

This church has been taken over and restored by the Redundant Churches Fund.

Barrow

New references: Jackson and Fletcher 1966a; Taylor 1970a.

Barton-on-Humber

The heights given on p. 56 should be amended to 45 ft to the top of the original work and 59½ ft overall. Lower down on the same page the voussoired head of the eastern upper doorway of the tower is incorrectly recorded as being cut in one stone. New references: Taylor 1966c: 28-31; and 1974b.

Bedford, St Peter

An extract from the Parish Magazine of 1918 displayed in the west porch records that 'foundations of an apse were once laid bare' outside the east end of the church.

Beeston

Of the three triangular-headed windows at about the level of the eaves, it is the window facing north

which is glazed while those facing west and south are blocked.

Bibury

It should be noted on p. 65 that the jambs of the chancel-arch are through-stones.

Bitton

In addition to the evidence for the south porticus from Mr Ellacombe's excavations (Vol. I: 74) it should be noted that a plain square plinth can be seen, running westward from the south-east corner of the nave until it turns south to mark the former junction of the porticus with the nave.

Bradford-on-Avon

New references: Mercer 1966; Jackson and Fletcher 1966b; Taylor 1972b and 1973b.

Bradwell-on-Sea

New reference: Carter 1966.

Breedon-on-the-Hill

New reference: Taylor 1966a: 30-1.

Brigstock

The single-splayed north and south windows of the tower are correctly recorded as 5 ft 4 in. tall on p. 105 but are incorrectly drawn only 4 ft 4 in. tall on p. 102. The gable-headed doorway as drawn on p. 103 needs to be amended by showing in the section that the impost projects about 2 in. from both faces of the wall. In addition to the evidence noted on p. 104 that the stair-turret and the upper storey are later additions to what was originally a one-storeyed entry-porch it should be recorded: (a) that the lower parts of the walls of the tower and the stair-turret can be seen externally not to be bonded, whereas the upper parts are bonded, and (b) that internally the side walls of the turret lap over the jambs and imposts of the doorway with a straight vertical joint although some care has been taken to bond some of the stones immediately above this level. Fig. 44 on p. 101 should be amended to show a plinth round the stair-turret.

Brixworth

We ought not to have said on p. 108 that there is either literary or architectural evidence for assigning the church to the seventh century. The literary

evidence is not contemporary and gives no details to ensure that any church to which it refers is the church now on the site. The architectural evidence may indeed indicate an early church but not necessarily one belonging to the seventh century. On p. 109 the words quoted at the top of column 2 were not used by the Rev. C. F. Watkins as we said, but came from *Antiquaries Journal*, 110 (1954): 203. In the same column it is now necessary to revise the dating of ring crypts in view of fresh evidence from the Continent. New references: Gilbert 1965; Taylor 1969a: 36-8; Fletcher 1974.

Broughton

In Fig. 52 the soffit-shafts as well as the angle-shafts should have double bell-shaped mouldings on their bases. These are correctly so shown in Fig. 647 of Chapter 5 of this volume.

Cambridge

Add on p. 132 to the note on dimensions: the tower-arch is 8 ft 4 in. wide and 18 ft 6 in. tall, in a wall 3 ft thick; the doorway above is 2 ft 6 in. wide and 6 ft 6 in. tall, with its sill about 22 ft above the floor.

Canterbury

Cathedral Church of Christ. New references: Parsons 1969; Taylor 1969c; and 1975: 154-8; Gem 1970; Gilbert 1970.

St Augustine's. On p. 137, middle of column 2, Isle of Sheppey should read Isle of Thanet. New reference: Taylor 1969f.

St Martin. New reference: Jenkins 1965.

St Pancras. New reference: M.A. 1973: 144.

Cheddar

New reference: Rahtz 1962-3.

Colchester

Under dimensions on p. 164 it should be noted that the west wall of the nave, containing the tower-arch, is 2 ft 10 in. thick whereas the other three (and later) walls of the tower are each 2 ft 7 in. thick.

Deerhurst, St Mary

The architectural history of this church will require to be completely rewritten when investiga-

tions in progress there since 1971 have been completed. The structural evidence recorded on pp. 193–202 and 206–8 remains substantially true with the important exception that the great moulded string-course of Fig. 88 did not continue across the west front in the space occupied by the west porch nor along the sides of the nave into the areas occupied by the first north and south porticus. Interim reports on the work now in progress are being published in *Antiquaries Journal*. First interim report: Butler *et al.* 1975. Other new references: Rahtz 1976, Taylor 1977a.

Deerhurst, Odda's Chapel

The hoodmoulding on the chancel-arch is only on the side towards the nave and should not be shown on both sides as is done at C in Fig. 90.

Elmham, North

The historical interpretation of the fabric and the surrounding earthwork as given on pp. 228–31 needs complete revision, as summarised in Chapters 1 and 15 above, in the light of Mr S. E. Rigold's excavations which were not known to us at the time of writing of Vol. I. New reference: Rigold 1962–3.

Escomb

To the dimensions on p. 237 there should be added that the north doorway of the chancel is 5 ft 6 in. tall and 1 ft 11 in. wide externally, as against 2 ft 1 in. wide internally. Thus both the earlier doorway of the nave and this later Anglo-Saxon doorway are rebated on the south as for the hanging of doors. New reference: Pocock and Wheeler 1971.

Fakenham Magna

The caption of Fig. 107 should be amended to show the county as Suffolk.

Geddington

On Fig. 109 it is worth recording that the old gable-line of the nave is visible on the west face of the wall above the chancel-arch just as the old gable-line of the chancel is visible on the east face. Both of these show a pitch of about 45° as is noted for several others in Chapter 18.

Glentworth

The last sentence at the foot of column 1 of p. 258 should be amended by deleting the words 'similar to that to be seen at Bolam, namely'. The evidence for the hanging of the bell at Glentworth is illustrated in Chapter 8, Fig. 686; and it is my belief that there is no corresponding evidence at Bolam.

Green's Norton

One window near the west of the south wall is visible both internally and externally, and is of about the same width on both sides of the wall, thus indicating with some reliability that the windows are double-splayed. I am indebted to Mr M. J. Hare for this information.

Greensted

Study of the timbers *in situ* has been claimed as giving a ninth-century date for the felling of the trees; but I have not been able to obtain any reliable confirmation of this claim.

Hadstock

Complete excavation of the nave and transepts in 1975 together with study of the fabric after removal of part of the plaster has completely revised our knowledge of the architectural history of this church. It is now clear that there were three main Anglo-Saxon building campaigns, as illustrated in Chapter 15, Fig. 735, and that the original church was of an early form with lateral porticus entered through doorways from the nave instead of the present wide arches on heavy plinths. A bell-foundry possibly of late-Saxon date was discovered near the west of the nave. New reference: Rodwell 1976.

Harmston

The Norman tower-arch has been noted in Vol. I: 285; but it needs fresh mention here in view of difficulty that is sometimes felt about accepting a tower as Anglo-Saxon when it opens to the nave through a Norman arch. But this is to ignore clear evidence of the fabric which shows a concrete beam and brickwork patching in the wall above this arch. Moreover the arch is so much too wide for the space where it stands that its outer order has had to be partially recessed into the side walls of the tower. There is documentary evidence for

complete rebuilding of the nave and chancel in the eighteenth century and further major works in the nineteenth. It is my belief that the tower-arch was inserted in its present place at one of these times, most probably having originally opened between an Anglo-Saxon nave and a Norman chancel. The stone spiral stairway of the tower is also of one of these modern dates, but is lit by small west windows whose outer faces are Anglo-Saxon square monolithic slabs; two of these have plain circular openings of which one is surrounded by drilled holes like those at Avebury; the third has pierced floral stonework carvings. These would most probably have been robbed from the nave that was demolished in these relatively modern alterations.

Harpwell

The quoins are mainly side-alternate; not face-alternate as stated in Vol. I: 286.

Hexham

Early references omitted from p. 312: Hodges 1888 and 1913. The latter contains the earliest description of the finding of the apse, and a drawing of its discovery in 1908. New references: for the fabric, Gilbert 1974; and Bailey 1976. For the sculpture, Cramp 1974; and Coatsworth 1974. For the metalwork, and especially the chalice, Bailey 1974. The half-round attached column referred to in Vol. I: 304, paragraph 6 should no longer be regarded as evidence for the fabric of the church itself, because Dr R. N. Bailey has directed my attention to the fact that Hodges 1888: 4 records that this was found on the bed of the Tyne, where Hodges believed it had been lost, along with a Roman altar, while being brought from Corbridge to be used in Wilfrid's building; a footnote adds that these pieces were brought to the abbey by Gibson and Hodges.

Heysham, St Peter

To the record on pp. 315-16 of the north doorway of St Peter's church re-erected in the churchyard there should be added the following note from a plate of bronze still legible in the doorway in 1970:

This doorway of undoubted Saxon work was discovered when the north wall of St Peter's church was taken down in 1864 for the addition of an aisle on that site. It was hidden by a massive buttress and was five feet from the

north-west angle of the wall. Its threshold was two feet five inches below the floor of the present church.

Rev. John Royds Rector

Jarrow

For the impact of recent archaeological investigation on our understanding of the surviving early buildings and on the vanished early monastic buildings see Cramp 1969: 1973; 1976 and 1976a.

Langford

In Fig. 168, p. 371 the south pilaster-strip beside the jamb of the west arch of the tower is wrongly drawn as if it still existed intact; in fact it has almost completely been cut away except for a small piece beside the impost, as can be seen from the photograph reproduced among the plates of Vol. II as Fig. 512.

Laughton-en-le-Morthen

In Fig. 169, p. 374 four joints are incorrectly shown on the depressed monolithic head of the later doorway inserted through the great Anglo-Saxon doorway.

Limpley Stoke

In the dimensions on p. 390 the walls are wrongly stated as about 12 ft high; they are 20 ft high.

Lincoln, St Mary-le-Wigford

The drawing of the belfry in Fig. 177 was made by observation from the ground at a time when details were heavily obscured by soot from the nearby railway. The new drawing in Chapter 8, Fig. 691 was made by measurement when the tower was accessible by scaffold in March 1974. The carved stone referred to on p. 393 is built into the north face of the south jamb of the tower-arch, i.e. in the soffit of the jamb.

Lusby

When we revisited this church in 1971 the organ which formerly obscured the north side of the chancel-arch had been removed and replaced by a small one which allowed a clear view of the shafts, capitals and impost; all of these, although much defaced, could be clearly seen and mentally reconstructed to give a wider and lower arch than is shown in Fig. 184. The wall has, however, been

greatly disturbed, and curious stones like bases have been built into it above the impost.

Lydd

After further inspection of the fabric in 1966 I remain uncertain whether the double-splayed window can legitimately be claimed as an original feature or as a later insertion.

Lyninge, St Mary

In addition to the new evidence about the later church of St Mary and St Eadburga as recorded in Appendix F, a correction is needed here to the evidence recorded in Fig. 187 about the ruins of the early church of St Mary. The records left by Canon Jenkins do not give any justification for confident assertion that this church had a triple chancel-arch in the way shown in our figure or said to be 'now accepted' in column 2, p. 409. Comparison of the original drawings of this plan by Jenkins with those of Peers (1901: 419-20) and Clapham (1930: 23) will show the sad story of the way in which a possibility very tentatively suggested by the person who saw the fabric later becomes a probability and then a certainty.

Middleton-by-Pickering

In recording on pp. 422-3 the evidence which is shown visually in Fig. 198 that a narrow original nave was later widened from A to D, the case might be put even more strongly by pointing out that the chamfered plinth V of the widened nave on the south was carried over in front of the south-east quoin of the original nave.

Monkwearmouth

On p. 433, column 1, the quotation from *Lives of the Holy Abbots* should record that the oratory dedicated to St Lawrence was 'in the dormitory of the brethren'. On p. 437 the belfry window of St Bene't's church in Cambridge is drawn to a much smaller scale (roughly 2:3) in Fig. 206 than the scale shown for the doorway at Monkwearmouth. For important new evidence both about the standing fabric and also the vanished early monastic buildings see Cramp 1969; 1973; and 1976b.

Paxton, Great

Excavation by the late Mr P. G. M. Dickinson in

1971 laid bare much of the foundation of the north transept closely on the lines shown in Fig. 236. The foundation was 4 ft wide, of large flints in hard mortar. The corners had been robbed, perhaps because they were of cut stone which could be used again.

Peakirk

A small two-cell chapel known locally as St Pega's cell, about 200 yds north-east of the church and beside the road to Market Deeping has a section of Anglo-Saxon cross-shaft about 1 ft 6 in. tall carved on each of its four faces with two-strand interlace.

Potterne (Vol. II: 734)

Dr Norman Davey's full account of his discoveries was published in *Wilts A.N.H. Mag.*, 59 (1964), 116-23.

Reculver

There has been confusion about the height of the columns and arches illustrated in Fig. 248 (p. 507) and specified in the dimensions on p. 509. Baldwin Brown (1925: 384) showed the columns with a figured dimension of 16 ft 5 in. overall (including base and capital); Peers (1927: 246) specified the columns as 14 ft 9 in. high in all, alongside an illustration which showed them with their bases and capitals; and this figure was used in our dimensions on p. 509 on the assumption that Peers must be certain about the facts after having conducted his exhaustive investigation of the building. I had opportunity to measure both columns in the crypt of Canterbury cathedral in August 1974 and I find the height to be 16 ft 4 in. in close agreement with Baldwin Brown. The central arch would therefore have been about 19 ft tall. New references: Taylor 1968b and 1969c.

Reed

On p. 510, column 1, we described two alternatives to explain the offset in quoining of the nave, and we said we favoured the first alternative because we could see no signs of disturbance and therefore accepted the offset as original. Further inspection in 1976 convinces me that all four quoins have been disturbed in this lower area, and that this was almost certainly done when the tower was built, in order that the west end of the nave should match the offset on the tower.

Repton

The architectural histories of the crypt, chancel, nave and lateral porticus all need considerable changes as the result of detailed structural investigation and archaeological excavation still in progress. Preliminary accounts of the necessary changes are given in Taylor 1971 and Taylor 1977b. Here it will be best to confine amendments to two major points in Fig. 249: first, the inferred position of the original walls of the pre-Norman nave should be moved from the positions j, j to the alignment h, h of the medieval arcade; and secondly, the recesses in the side walls of the crypt as shown both in the main plan and the inset should not protrude outside the main walls but should appear only as a reduction in the thickness of the walls.

Ripon

In 1974 the northern passage to the crypt was reopened at its eastern end, and new steps were built to provide access to a doorway in the choir-screen so as to establish a two-way circulation for visitors to the display of treasures in the crypt. These changes to one of the most important and earliest surviving crypts were unfortunately made without adequate opportunity being given for archaeological supervision.

Rochester

A note should be added to the caption of Fig. 252 (Vol. II: 519) to say that Canon Livett's investigations of 1889 do not give any evidence for the two piers which are shown as dividing the chancel-arch into a triple arcade. See also the similar remark under Lyminge, as evidence of the way in which a false picture has been built up for the existence of very detailed similarities between the early Kentish churches. There are indeed real similarities; and it is greatly to be deplored that other supposed similarities have been grafted upon them and gradually been made to appear well grounded by constant repetition.

In addition to the two small churches shown in Fig. 252, fresh evidence suggests that by the time of the Conquest the cathedral complex at Rochester included a transeptal church.

The installation of a new nave altar under the crossing of the cathedral in August 1968 exposed

the sleeper wall of the earliest Norman building, running east and west under the arch which opens to the north transept beside the north-west pier of the tower. Embedded in the Norman sleeper wall and therefore earlier than it was a wall running northward, with an offset which marked the Anglo-Saxon floor-level about 16 in. below the modern pavement. The early wall was traced northward about 4 ft 8 in., standing about 1 ft above the offset which was 4½ in. wide; the wall was not at right angles to the axis of the cathedral but approached nearer to the west wall of the transept as it ran northward. At its southern end it turned east and was traced for 4 ft, parallel to the axis of the cathedral.

These walls were interpreted by Dr Raleigh Radford as defining the crossing of a transeptal Anglo-Saxon cathedral church of the tenth or eleventh century with an irregularly laid out plan and a transept narrower than the central space, in a manner such as is known at Hadstock and elsewhere. Reference: Radford 1969.

Romsey

A fresh reconsideration of the evidence (Hearn 1969) leads to the conclusion that the reconstruction of the Anglo-Saxon church put forward by Peers and repeated in our Fig. 253 is probably still correct, but for reasons other than those taken over from Peers.

Ropsley

Mention should be made of a small crucifixion carved on the north-west quoin of the nave, in high relief but partially defaced, facing west on the seventh stone up from the ground (Taylor 1966a: 51). We are indebted to Mr Lawrence Bond of Grantham for drawing it to our notice.

Rothwell

Baldwin Brown was entirely correct in referring to the south-west quoin of the nave as showing long-and-short technique. It was by a most unfortunate error that in column 1 of p. 523 we contradicted this and called it a good example of megalithic side-alternate quoining.

Sherborne

Important new discoveries as a result of work

under the direction of Mr J. H. P. Gibb have been summarised in Chapters 1 and 15 and should be consulted in detail in his own publication (Gibb 1975).

Skipwith

On p. 554 we referred to the probability that the western chamber was originally a one-storeyed porch with single-splayed windows of quite early character, later cut externally into their present double-splayed shape when the next storey had been added. We should have made quite clear that the 'porch' we envisaged was not a porch of entry but a western sanctuary. A suggested sequence for the single-splayed windows and their adaptation to their present shape is shown in Chapter 7, Fig. 681.

Somborne, Little

This church has been taken over and restored by the Redundant Churches Fund. Full opportunity for archaeological investigation was given throughout the restoration and I am indebted to Mr and Mrs Biddle for bringing the results to my notice and allowing me to see the work in progress. A double-splayed window was discovered in each of the side walls, partially destroyed by the insertion of later windows and wholly obscured by plaster; in one of these there was clear evidence of the former existence of a rectangular wooden slab to carry the glazing. Perhaps the most remarkable discovery is that the original Anglo-Saxon nave extended further westward and that the long-and-short western quoins were moved eastward to their present positions, probably as a result of continued difficulty with faulty foundations, some time after the nave had been lengthened eastward in the Norman period. Vestiges of Anglo-Saxon doorways in the side walls were also found.

Somerford Keynes

The blocked north doorway was opened out in April 1968 and it is now established that the Escomb fashion jambs are rebated and are wholly of through-stones and the head of half-through-stones (Taylor 1969d).

Springfield

The dedication to All Saints should be inserted on p. 562.

Stanton-by-Bridge

In the heading of the note on this church we wrongly referred to the north-east quoin of the nave; the south-east quoin was intended and is correctly referred to in the body of the text.

Stoke d'Abernon

New reference: Radford 1963. This article not only provides convenient reprints of important early drawings but also gives a very useful account of the whole concept of churches which were built for tenants by the lord or possessor of the manor, and over which he retained extensive rights, the *Eigenkirchen* of German literature or *ecclesiae propriae* of medieval texts.

Stone-by-Faversham

New references: Meates 1968; Fletcher and Meates 1969. The outcome of the excavations of 1967-8 is summarised as indicating that the earliest part of the building (subsequently the western part of the medieval chancel) was 'either a mausoleum or possibly a martyrium probably dating from the fourth century A.D.'. Evidence was also found for an Anglo-Saxon wooden nave, on a mortared rubble foundation.

Stow

The levels in the various parts of the church are more complicated than are shown in Fig. 289. For a corrected plan and other evidence see Taylor 1974c. Pearson's stone staircase of 1850 (p. 588, column 2) is thought locally to have been built in replacement of one that stood internally in the north east corner of the nave. The Rector produced photographs at the Lincoln meeting of the Royal Archaeological Institute in 1974 showing the church from several angles before and after Pearson's restoration, and in particular showing the north west angle before the restoration with a doorway to the interior stair and a series of small windows to light it. Copies of all these photographs are now displayed in the church.

Tichborne

There should be only six voussoirs (not eight) in the head of the window of Fig. 312; and only six blocks in the pilaster (not nine) above the sill of

the window. I am indebted to Mr H. M. Colvin for this correction.

Titchfield

New reference: Hare 1976. Unfortunately this monograph was not published in time to allow its findings to be incorporated into our text.

Wareham, Lady St Mary

Arguments have been advanced in R.C.H.M. *Dorset* 2, 1: xliii-iv and 2, 2: 304-12 for accepting this church, which was destroyed in 1841-2, as a minster church of the time of St Aldhelm (d. 709). It is difficult enough to date a building of the Anglo-Saxon era when most of its features survive for detailed inspection, and it is not altogether unexpected that there should be major disagreements about the interpretation and dating of a building which is known only by descriptions, plans, and drawings. On the evidence which is available I would not wish to amend our assessment of date as given in Vol. II: 634 but I would again stress its tentative nature.

Warnford

The Royal Archaeological Institute visited Warnford on 19 July 1966 and Mr Rigold pointed out that the inscription over the south doorway is more probably to be read as referring to Wulfric (abbot of New Minster c. 1067-72) than to St Wilfrid, particularly because New Minster held this manor. Description, and dated plan: Rigold 1967.

Wheathampstead

On p. 653 the position of this church should be recorded as about 5 miles north of St Albans.

Whitby

New reference: Cramp 1973: 112-14.

Whithorn

New reference: Cruden 1963. This gives interesting details of excavations then uncompleted at the east end of Whithorn Priory, together with sketches showing a conjectural restoration of the arrangements in the thirteenth-century chapel behind the high altar, with a shrine for St Ninian above the presumed position of the original

burial of the saint, close beside the spot where a group of early christian burials had been found in that season's excavation.

Winchester

Old Minster. Very brief summaries of the evidence from over a decade of excavation have been given in Chapters 1 and 15. For further details the reader is referred at present to the very full interim reports Biddle 1964-75. The definitive reports are even now appearing under the title *Winchester Studies*, ed. M. Biddle.

Other churches. See notes in Appendix F.

Wing

It is not clear that the east doorway of the north aisle (p. 669, column 2) can be accepted as fixing a pre-Conquest date to the whole of the east wall, still less to the north wall of the north aisle. In Fig. 341 I would therefore now show only the southern part of the east wall as Anglo-Saxon and no part of the north wall. In the caption to Fig. 342 I would now delete the final sentence, since I do not now accept Jackson and Fletcher's argument for claiming that the core of the walls of the apse is old and that the outer facing, including the pilaster-strips, is a later modification.

Winstone

On p. 673, column 1, it should only be the north jamb of the chancel-arch which is recorded as being chamfered on an angle towards the nave.

Worlaby

The dedication is wrongly referred to as St Peter in the text. The correct dedication is St Clement, as in the heading.

Worth

When we wrote Vol. II in 1961 we were uncertain about the extent of the rebuilding of the chancel in 1869. I am indebted to Dr Michael Hunter for referring me to full details in *The Builder* for 6, 13 and 17 November 1869 and 20 and 29 October 1870. The chancel was indeed pulled down and rebuilt on the same foundations without the recording of any of the constructional details that were disclosed. The final sentence of footnote 1 on p. 688 should be deleted.

APPENDIX G

York Minster

On the evidence before us in 1961, we attributed the early foundations below the cathedral church on pp. 700–9 to Archbishop Albert. As a result of exhaustive rescue excavations undertaken in connection with the consolidation of the tower in the years 1967–72 the foundations have now con-

clusively been proved to be the work of Thomas of Bayeux, the first Norman archbishop (1070–1100). For a brief account of the results of these works and of the difficulties involved in them see Phillips 1975 and 1976. A definitive report will be published by the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments.

ADDENDUM

Kirk Hammerton

For new evidence about the relationship between the tower and the nave of this church readers should consult R. K. Morris, Kirk Hammerton: the tower and the fabric, *Arch. J.*, 133 (1976): 95–103, which was published in August 1977 too late for any account to be taken in the body of this book.

APPENDIX H

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are used in the main text and in the bibliography.

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 C.D. *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, ed. J. M. Kemble 1839-48
 H.A.A. *Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo*. Text and notes: C. Plummer 1896
 H.A.B. *Historia Abbatum auctore Beda*. Text and notes: C. Plummer 1896
 H.E. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Text and notes: C. Plummer 1896. Text and translation: B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors 1969
 M.A. *Medieval Archaeology*. For references to editorial articles on Medieval Britain, where authors' names are not given
 P.L. *Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne 1844-64
 R.C.H.M. Royal Commission on Historical Monuments
 V.C.H. Victoria County History

For the names of English journals which appear frequently in the bibliography self-explanatory abbreviations are used as set out in detail in Vol. II: 731-2, together with *N. Staffs. J.F.S.* for *North Staffordshire Journal of Field Studies*. The names of continental journals and of books are given in full.

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INDEX TO VOLUMES I, II AND III

The index provides ready access under place-names to the churches mentioned in all three volumes, with special reference to the principal features of all churches that are discussed in detail. Personal names are as a rule indexed only for such people as are of direct concern in the history, for example by endowment, building or altering the churches. Authors' names are not indexed because they are adequately covered in the bibliography of this volume and in the lists of references given for each church in the earlier volumes.

For each church the references given immediately after its place-name relate to the comprehensive description of the church as a whole, usually in Volumes I and II, but with a reference where necessary to any addition or amendment in Volume III. When these main entries represent only a few pages, no further detailed references are given to individual architectural features described in Volume I or II; but under the place-name of every church the architectural features discussed in Volume III are fully indexed, particularly to lead the reader to the main tables of that volume. The index therefore provides a convenient summary of the principal features of all important churches as well as a direct guide to the places where they are discussed.

With the single exception of references to half-tone plates, all entries in the index relate to the consecutively numbered pages of the three volumes; but, because the half-tone plates are all collected at the end of Volume II on un-numbered pages, *references to the plates are given by citing their figure-numbers in italic type*. The roman numerals in parentheses which follow such references relate to the List of Illustrations in the preliminary pages of Volume I. Other roman numerals also refer to the preliminary pages of Volume I. Line-drawings all occur within the numbered pages of the text, and references to them are therefore given by citing the page-numbers, but with an asterisk to simplify the finding of references to illustrations.

For convenience of reference, all the continental churches have been grouped together under the names of the seven countries concerned at the end of the main index and after a brief list of the few continental terms which are occasionally used in the text. With this exception, the index is a single alphabetical list of places, persons and subjects.

There are very few subject-headings as principal entries in the index, because Chapters 5 to 18 of Volume III themselves represent a grouping of the material under the principal subject-headings. Moreover, the Table of Contents provides a further means of locating the treatment of finer details, particularly by way of its section-headings and its lists of tables. But a few subject-headings are included in the index to guide the reader to material such as lists of abbreviations, definitions and charts of code-symbols, distribution maps, figures which illustrate general principles or types, and comprehensive lists of features such as fonts, inscriptions, sculpture and sundials, which are not discussed in detail in this volume and so are not listed in the Table of Contents.

For the sake of brevity, full use is made in the index of the abbreviations and code-symbols which are used in the body of the book (see first entry in index); in addition the following self-explanatory abbreviations are also used:

ext	external	poss	possible or possibly
int	internal	propns	proportions
part	partly or partially	rel	relative

It should also be noted that one abbreviation, CA, which is used both in the body of the text and also in the index, has two meanings depending on the context: under the heading 'arches' it denotes 'chancel-arch', as in Chapter 5; but under the heading 'plan' it denotes 'cellular areal' as in Chapter 15.

Abbreviations and code-symbols

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special code-symbols for individual features: belfry openings, 884; doorways: construction, 832; position, 802*-3-4*; plans: classification, 970*-1-2*; further abbreviation, 997; uncertain number of cells, 1008; quoins, 946, 948; towers, 900; windows, 863

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quoins, SA, 948
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dating: historical, 737, 739-40; indications, 1042
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fabric, Cs St, 964
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- Kirk Hammerton**, 361-4, 1086, 507-10, (xv and xvi)
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evidence for AS, 770, 886
fabric, Cs St, 964
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belfry, 1055; doorway, 1054
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props of chancel, 1034; rel widths,
n and c, 1032; side and poss W
entry, 1028; Sq E end, 1029; well
defined, 974, 986*-7
plinths: double, 966; Sq, 966
quoins, SA, 948
string-course, ext, 903, 910*
stripwork, 929: doorway, 933
tower, Sq W, 900
walls, thickness, 959
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evidence for AS, 724, 770
fabric, Cs St, 964
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plan: part defined, 1006; porticus at west, 375 (cf. Mwearmouth, 444n; Staindrop, 566), 1011
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evidence for AS, 724, 770
fabric, RRB, 964
imposts, arch, 1052
plan: CL, 998; side entry, 1028; well defined, 974, 986*, 988
quoins, Rb, 950
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fabric, Cs St, 964
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quoins, SA, 762, 948
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evidence for AS, 724, 749, 770
fabric, RRB, 964
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quoins, SA, 948
walls, thickness, 959
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plan: side entry, 1028; Sq E end, 1029; unitary, 997; well defined, 974,

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doorways, ground, 800, 833
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capitals, belfry, 1050
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evidence for AS, 724, 749, 770
fabric, Cs Rb, 964
imposts: arch, 1052; belfry, 1055; doorway, 1054
inscription, 391
plan: part defined, 1006; tower, 1009
quoins, SA, 948
string-course, ext, 903, 910*
tower: Lincolnshire group, 892; Sq W, 900
walls, thickness, 959
windows, SS, 839, 864

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arches, TA, 776, 795
belfry openings, double, 395*, 759, 874, 876*, 885
capitals, belfry, 1050
dating sequences, 965, 1068
doorways: ground, 800, 810, 812*, 833; upper, 397*, 800, 834
evidence for AS, 724, 749, 770
fabric, Cs Rb, 964
hoodmoulding, 929: doorway, 934; window, 932, 1058
imposts: arch, 1052; belfry, 1055; doorway, 1054
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plan: part defined, 1006; tower, 394*, 1008*-9
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string-course, ext, 903, 910*
tower: building sequences, 896; Lincolnshire group, 892; Sq W, 900
windows, SS, 396* (cf. Stow, 588n), 839, 864

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fabric, RRb, 964
imposts, arch, 1052
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walls, thickness, 959
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doorways, upper, 800, 834
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imposts: arch, 1052; belfry, 1055
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plinths, Sq Rb, 966
quoins: dating, 954; Rb, 950, 953; SA, 948, 953
rood, 414, 1056
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tower: Lincolnshire group, 892; Sq W, 900
walls, thickness, 959
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evidence for AS, 770
fabric, RRb, 964
plan, 417*: CL, 998; side and poss W entry, 1028; Sq E end, 1029; well defined, 974, 988-9*
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evidence for AS, 770
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evidence for AS, 724, 770
fabric, Cs Rb, 964
imposts, doorway, 1054
plan, 419*: part defined, 1006; tower, 1009
plinths: double, 966; Sq, 966
quoins: dating, 954; RM, 950, 953; SA, 948, 953
stripwork, 929: doorway, 933
tower, Sq W, 420*, 900
walls, thickness, 959
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imposts, arch, 1052
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plan, 424*: IT, 1001; regular crossing, 899; Sq E end, 1029; well defined, 974, 988-9*
quoins: dating difficulty, 954; LS, 944, 953, (cut back, 946); SA, 948, 953
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tower, 425, 428 (cf. Sherborne, 540), 901
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evidence for AS, 770
fabric, RRb, 964
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quoins, Rb, 950
string-course, ext, 903
walls, thickness, 959
windows, SS, 839, 863
- Minster-in-Thetford**, 720
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evidence for AS, 770
fabric, RRb, 964
hoodmoulding, 929: doorway, 935
imposts, doorway, 1054
plan: n and c, 1007; part defined, 1006
quoins, SA, 948
walls, thickness, 959
- Missenden, Little**, 1074
arches, CA, 786, 796
evidence for AS, 770, 772
fabric, RRb, 964
imposts, arch, 1052
plan: CL, 998; props of chancel, 1034; rel widths, n and c, 1032; side and poss W entry, 1028; Sq E end, 1029; well defined, 974, 988-9*
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belfry openings, double, 874, 885

Monk Fryston—contd.

capitals, belfry, 1050
evidence for AS, 770
fabric, Cs Rb, 964
plan, 432*: part defined, 1006; tower, 1009
quoins, FA, 950
string-course, ext, 903
tower, Sq W, 900
walls, thickness, 959

Monkwearmouth, 432–46, 1082, 531

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dating: historical, 737, 740–1; indications, 1042; sequences, 823, 955, 1068–9
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tower, 434*–42 (cf. Bywell A, 122), 910*: building sequence, 897; Northumbrian group, 893; Sq W, 764, 900
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sham, 380, 383; Staindrop, 565), 759, 839, 848*, 863, 865 (unusual, 838)

Moreton, South, 1074

Morland, 446–8, 532

belfry openings, double, 874, 885
evidence for AS, 770, 886
fabric, Cs Rb, 964
plan, 447*: part defined, 1006; tower, 1009
plinths, chamfered, 966
quoins, FA, 950
tower, Sq W, 900
windows, SS, 839, 865

Morningthorpe, 448–50

plan and details, 449*

Morton-on-the-Hill, 450–1

evidence for AS, 770
fabric, RRb, 964
plan, 450*: n and c, 1007; part defined, 1006
quoins, SA, 948
walls, thickness, 959
windows, DS, 451*, 839, 866

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Much Wenlock, Holy Trinity, 1074–5

Much Wenlock, St Milburga, 453–4

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Norman abbey, 453 (contrast, Barrow, 50)
plan: Sq E end, 1029; unitary, 997; well defined, 974, 989*–90
sanctuary, 454* (cf. Hexham, 311)

Nassington, 455

doorways, upper, 800, 834
evidence for AS, 770
plan: n and c, 1007; part defined, 1006
quoins, LS, 944, (cut back, 946)
walls, thickness, 959

Netheravon, 456–9, 533

plan and details, 456*–7*

Nettleton, 459–60

Newton-by-Castleacre, 460–2, 534–6, (xvi)

arches: TA, 460–1 (cf. Guestwick, 266; Weybourne, 646), 778, 796; cruck-shaped, 461 (cf. Barsham, 51n), 777
belfry openings, double, 874, 885
capitals, belfry, 1050
doorways, upper, 800, 835
evidence for AS, 770, 886
fabric, RRb, 964
imposts, arch, 1052
plan, 461*: part defined, 1006; tower, 1011–12*; upper floors, 1018
quoins, SA, 948
tower, 901
walls, thickness, 959
windows, DS, 839, 867

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evidence for AS, 770
quoins, LS, 944
walls, thickness, 959

North Leigh, 464–5, 537, (xvi)

arch, TA, fragmentary, 777
belfry openings, double, 465*, 874, 885
capitals, belfry, 1050
evidence for AS, 770
fabric, RRb, 964
imposts, belfry, 1055
plan, 464*: part defined, 1006; tower, 1010
quoins, SA, 948
tower, 901
windows, SS, 465*, 839, 865

Norton, 465–70, 538–41, (xvi)

arches, TA, 467 (cf. and contrast Wootton, 686–7), 757, 777–8, 795
doorways: code-symbols, 804*; upper, 758, 800, 835
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imposts: arch, 1052; doorway, 1054
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quoins, SA, 948
roof pitch, 1060
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tower: Sq central, 749–50, 764, 901; stone, 468* (cf. and contrast Paxton, 484)
windows, SS, 839, 865

Norwich Cathedral, 470–1

abbot's chair, 231n, 1066
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Norwich, St John de Sepulchre, 471

plan and details, 471*

Norwich, St John Timberhill, 472

evidence for AS, 770

fabric, RRb, 964

quoins, LS, 472*, 944

Norwich, St Julian, 472–3, 542, (xvi)

evidence for AS, 770

fabric, RRb, 964

pilaster-strips, flint Rb, 473 (cf. Colney, 168; Witton, 681), 916

plan, 473*: CL, 998; props of chancel, 1034; rel widths, n and c, 1032; side entry, 1028; Sq E end, 1029; well defined, 974, 989*–90

quoins, SA, 948

tower, round W, 901

walls thickness, 959

windows, DS, 839, 866–7

Norwich, St Martin-at-Palace, 474,

543, (xvi)

evidence for AS, 770

fabric, Cs Rb, 964

quoins, LS, 944

walls, thickness, 959

Norwich, St Mary-at-Coslany, 474–5

belfry openings, double, 474*, 874, 885

capitals, belfry, 1050

evidence for AS, 770

fabric, Cs Rb, 964

- imposts, belfry, 1055
 plan: part defined, 1006; tower, 1009
 tower, round W, 901
- Notley, White**, 475, 544
 arches, CA, 786, 796
 evidence for AS, 770
 imposts, arch, 1052
 plan: n and c, 1007; part defined, 1006
 quoins, Rb, 950
 walls, thickness, 959
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- Orn**, built church at Kirkdale, 359, 361, 740
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 evidence for AS, 770
 fabric, Cs Rb, 964
 imposts, belfry, 1055
 plan, 478*: part defined, 1006; tower, 1009
 quoins, SA, 948
 string-course, ext, 903, 910*
 stripwork, 929: belfry, 478 (cf. Bywell A, 122; York 697n), 932
 tower: Northumbrian group, 893; Sq W, 900
 windows, SS, 839, 865
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 plan and elevation, 480*
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 belfry openings, double, 481*, 874, 885
 doorways: ground, 800, 833; upper, 800, 835
 evidence for AS, 770
 fabric, RRB, 964
 imposts, belfry, 1055
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 quoins: dating, 954; LS, 944, 953; Rb, 950, 953
 tower: building sequence, 896; Sq W, 900
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 evidence for AS, 771
 fabric, RRB, 964
 hoodmoulding, 929: arch, 936; doorway, 935
- imposts, arch, 1052
 plan: n and c, 1007; part defined, 1006
 plinths, Sq, 966
 quoins, LS, 944
 walls, thickness, 959
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- Paxton, Great**, 484-8, 1082, 547-9, (xvi)
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